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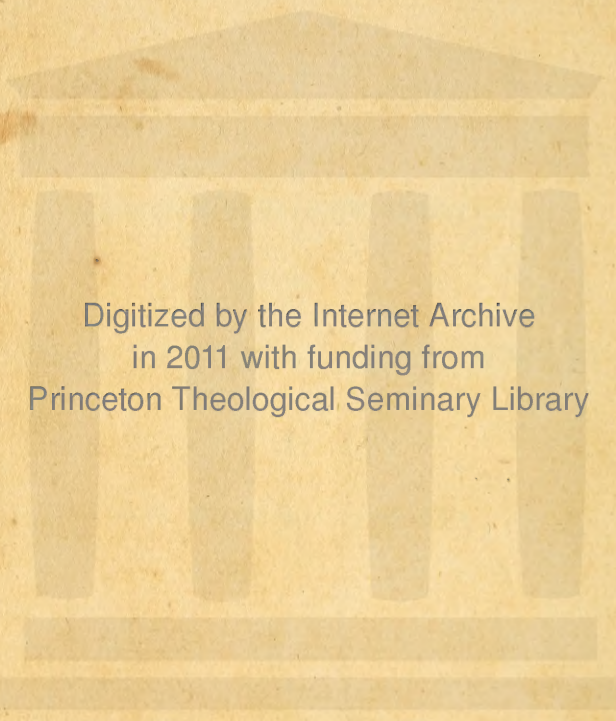
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THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
PURITANS,  
OR,  
Protestant Non-Conformists,  
FROM THE  
Death of Queen ELIZABETH  
TO THE  
Beginning of the CIVIL WAR in the  
Year 1642.

WITH  
An Account of their Principles; their Attempts  
for a further REFORMATION in the  
CHURCH; their Sufferings; and the Lives  
and Characters of their principal DIVINES.

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By DANIEL NEAL, M. A.

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VOL. II.

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*But if ye bite and devour one another, take heed ye be  
not consumed one of another, Gal. v. 15.*

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DUBLIN :

Printed for BRICE EDMOND, Bookseller, at *Addison's*-  
Head in *Dame-street*,

MDCCCLV.

THE HISTORY

OF THE

PROTESTANT NON-CONFORMISTS

FROM THE

DEATH OF QUEEN ELIZABETH  
TO THE  
BEGINNING OF THE CIVIL WAR IN THE  
YEAR 1642.

WITH  
AN ACCOUNT OF THEIR PRINCIPLES; THEIR SEPARATE  
CHURCHES; THEIR DISCIPLINE; AND THE LIVES  
OF THE MOST EMINENT DIVINES.

BY DANIEL WHEAT, M.A.  
VOL. II.

THE SECOND AND LAST PART OF THE HISTORY, AS FAR AS  
THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH IS CONCERNED.

DUBLIN:  
Printed by J. Smith, in Pall Mall.  
1794.



## P R E F A C E.

**T**H E favourable acceptance of the first Volume of this work has encouraged me to publish a second, which carries the History forward to the beginning of the Civil War, when the two Houses of Parliament wrested the spiritual sword out of the hands of the King and Bishops, and assumed the Supremacy to themselves.

There had been a cessation of controversy for some time before the death of Queen Elizabeth ; the Puritans being in hopes, upon the accession of a King that had been educated in their own principles, to obtain an easy redress of their Grievances ; and certainly no Prince ever had it so much in his power to compromise the differences of the Church, as King James I. at the Conference of Hampton-Court ; but being an indolent and vain glorious Monarch he became a willing captive to the Bishops, who flattered his vanity, and put that maxim into his Head, No Bishop, no King. The creatures of the Court, in lieu of the vast sums of Money they received out of the Exchequer, gave him the flattering Title of an Absolute Sovereign, and to supply his extravagancies, broke through the constitution, and laid the foundation of all the calamities of his Son's Reign ; while himself, sunk into luxury and ease, became the contempt of all the powers of Europe. If King James had any principles of Religion besides what he called King-Craft, or dissimulation, he changed them with the climate ; for from a rigid Calvinist he became a Favourer of Arminianism in the latter part of his Reign ; from a Protestant of the purest Kirk upon earth, a Doctrinal Papist ; and from a disguised Puritan, the most implacable enemy of that People, putting all the springs of the Prerogative in Motion, to drive them out of both Kingdoms.

But instead of accomplishing his designs, the number of Puritans increased prodigiously in his Reign, which was owing to one or other of these Causes.

First, to their standing firm by the Constitution and Laws of their Country ; which brought over to them all those Gentlemen in the House of Commons, and in the several Counties of England, who found it necessary, for the preservation of their Properties, to oppose the Court, and to insist upon being governed according to Law ; these were called State Puritans.

Secondly, to their steady adherence to the Doctrines of Calvin, and the Synod of Dort, in the points of Predestination and Grace, against the modern interpretations of Arminius and his Followers. The Court Divines fell in with the latter, and were thought not only to deviate from the principles of the first Reformers, but to attempt a coalition with the Church of Rome ; while most of the Country Clergy being stiff in their old opinions (though otherwise well enough affected to the Discipline and Ceremonies of the Church) were in a manner shut out from all preferment, and branded with the name of Doctrinal Puritans.

Thirdly, to their pious and severe manner of Life, which was at this time very extraordinary. If a Man kept the Sabbath, and frequented Sermons ; if he maintained family Religion, and would neither swear, nor be drunk, nor comply with the fashionable vices of the times, he was called a Puritan : this, by degrees, procured them the compassion of the sober part of the Nation, who began to think it very hard, that the number of sober, industrious, and conscientious People, should be harassed out of the Land, for scrupling to comply with a few indifferent ceremonies, which had no relation to the favour of God, or the practice of Virtue.

Fourthly, it has been thought by some, that their  
increase



## The P R E F A C E.

increase was owing to the mild and gentle government of Archbishop Abbot. While Bancroft lived the Puritans were used with the utmost rigor, but Abbot having a greater concern for the Doctrines of the Church than for its ceremonies, relaxed the penal Laws, and connived at their proselyting the people to Calvinism. Arminianism was at this time both a Church and State Faction ; the Divines of this persuasion apprehending their sentiments not very consistent with the received sense of the thirty nine articles ; and being afraid of the censures of a Parliament or Convocation, took shelter under the Prerogative, and went into all the slavish measures of the Court to gain the Royal Favour, and to secure to their friends the chief preferments in the Church. They perswaded his Majesty to stifle the prædestinarian Controversy, both in the Pulpit and Press, and would, no doubt, in a few years, have got the balance of numbers on their side, if by grasping at too much they had not precipitated both Church and State into confusion. It was no advantage to those Divines that they were linked with the Roman Catholics ; for these being sensible they could not be protected by law, cried up the prerogative, and joined their forces with the Court Divines, to support the dispensing power ; they declared for the unlimited authority of the Sovereign on the one hand, and the absolute obedience of the Subject on the other ; so that tho' there is no real connection between Arminianism and Popery ; the two parties were unhappily combined at this time to destroy the Puritans, and to subvert the constitution and laws of their country.

But if Abbot was too remiss, his successor Laud Heylin's  
Life of  
Laud, p.  
506. was as much too furious, for in the first year of his Government, he introduced as many changes as a wise and prudent Statesman would have attempted in seven ; he prevailed with his Majesty to set up the English Service at Edinburgh, and laid the foundation of the Scots Liturgy ; he obtained the revival of the Book of Sports ; he turned the Communion



tables into altars ; he sent out injunctions which broke up the French and Dutch churches ; and procured the repeal of the Irish Articles, and those of England to be received in their place. Such was his rigorous prosecution of the Puritans, that he would neither suffer them to live peaceably in the land, nor remove quietly out of it ! his Grace was also the chief mover in all those unbounded acts of power which were subversive of the rights and liberties of the people : And while he had the reins in his hands drove so near the precipices of popery and tyranny, that the hearts of the most resolved protestants turned against him, and almost all England became Puritan.

I am sensible that no part of modern history has been examined with so much critical exactness, as that part of the reign of King Charles I. which relates to the rise and progress of the civil War ; here the writers on both sides have blown up their passions into a flame, and instead of history, have given us little else but panegyrick or satyr. I have endeavoured to avoid extremes, and have represented things as they appeared to me, with modesty, and without any personal reflections. The character I have given of the religious principles of the Long Parliament was designedly taken out of the Earl of Clarendon's history of the Grand Rebellion, that it might be without exception : and I am of opinion, that the want of a due acquaintance with the principles of the two Houses with regard to Church Discipline, has misled our best historians, who have represented some of them as zealous Prelatists, and others as cunning Presbyterians, Independants, Sectaries, &c. whereas in truth they had these matters very little at heart. The King was hampered with notions of the divine right of diocesan episcopacy, but the two Houses (excepting the Bishops) were to a man of the principles of Erastus, who maintained, " That Christ  
" and his Apostles had prescribed no particular form  
" of discipline for his Church in after ages, but had  
" left

“ left the Keys in the hands of the civil magistrate, who had the sole power of punishing Transgressors, and of appointing such particular forms of church government from time to time, as were most subservient to the peace and welfare of the commonwealth.” Indeed these were the sentiments of our church reformers, from Archbishop Cranmer down to Bancroft. And though the Puritans in the reign of Queen Elizabeth writ with great eagerness for the divine right of their Book of Discipline, their posterity in the next reigns were more cool upon that head, declaring their satisfaction, if the present episcopacy might be reduced to a more primitive standard. This was the substance of the Ministers Petition in the year 1641. signed with seven hundred hands. And even those who were for Root and Branch, were willing to submit to a Parliamentary Reformation, till the Scots revived the notion of Divine Right in the assembly of divines. However, ’tis certain, the Two Houses had no attachment to Presbytery or Independancy, but would have compromised matters with the King upon the episcopal Scheme, as long as his Majesty was in the field, but when victory had declared on their side they complied in some measure with their northern friends, who had assisted them in the war: but would never part with the power of the Keys out of their own hands. If the reader will keep this in mind, he will easily account for the several Revolutions of church government in these unsettled times.

’Tis not to be expected, that the most disinterested writer of these affairs should escape the censures of different parties; I thought I had already sufficiently expressed my intentions in publishing the History of the Puritans; but because it has been insinuated in a late pamphlet, that it looked like a plot against the ecclesiastical constitution, I think it proper to assure the world once for all, that what I have written is with no ill spirit, or design against the peace of

Expost. Letter, p. 29, 30.

the Church or Nation ; that I have no private or party views ; no patron ; no associates ; nor other prospect of reward, than the pleasure of setting the English Reformation in a true light, and of beating down some of the fences and inclosures of conscience. Nor can there be any inconvenience in remembring the mistakes of our ancestors, when all the parties concerned are gone off the stage, and their families reconciled by inter-marriages ; but it may be of some use and benefit to mankind, by enabling them to avoid those Rocks on which their forefathers have split. When I am convinced of any mistakes, or unfair representations, I shall not be ashamed to retract them before the world ; but facts are stubborn things, and will not bend to the humours and inclinations of artful and angry men ; if these have been disguised or misreported, let them be set right in a decent manner, without the mean surmises of Plots and Confederacies, and whoever does it, shall have mine as well as the thanks of the publick.

I have no controversy with the present Church of England, which has abandoned, in a great measure, the persecuting principles of former times ; for tho' I am not unacquainted with the nature and defects of religious establishments, yet neither my principles nor inclinations will allow me to give them the least disturbance, any further than they impose upon conscience, or intrench upon the rights of civil Society. If the Presbyterians or Independants have been guilty of such practices in their turns, I shall freely bear my testimony against them, and think I may do it with a good Grace, since I have always declared against restraints upon conscience among all parties of christians ; but if men will vindicate the justice and equity of oaths *Ex Officio*, and of exorbitant Fines, Imprisonment and Banishment, for things in their own nature indifferent ; if they will call a relation of the illegal severities of Council Tables, Star Chambers, and High Commissions, a Satyr against the



the present Establishment, they must use their liberty, as I shall mine, in appearing against ecclesiastical oppression, from what quarter soever it comes.

I have freely censured the mistakes of the Puritans in Queen Elizabeth's reign; nor will I be their advocate any longer than they have Scripture, reason, and some degree of good manners on their side. If it shall at any time appear, that the body of them lived in contempt of all lawful authority, or bid defiance to the laws of their country, except in such cases wherein their consciences told them, It was their duty to obey God rather than Man; if they were guilty of rebellion, sedition, or of abandoning the Queen and the Protestant Religion, when it was in danger, let them bear their own reproach; but as yet I must be of opinion, that they were the best friends of the constitution and liberties of their country; that they were neither unquiet nor restless, unless against tyranny in the State, and oppression upon the Conscience; that they made use of no other weapons, during a course of fourscore years, but prayers to God, and petitions to the Legislature for redress of their grievances, it being an article of their belief, "That absolute Submission was due to the supreme Magistrate in all things lawful," as will sufficiently appear by their protestations in the beginning of the reign of King James I. I have admitted that the Puritans might be too stiff and rigid in their behaviour; that they were unacquainted with the rights of conscience; and, that their language to their superiors the Bishops was not always decent and mannerly: "Oppression maketh wise men mad." But surely, the depriving, imprisoning and putting men to death for these things, will not be vindicated in our times.

In the Preface to the first volume of this History I mentioned with pleasure the growing sentiments of religious liberty in the Church of England, but complained

plained of the burden of Subscriptions upon the Clergy; and of the Corporation and Test Acts, as prejudicial to the cause of Religion and Virtue, among the Laity; for which reasons the Protestant Dissenters throughout England intended to petition for a repeal or amendment of these Acts the ensuing Session of Parliament, if they had met with any encouragement from their superiors, or had the least prospect of success. The Sacramental Test is, no doubt, a distinguished mark of reproach which they have not deserved; and I humbly conceive, no very great security to the Church of England, unless it can be supposed, that one single act of occasional conformity can take off the edge of all their imagined aversion to the Hierarchy, who worship all the rest of the year among Non-conformists. Nor can the repeal of these Acts be of any considerable advantages to the body of Dissenters, because not one in five hundred can expect to reap any private benefit by it to himself or family; their zeal therefore in this cause must arise principally from a regard to the liberties of their Country, and a desire of rescuing one of the most sacred rites of Christianity from the profanation to which it is exposed.

*Hist. Test.*  
p. 16, 23,  
25.

But it seems this will not be believed, till the Dissenters propose some other pledge and security by which the end and intent of the Sacramental Test may be equally attained for (says a later writer) the Legislature never intended them any share of trust or power in the Government; and he hopes they never will, till they see better reasons for it than have hitherto appeared. Must the Dissenters then furnish the Church with a law to exclude themselves from serving their King and country? Let the disagreeable work be undertaken by Men that are better skilled in such unequal severities. I will not examine into the intent of the Legislature in this place; but if Protestant Non-conformists are to have no share of trust or power in the Government, why are they chosen into such offices,  
and

and subject to fines and penalties for declining them? Is it for not serving? This, it seems, is what the Legislature never intended. Is it then for not qualifying? Surely this is a penalty upon Conscience. I would ask the warmest advocate for the Sacramental Test, Whether the appointing Protestant Dissenters for Sheriffs of Counties, and obliging them to qualify against their Consciences under the penalties of a Premunire, without liberty of serving by a deputy, or of commuting by a fine, is consistent with so full a Toleration, and exemption from penal laws, as this writer says they enjoy? 'Tis true, a good Govern Hist. Test.  
p. 25.ment may take no advantage of this power, but in a bad one men must qualify, or their Liberties and Estates be at the King's mercy; it seems therefore but reasonable, (whatever the intent of the Legislature may be) that Protestant Dissenters should be admitted to serve their Country with a good Conscience in offices of Trust as well as of Burden, or be exempted from all pains and penalties for not doing it.

'Tis now pretty generally agreed, That receiving Ibid. p. 22. the Holy Sacrament merely as a qualification for a place of civil profit or trust, is contrary to the ends of its institution, and a snare to the Consciences of Men; for tho' the law is open, and "they who obtain offices in the State know beforehand the conditions of keeping them," yet when the bread of a numerous family depends upon a qualification which a man cannot be satisfied to comply with, 'tis certainly a snare. And tho' I agree with our Author, that "if the minds of such persons are wicked, the law does not make them so," yet I am afraid it hardens them, and makes them a great deal worse. How many thousands come to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper with reluctance! and, perhaps, eat and drink Judgment to themselves; the guilt of which must be chargeable either upon the Imposers or Receivers, or upon both. Methinks therefore charity to the Souls of Men, as well as a concern for the purity of our Holy



ly Religion, should engage all serious Christians to endeavour the removal of this grievance; and since we are told, that the appearing of the Dissenters at this time is unseasonable, and will be ineffectual; I would humbly move our right reverend Fathers the Bishops, not to think it below their high Stations and Dignities, to consider of some expedient to roll away this reproach from the Church and Nation, and agree upon some security for the former (if needful) of a civil nature, that may leave room (as King William expresses it in his Speech to his first Parliament) “For the Admission of all Protestants that are able and willing to serve their Country.” The Honour of Christ and the cause of publick virtue, seem to require it. And for as much as the influence of these Acts affects great numbers of the Laity in a very tender part, I should think it no dishonour for the several Corporations in England, as well as for the Officers of the Army, Navy, Customs, and Excise, who are more peculiarly concerned, to join their interests in petitioning the Legislature for such relief. And I flatter myself that the wise and temperate behaviour of the Protestant Dissenters in their late General Assembly in London; with the dutiful regard that they have always shewn to the peace and welfare of his Majesty’s Person, Family, and Government, will not fail to recommend them to the Royal Protection and Favour; and that his Most Excellent Majesty in imitation of his glorious Predecessor King William III. will in a proper time recommend it to his Parliament to strengthen his Administration, by taking off those restraints which at present disable Protestant Dissenting Subjects from shewing their Zeal in the Service of their King and Country.

DANIEL NEAL.

London,  
March 6, 1732-3.

T H E



THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
PURITANS.

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CHAP. I.

From the Death of Queen Elizabeth to the  
Death of Archbishop Bancroft.



THE Royal House of the Stuarts has not been more calamitous to the English Church and Nation, in the male Descendants, than successful and glorious in the female: The four Kings of this Line while in power, were declared Enemies of our civil Constitution; they governed without law, levied taxes by the Prerogative, and endeavoured to put an end to the very being of Parliaments. With regard to Religion; the two first were neither sound Protestants nor good Catholics, but were for reconciling the two Religions, and meeting the Papists half way; but the two last went over entirely to the Church of Rome, and died professedly in her Communion.

The

King  
James I.  
1603.

Of the House  
of the  
Stuarts.

King  
James I.  
1603.

The female Branches of this Family being married among foreign Protestants, were of a different stamp, being more enclined to Puritanism than Popery ; one of them [Mary, eldest daughter of King Charles I.] was Mother of the Great King William III. the Glorious Deliverer of this Kingdom from Popery and Slavery ; and another [Elizabeth Daughter of James I.] was Grandmother of his late Majesty King George I. in whom the Protestant Succession took place, and whose numerous Descendants in the person and off-spring of his present Majesty, are the defence and Glory of the whole Protestant Interest in Europe.

King James's  
behaviour in  
Scotland.

King James was Thirty six years of age when he came to the English Throne, having reigned in Scotland from his Infancy. In the year 1589, he married the Princess Anne, Sister to the King of Denmark, by whom he had three Children living at this time, Henry Prince of Wales, who died before he was nineteen years of age [1612.] Elizabeth married to the Elector Palatine 1613, and Charles who succeeded his Father in the Kingdom. His Majesty's

Expectations  
of the Puri-  
tans.

behaviour in Scotland raised the expectations and hopes of all Parties ; the Puritans relied upon his Majesty's education ; upon his subscribing the solemn League and Covenant ; and upon his publick declaration in the General Assembly at Edinburgh, 1590, when standing with his Bonnet off, and his hands lifted up to Heaven, " He praised " God that he was born in the time of the Light of the " Gospel, and in such a place, as to be King of such a " Church, the sincerest [purest] Kirk in the World. The " Church of Geneva (says he) keep Pasche and Yule " [Easter and Christmases] what have they for them ? They " have no Institution. As for our Neighbour Kirk of Eng- " land, their Service is an evil said Mass in English ; they " want nothing of the Mass but the Liftings. I charge " you, my good Ministers, Doctors, Elders, Nobles, " Gentlemen, and Barons, to stand to your Purity, and " to exhort the People to do the same ; and I, forsooth, " as long as I brook my life, shall maintain the same."

Calder-  
wood's Hist.  
Ch.Scotland,  
p. 256.

In his speech to the Parliament 1598, he tells them, " That he minded not to bring in Papistical or Anglicane " Bishops." Nay, upon his leaving Scotland, to take possession of the Crown of England, he gave publick thanks to God in the Kirk of Edinburgh, " That he had " left both Kirk and Kingdom in that state which he in- " tended not to alter any ways, his Subjects living in " peace."

Calder-  
wood's Hist.  
Ch.Scotland.  
p. 418.



“peace.” But it seems all this was King-craft, or else his Majesty changed his Principles with the Climate. The Scots Ministers did not approach him with the distant Submission and Reverence of the English Bishops, and therefore within nine months he renounced Presbytery, and established it for a maxim, No Bishop no King; so soon did this pious Monarch renounce all his former principles (if he had any) and break through the most awful and solemn vows and oaths! When the Long Parliament addressed King Charles I. to set up Presbytery in the room of Episcopacy, his Majesty objected his Coronation oath, in which he had sworn to maintain the Clergy in their Rights and Privileges; but King James had no such scruples of Conscience, for without so much as asking the consent of Parliament, General Assembly or People, he enter’d upon the most effectual measures to subvert that Kirk Discipline which he had sworn to maintain with hands lifted up to Heaven, at his Coronation, and solemnly subscribed with his Queen and whole Family, in the year 1581, and 1590.

King  
James I.  
1603.

ib. p. 473.

The Papists put the King in remembrance, that he was born of Roman Catholick Parents, and had been baptized with the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of Rome; that his Mother of whom he usually spoke with reverence, was a Martyr for that Church; and that he himself, upon sundry occasions, had expressed no dislike to her Doctrines, though he disallowed of the Usurpations of the Court of Rome over foreign Princes; that he had called the Church of Rome his Mother Church; and therefore they presumed to welcome his Majesty into England with a petition for an open Toleration.

And of the  
Papists.

But the Bishops of the Church of England made the earliest application for his Majesty’s Protection and Favour. As soon as the Queen was dead Archbishop Whitgift sent Dr. Nevil, Dean of Canterbury, into Scotland, in the name of the Bishops and Clergy of England, to give his Majesty assurance of their unfeigned duty and loyalty; to know what commands he had for them with respect to the Ecclesiastical Courts, and to recommend the Church of England to his protection and favour. The King replied, that he would uphold the Government of the Church as the Queen left it; which comforted the timorous Archbishop, who had sometimes spoke with great Uneasiness of the Scotch Mist.

Early appli-  
cation of the  
Bishops to  
the King.  
Life of  
Whitgift,  
p. 559.

Upon his Majesty’s arrival all Parties addressed him, and among others, the Dutch and French Churches, and the

Of the Dutch  
and French  
Churches.

King  
James I.  
1603.

the English Puritans ; to the former his Majesty gave this answer, “ I need not use many words to declare my  
“ good-will to you, who have taken sanctuary here for  
“ the sake of Religion ; I am sensible you have enriched  
“ this Kingdom with several arts and manufactures ; and I  
“ swear to you, that if any one shall give you disturbance  
“ in your Churches, upon your application to me, I will  
“ revenge your cause ; and though you are none of my  
“ proper Subjects, I will maintain and cherish you as  
“ much as any Prince in the World.” But the latter met  
with very different usage.

Strype's  
Ann. Vol.  
ult. p. 387.

Notwithstanding all the precautions that were taken to  
secure the elections of Members for the next Parliament ;  
the Archbishop wished he might not live to see it, for fear  
of some alterations in the Church ; for the Puritans were  
preparing petitions, and printing pamphlets in their own  
vindication ; but by the Archbishop's vigilance (says Mr.  
Strype) not a petition or pamphlet escaped without a speedy  
and effectual answer.

Millenary  
Petition pre-  
sented April  
1603.

Clark's Life  
of Hilder-  
sham,  
p. 126.

While the King was in his progress to London the Pu-  
ritans presented their Millenary Petition so called, because  
it was said to be subscribed by a thousand hands, though  
there were not more than eight hundred out of twenty five  
Counties. It is entitled, “ The humble petition of the  
“ Ministers of the Church of England, desiring Refor-  
“ mation of certain Ceremonies and abuses of the Church ;”  
the preamble sets forth, “ That neither as factious men,  
“ affecting a popular Parity in the Church, nor as Schis-  
“ matics aiming at the Dissolution of the State Ecclesi-  
“ astical, but as the faithful Ministers of Christ, and loyal  
“ Subjects to his Majesty, they humbly desired the redress  
“ of some abuses. And though divers of them had for-  
“ merly subscribed to the Service-Book, some upon Pro-  
“ testation ; some upon Exposition given ; and some with  
“ Condition ; yet now they, to the number of more than  
“ a thousand Ministers, groaned under the burden of hu-  
“ man Rites and Ceremonies, and with one consent threw  
“ themselves down at his Royal Feet for relief in the  
“ following particulars :

1. In the Church Service, “ That the Cross in Baptism,  
“ the Interrogatories to Infants, Baptism by Women,  
“ and Confirmation, may be taken away ; that the  
“ Cap and Surplice may not be urged ; that examination  
“ may go before the Communion ; that the Ring in Mar-  
“ riage may be dispensed with ; that the Service may be  
abridg'd ;

King  
James I.  
1603.

“ abridged ; Church Songs, and Musick, moderated to  
“ better edification ; that the Lord’s day may not be pro-  
“ faned, nor the observation of other Holy Days strictly  
“ enjoined ; that Ministers may not be charged to  
“ teach their People to bow at the Name of Jesus ; and  
“ that none but canonical Scriptures be read in the  
“ Church.

2. Concerning Ministers, “ That none may be admit-  
“ ted but able men ; that they be obliged to preach on the  
“ Lord’s-day ; that such as are not capable of preaching  
“ may be removed or obliged to maintain Preachers ; that  
“ Non-residency be not permitted ; that King Edward’s  
“ Statute for the lawfulness of the marriage of the Clergy  
“ be revived ; and that Ministers be not obliged to subscribe  
“ but according to Law, to the Articles of Religion, and the  
“ King’s Supremacy only.

3. For Church Livings. “ That Bishops leave their  
“ Commendams ; that Impropropriations annexed to Bishop-  
“ ricks and Colleges be given to Preachers incumbents only,  
“ and that Lay-impropriations be charged with a 6th or 7th  
“ part for the maintenance of a Preacher.

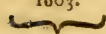
4. For Church Discipline. “ That Excommunication,  
“ and Church censures be not in the name of Lay-chan-  
“ cellors, &c. that men be not excommunicated for twelve  
“ penny matters, nor without consent of their Pastors ; that  
“ Register’s places, and others having Jurisdiction, do not  
“ put them out to farm ; that sundry Popish Canons be re-  
“ versed ; that the length of Suits in Ecclesiastical Courts  
“ may be restrained ; that the oath Ex Officio be more  
“ sparingly used ; and licences for marriages without Banes  
“ be more sparingly granted.

“ These things, say they, we are able to shew not to be  
“ agreeable to the Word of God, if it shall please your Ma-  
“ jesty to hear us, or by writing to be informed, or by con-  
“ ference among the learned to be resolved.”

The King met with sundry other Petitions of the like na-  
ture, from most of the Counties he passed through ; but  
the Heads of the two Universities having taken offence  
at the Millenary Petition, for demising away the Impro-  
propriations annexed to Bishopricks and Colleges, which (says  
Fuller) would cut off more than the nipples of the breasts  
of both Universities in point of maintenance, expressed  
their resentment different ways : Those of Cambridge past  
a Grace, June 9th. “ That whosoever in the University  
“ should openly oppose by word or writing, or any other way,



King  
James I.  
1603.



Abstract of  
the Answer  
of the Uni-  
versity of  
Oxford.  
L. of Whit-  
gift, p. 567.

“ Doctrine or Discipline of the Church of England esta-  
“ blished by law, or any part thereof, should be sus-  
“ pended Ipso facto from any degree already taken, and  
“ be disabled from taking any degree for the future.”

About the same time the University of Oxford, published an Answer to the Ministers Petition, entitled, “ An Answer of  
“ the Vice-chancellor, Doctors, Proctors, and other Heads  
“ of Houses in the University of Oxford, to the petition of  
“ the Ministers of the Church of England, desiring Re-  
“ formation ;” dedicated to the Archbishop, the Chancel-  
lors of both Universities, and the two Secretaries of State.  
The answer shews the high Spirit of the University ; it re-  
proaches the Ministers in very severe language for subscrib-  
ing, and then complaining ; it reflects upon them as facti-  
ous Men, for affecting a party in the Church, and then  
falls severely on the Scots Reformation, which his Majesty  
had so publickly commended before he left that Kingdom.  
It throws an odium upon the petitioners, as being for a li-  
mited Monarchy, and for subjecting the titles of Kings to  
the approbation of the people. It then goes on to vindicate  
all the grievances complained of, and concludes with  
beseeching his Majesty not to suffer the peace of the State  
to be disturbed, by allowing these Men to disturb its polity.  
“ Look upon the reformed Churches abroad (say they)  
“ and wheresoever the desire of the petitioners takes place,  
“ how ill it suits with the State of Monarchy ; does it be-  
“ come the super-eminent authority and regal person of a  
“ King, to subject his sovereign power to the over-swaying  
“ and all-commanding power of a Presbytery ? That his  
“ meek and humble Clergy should have power to Bind  
“ their King in chains, and their Princes in links of iron ?  
“ That is, to censure him, and if they see cause, to pro-  
“ ceed against him as a tyrant. That the supreme Magis-  
“ trate should only be a maintainer of their proceedings,  
“ but not a commander in them ; these are but petty a-  
“ bridgments of the Prerogative Royal, while the King  
“ submits his Sceptre to the Sceptre of Christ, and licks  
“ the dust of the Churches feet.” They then commend  
the present Church Government as the great support of  
the Crown, and calculated for unlimited Subjection to it ;  
and aver, “ That there are at this day more learned Men  
“ in this land, in this one Kingdom, than are to be found  
“ among all the Ministers of the Religion in France,  
“ Flanders, Germany, Poland, Denmark, Geneva, Scot-  
“ land, or (to speak in a word) all Europe besides.” Such  
a vain-

a vain-glorious piece of self-applause is hardly to be met with. They must have a mean opinion of the King's acquaintance with the learned world, to use him in this manner, at a time, when, though there some very considerable Divines among ourselves, there were as many learned Men in the foreign Universities, as had been since the Reformation, as the Beza's, Scaliger's, Casaubon's, &c. whose works have transmitted their great names down to posterity.

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And that the Divines of Cambridge might not come behind their Brethern of Oxford, the Heads of that University writ a letter of thanks to the Oxonians for their Answer to the petition, in which "they applaud and commend their weighty arguments, and threaten to battle the Puritans with numbers; For if Saul has his thousands (say they) David has his ten thousands. They acquaint them with their decree of June 9, and bid the poor pitiful Puritans [*Homunciones miserrimi*] answer their almost a thousand Books in defence of the Hierarchy, before they pretend to dispute before so learned and wise a King." A mean and pitiful triumph over honest and virtuous Men, who aimed at nothing but to bring the discipline of the Church a little nearer the Standard of Scripture!

And of the  
University of  
Cambridge.

But that his Majesty might part with his old friends with some decency, and seem to answer the request of the petitioners, he agreed to have a conference with the two parties at Hampton Court; for which purpose he published a Proclamation from Wilton, October 24th, 1603. "Touching a meeting for the hearing, and for the determining things pretended to be amiss in the Church." In which he declares, "That he was already perswaded, that the constitution of the Church of England was agreeable to God's Word, and near to the condition of the Primitive Church; yet because he had received information, that some things in it were scandalous, and gave offence, he had appointed a meeting to be had before himself and Council, of divers Bishops and other learned Men, at which Consultation he hoped to be better informed of the State of the Church, and whether there were any such enormities in it; in the mean time he commanded all his subjects not to publish any thing against the State Ecclesiastical, or to gather subscriptions or make supplications, being resolved to make it appear by their chastisement, how far such a manner of proceeding was displeasing to him;

Proclamation  
for a conference.  
L. of White.  
B. IV.  
c. 31.

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“ for he Was determined to preserve the Ecclesiastical  
“ State such in form as he found it established by the law,  
“ only to reform such abuses as he should find apparently  
“ proved.”

Ibid. p. 570.

The Archbishop and his Brethren had been indefatigable in possessing the King with the excellency of the English Hierarchy, as coming near the practice of the Primitive Church, and best suited to a Monarchical Government; they represented the Puritans as turbulent and factious, inconsiderable in number, and aiming at confusion both in Church and State; and yet, after all, the old Archbishop was doubtful of the event, for in one of his letters to Cecil Earl of Salisbury, he writes, “ Though our humorous and

L. of Whit.  
Append.  
No. 43.

“ contentious Brethren have made many petitions and motions, correspondent to their natures, yet to my comfort  
“ they have not much prevailed. Your Lordship, I am  
“ sure, does imagine that I have not all this while been idle,  
“ nor greatly quiet in mind; for who can promise himself  
“ rest among so many vipers.”

Conference  
at Hampton  
Court.

The place of conference was the Drawing Room, within the Privy Chamber at Hampton Court; the disputants on both sides were nominated by the King. For the Church, there were nine Bishops, and about as many Dignitaries, viz.

Dr. Whitgift Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Bancroft Bishop of London, Dr. Mathew Bishop of Durham, Bilson Bishop of Winchester, Babington Bishop of Worcester, Rudd Bishop of St. David's, Watson Bishop of Chichester, Robinson Bishop of Carlisle, and Dove Bishop of Peterborough.

Dr. Andrews Dean of the Chapel, Overal Dean of St. Paul's, Barlow Dean of Chester, Bridges Dean of Salisbury, Field Dean of Gloucester, King Archdeacon of Nottingham; besides the Deans of Worcester and Windsor.

For the Puritans were only four Ministers, Dr. John Raynolds, Dr. Thomas Sparks, Professors of Divinity in Oxford, Mr. Chadderton and Mr. Knewstubs of Cambridge. The Divines for the Church appeared in the habits of their respective distinctions; but those for the Puritans in fur gowns, like the Turkey Merchants, or like the professors in foreign Universities. When the King conferred with the Bishops he behaved with softness, and a great regard to their character; but when the Puritan Ministers stood before him, instead of being Moderator, he took upon him the place of Respondent, and bore them down with his majestic

Frowns



Frowns and Threatnings, in the midst of a numerous crowd of Courtiers, for all the Lords of the Privy Council were present; while the Bishops stood by and were little more than spectators of the Triumph.

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The account of this Conference was published only by Dr. Barlow, who being a party (says Fuller) "set a sharp edge on his own, and a blunt one on his adversaries weapons." Dr. Sparks and Raynolds complained, that they were wrong'd by that relation; and Dr. Jackson declared, that Barlow himself repented upon his death-bed, of the Injury he had done the Puritan Ministers in his relation of the Hampton-Court conference. Mr. Strype has lately published a letter of the Bishop of Durham to Hutton Archbishop of York, which agrees pretty much with Barlow; but Mr. Patrick Galloway, a Scots Man, has set things in a different light; from all which, and from the King's own letter to Mr. Blake a Scots Man, we must form the best judgment of it that we can.

Peirce, p.  
153, 154.

Life of  
Whitgift,  
Append.  
No. 45.

The Conference continued three days, (viz.) Jan. 14th, 16th, and 18th; the first was with the Bishops and Deans alone, Jan. 14th, the Puritan Ministers not being present; when the King made a speech in commendation of the Hierarchy of the Church of England, and congratulated himself, that "He was now come into the Promised Land; that he sat among grave and reverend men, and was not a King, as formerly, without State; nor in a place where beardless boys would brave him to his face. He assured them, he had not called this Assembly for any Innovation, for he acknowledged the Government Ecclesiastical, as now it is, to have been approved by manifold Blessings from God himself; but because he had received some complaints of disorders, he was willing to remove them if scandalous, and to take notice of them if but trifling; that the reason of his consulting them by themselves, was to receive Satisfaction from them, (1.) About some things in the Common Prayer Book. (2.) Concerning Excommunication in the Ecclesiastical Courts. (3.) About providing some well qualified Ministers for Ireland; that if any thing should be found meet to be redressed, it might be done without their being confronted by their Opponents."

First Day's  
Conference  
between the  
King and  
the Bishops  
only.

Fuller,  
B. X. p. 8.

In the Common Prayer Book his Majesty had some Scruples about the Confirmation of Children, as if it imported a confirmation of Baptism. But the Archbishop on his knees replied, that the Church did not hold Baptism imper-

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fect without Confirmation. Bancroft said it was of Apostolical institution, Heb. vi. 2. where 'tis called, The Doctrine of the Laying on of Hands. But to satisfy the King it was agreed, that the words "Examination of Children" should be added to Confirmation.

His Majesty excepted to the "Absolution of the Church," as too nearly resembling the Pope's pardon. But the Archbishop is said to clear it up to the King's satisfaction, only to the Rubrick of the general Absolution these Words were to be added for explanation sake, "Remission of Sins."

He further objected to private Baptism, and Baptism by Women. It had been customary till this time for Bishops to licence Midwives to their office, and to allow their right to baptize in cases of necessity under the following Oath :

The Oath of  
a Midwife.  
Strype's An-  
nals, Vol. I.  
P. 537.

" I Eleanor — admitted to the office and occupation of  
" a Midwife, will faithfully and diligently exercise the  
" said office, according to such cunning and knowledge as  
" God has given me, and that I will be ready to help and  
" aid as well poor as rich women, being in labour and tra-  
" vail with Child, and will always be ready to execute my  
" said office. Also, I will not permit or suffer, that any  
" woman being in labour or travail, shall name any other to  
" be the father of the Child, than only he who is the right  
" and true father thereof; and that I will not suffer any o-  
" ther body's child to be set, brought, or laid before any  
" woman delivered of child, in the place of her natural  
" child, so far forth as I can know or understand. Also, I  
" will not use any kind of sorcery or incantation in the time  
" of travail of any woman; and that I will not destroy the  
" child born of any woman, nor cut, nor pull off the head  
" thereof, or otherwise dismember or hurt the same, or  
" suffer it to be so hurt, &c. Also, that in the ministrations  
" of the Sacrament of Baptism, in the time of necessity, I  
" will use the accustomed words of the same Sacrament;  
" that is to say, these words following, or the like effect,  
" I Christen thee in the Name of the Father, the Son, and  
" the Holy Ghost; and none other prophane words. And  
" that in baptizing any infant born, and pouring water on  
" the head of the said infant, I will use pure and clean water,  
" and not any rose or damask water, or water made of any  
" confection or mixture. And that I will certify the Cu-  
" rate of the Parish Church of every such baptizing."

Not-

Notwithstanding this Oath Whitgift assured the King, that Baptism by women and lay-persons was not allowed by the Church. Others said it was a reasonable practice, the Minister not being of the Essence of the Sacrament. But the King not being satisfied, it was referred to consideration, Whether the word Curate, or lawful Minister, might not be inserted into the Rubrick for private Baptism.

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Concerning Excommunication for lesser Crimes in Ecclesiastical Courts, it was agreed, That the Name should be changed, but the same Censure retained, or an equivalent thereto appointed. These were all the alterations that were agreed to between the King and the Bishops in the first Day's Conference.

Mr. Patrick Galloway, who was present at the Conference, gives this account of it to the Presbytery of Edinburgh. "That on Jan. 12th the King commanded the Bishops, as they would answer it to God in Conscience, and to himself, upon their Obedience, to advise among themselves, of the corruptions of the Church in Doctrine, Ceremonies, and Discipline; who after consultation reported, that "all was well;" but when his Majesty with great fervency brought instances to the contrary, the Bishops on their knees craved with great earnestness, That nothing might be altered, lest popish Recusants, punished by penal Statutes for their Disobedience, and the Puritans, punished by Deprivation from their Callings and Livings for Non-Conformity, should say, they had just cause to insult upon them, as men who had travailed to bind them to that which by their own mouths now was confessed to be erroneous." Mr. Strype calls this an aspersion; but I am apt to think him mistaken, because Mr. Galloway adds these words, "When sundry persons gave out copies of these actions, I myself took occasion, as I was an ear and eye-witness, to set them down, and presented them to his Majesty, who with his own hand mended some things, and eked others that I had omitted." 'Tis very certain, that Bishop Barlow had cut off and concealed all the Speeches that his Majesty made against the Corruptions of the Church, and the practices of the Prelates, for five hours together, according to the testimony of Dr. Andrews Dean of the Chapel, who said, That "his Majesty did that day wonderfully play the Puritan."

Remarks on  
the first  
day's conference.  
Calder-  
wood's Hist.  
Ch. of Scot-  
land, p. 474.

The second day's Conference was on Monday, Jan. 16. when the four Ministers were called in, with Mr. Galloway Minister

Second day's  
conference.  
with the  
Puritans.



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Minister of Perth in Scotland, on the one part, and two Bishops and six or eight Deans on the other, the rest being secluded. The King being seated in his chair, with his Nobles and Privy Counsellors about him, let them know he was now ready to hear their objections against the Establishment. Whereupon Dr. Raynolds, in the name of his brethren, humbly requested,

1. That the Doctrine of the Church might be preserved pure, according to God's Word.
2. That good Pastors might be planted in all Churches, to preach in the same.
3. That the Book of Common Prayer might be fitted to more increase of piety.
4. That Church Government might be sincerely ministered according to God's Word.

Reformation  
of Doctrine.

1. With regard to the Doctrine of the Church he requested, that to those words in the 16th Article, "We may depart from Grace," may be added, "neither totally nor finally;" to make them consistent with the Doctrine of Predestination in the 17th Article; and that (if his Majesty pleased) the nine Articles of Lambeth might be inserted.—That in the 23d Article these words, "In the Congregation," might be omitted, as implying a liberty for men to preach out of the Congregation without a lawful Call.—That in the 25th Article the Ground for Confirmation might be examined; one passage confirming it to be a depraved imitation of the Apostles, and another grounding it on their example; besides that it was too much work for a Bishop.

Here Bancroft could no longer contain himself, but falling upon his knees, begg'd the King with great earnestness to stop the Doctor's mouth, according to an ancient Canon, that "Schismatics are not to be heard against their Bishops." It is not reasonable (says he) that men who have subscribed to these Articles, should be allowed to plead against their own Act, contrary to the statute Primo Eliz. The King perceiving the Bishop in a heat, said, My Lord, you ought not to interrupt the Doctor, but either let him proceed, or answer what he has objected. Upon which he replied, "That as to Dr. Raynold's first Objection, the Doctrine of Predestination was a desperate Doctrine, and had made many people Libertines, who were apt to say, If I shall be saved, I shall be saved; he therefore desired it might be left at large. That his second Objection was trifling, because by the Practice of the Church, none but il-

" censured

“ censed Ministers might preach or administer the Sacrament. And as to the Doctor’s third Objection he said, that the Bishops had their Chaplains and Curates to examine such as were to be confirmed; and that in ancient Time, none confirmed but Bishops.” To which Raynolds replied in the Words of St. Jerom, “ That it was rather a Compliment to the Order, than from any Reason or Necessity of the thing.” And whereas the Bishop had called him a Schismatick, he desired his Majesty, that that Imputation might not lie upon him; which occasioned a great deal of mirth and raillery between the King and his Nobles about the unhappy Puritans. In conclusion the King said, he was against encreasing the number of Articles, or stuffing them with theological Niceties; because were they never so explicit, there will be no preventing contrary Opinions. As to Confirmation, he thought it not decent to refer the Solemnity to a Parish Priest, and closed his Remark with this Maxim, “ No Bishop, no King.”

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After a long interruption the Doctor went on, and desired a new Catechism, to which the King consented, provided there might be no curious questions in it, and that our agreement with the Roman Catholicks in some points might not be esteemed Heterodoxy. He further desired a new Translation of the Bible, to which his Majesty agreed, provided it were without marginal Notes, saying, that of all the Translations, the Geneva was the worst, because of the marginal Notes, which allowed Disobedience to Kings. The Doctor complained of the printing and dispersing popish Pamphlets, which reflecting on Bancroft’s character, the King said, “ What was done of this kind was by warrant from the Court, to nourish the schism between the Seculars and Jesuits, which was of great service. Doctor, “ You are a better College-man than a States-man.” To which Raynolds replied, “ That he did not intend such Books as were printed in England, but such as were imported from beyond Sea;” and this several of the Privy-Council owned to be a grievance. The Doctor having prayed that some effectual remedy might be provided against the profanation of the Lord’s day, declared he had no more to add on the first Head.

2. With regard to preaching, the Doctor complained of Pluralities in the Church; and prayed, that all Parishes might be furnished with preaching Ministers. Upon which Bancroft fell upon his knees, and petitioned his Majesty, that

Of Preach-  
ing.

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that all parishes might have a praying Ministry, for preaching is grown so much in fashion (says he) that the Service of the Church is neglected. Besides, Pulpit Harangues are very dangerous; he therefore humbly moved, that the number of Homilies might be encreased, and that the Clergy might be obliged to read them instead of Sermons, in which many vented their spleen against their superiors. The King asked the Plaintiffs their opinion of the Bishop's motion; who replied, That a preaching Ministry was certainly best, and most useful, though they allowed, where preaching could not be had, godly Prayers, Homilies, and Exhortations, might do much good. The Lord Chancellor [Egerton] said, There were more Livings that wanted learned Men, than learned Men Livings; let all therefore have single Coats before others have Doublets. Upon which Bancroft replied merrily, but a Doublet is good in cold weather. The King put an end to the debate, by saying, he would consult the Bishops upon this head.

Of the Ser-  
vice-book  
and Ceremo-  
nies.

3. But the Doctor's chief objections were to the Service-book and Church Government: Here he complained of the late Subscriptions, by which many were deprived of their Ministry, who were willing to subscribe to the doctrinal Articles of the Church, to the King's Supremacy, and to the Statutes of the Realm. He excepted to "the reading the " Apocrypha; to the Interrogatories in Baptism, and to the " Sign of the Cross; to the Surplice, and other superstitious " habits; to the Ring in Marriage; to the Churching of " Women by the name of Purification." He urged, that most of these things were Reliques of Popery; that they had been abused to Idolatry, and therefore ought, like the Brazen Serpent, to be abolished. Mr. Knewstubs said, these Rites and Ceremonies were at best but indifferent, and therefore doubted, whether the power of the Church could bind the Conscience without impeaching christian Liberty.—

Here his Majesty interrupted them, and said, that he apprehended the Surplice to be a very comely garment; that the Cross was as old as Constantine, and must we charge him with Popery? Besides, it was no more a significant sign than Imposition of Hands, which the Petitioners allowed in Ordination; and as for their other exceptions, they were capable of being understood in a sober sense; " but as to the " Power of the Church in things indifferent (says his Majesty) I will not argue that point with you, but answer as " Kings in Parliament, Le Roy s'aviserà. This is like Mr. " John Black a beardless boy, who told me the last Confe-  
" rence



“rence in Scotland, that he would hold Conformity with me in Doctrine, but that every man as to Ceremonies was to be left to his own liberty; but I will have none of that; I will have one Doctrine, one Discipline, one Religion in Substance and Ceremony: Never speak more to that point, how far you are bound to obey.”

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4. Dr. Raynolds was going on, to complain of Excommunication by Lay-Chancellors; but the King having said he should consult the Bishops on that head, the Doctor desired that the Clergy might have Assemblies once in three weeks; that in rural Deanries they might have the liberty of Prophesying, as in Archhishop Grindal's time; that those cases that could not be resolved there, might be referred to the Archdeacon's Visitation, and from thence to the Diocesan Synod, where the Bishop with his Presbyters should determine such points as were too difficult for the other meetings;-----Here the King broke out into a flame, and instead of hearing the Doctor's reasons, or commanding his Bishops to answer what had been said, told the Ministers, that he found they were aiming at a Scots Presbytery, “which (says he) agrees with Monarchy as well as God and the devil; then Jack and Tom, Will and Dick, shall meet, and at their pleasure censure both me and my Council. Therefore, pray stay one seven years before you demand that of me, and if then you find me purisy and fat, and my Windpipe stuffed, I will, perhaps, hearken to you; for let that Government be up, and I am sure I shall be kept in breath; but till you find I grow lazy, let that alone. I remember how they used the poor Lady my Mother in Scotland, and me in my Minority.” Then turning to the Bishops, he put his hand to his hat and said, “My Lords, I may thank you that these Puritans plead for my Supremacy, for if once you are out and they in place, I know what would become of my Supremacy, for, No Bishop, no King. Well, Doctor, Have you any thing else to offer?” Dr. Raynolds, “No more, if it please your Majesty.” Then rising from his chair the King said, “If this be all your Party have to say, I will make them conform, or I will hurry them out of this Land, or else worse;” and he was as good as his word.

Thus ended the second day's Conference, after four hours discourse, with a perfect Triumph on the side of the Church; the Puritan Ministers were insulted, ridiculed, and laughed to scorn, without either wit or good manners: One of the Council said, He now saw that a “Puritan was a Protestant  
“frighted

Remarks on  
the 2d days  
Conference.

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“frighted out of his wits.” Another, that “the Ministers  
“looked more like Turks than Christians, as appeared by  
“their Habits.” Sir Edward Peyton confessed, that Dr. Ray-  
nolds and his Brethren had not freedom of speech; but find-  
ing it to no purpose to reply they held their peace. On the  
other hand, the Bishops and Courtiers flattered the King’s  
wisdom and learning beyond measure, calling him the Solo-  
mon of the Age. Bancroft fell upon his knees, and said, “I  
“protest my heart melteth for joy, that Almighty God, of  
“his singular Mercy, has given us such a King, as since  
“Christ’s time has not been.” Chancellor Egerton said, “He  
“had never seen the King and Priest so fully united in one  
“Person.” His Majesty was no less satisfied with his own  
conduct; for in his Letter to Mr. Blake a Scots man, he told  
him, That he had soundly peppered off the Puritans, that they  
had fled before him, and that their Petitions had turned him  
more earnestly against them.—“It were no reason (says his  
“Majesty) that those who refuse the airy Sign of the Cross  
“after Baptism, should have their Purfes stuffed with any  
“more solid and substantial Crosses.----They fled me so  
“from argument to argument, without ever answering me  
“directly (ut est eorum moris) that I was forced to tell  
“them, that if any of them, when boys, had disputed thus  
“in the College, the Moderator would have fetched them  
“up and applied the rod to their buttocks.----I have a book  
“of theirs that may convert Infidels, but shall never con-  
“vert me, except by turning me more earnestly against  
“them.”----- This was the Language of the Solomon of  
the Age. I leave the Reader to judge, how much superior this  
wise Monarch was in the knowledge of Antiquity, or the art  
of Syllogism to Dr. Raynolds, who was the Oracle of his time  
for acquaintance with ecclesiastical History, Councils and  
Fathers, and had lived in a College all his days.

Third day’s  
Conference.

The third day’s Conference was on Wednesday, Jan.  
18th. when the Bishops and Deans were first called into  
the Privy Chamber with the Civilians, to satisfy the King  
about the High Commission and the Oath Ex Officio,  
which they might easily do, as being principal Branches  
of his Prerogative. When the King said he approved  
of the wisdom of the Law in making the Oath Ex Officio,  
the old Archbishop was so transported, that he said, “Un-  
“doubtedly your Majesty speaks by the special assistance of  
“God’s Spirit.” A Committee of Bishops and Privy Counsellors  
was then appointed to consider of lessening the charges in the  
High

High Commission, and for planting Schools, and proper Ministers in the Kingdom of Ireland, and on the Borders of England and Scotland. After which Dr. Raynolds and his Brethren were called in, not to dispute, but only to hear the few Alterations or Explanations in the Common-Prayer-Book already mentioned; which not answering their expectations, Mr. Chadderton fell on his knees, and humbly prayed, that the Surplice and Cross might not be urged on some godly Ministers in Lancashire; and Mr. Knewstubs desired the same favour for some Suffolk Ministers; which the Bishops were going to oppose, but the King replied with a stern countenance, “ We have taken pains here to “ conclude in a Resolution for Uniformity, and you will “ undo all by preferring the Credit of a few private Men “ to the peace of the Church; this is the Scots way, but “ I will have none of this arguing, therefore let them “ conform, and that quickly too, or they shall hear of it; “ the Bishops will give them some time, but if any are of “ an obstinate and turbulent Spirit, I will have them en- “ forced to Conformity.”

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Thus ended the Mock Conference, for it deserves no better name, all things being concluded privately between the King and the Bishops, before the Puritans were brought upon the Stage, to be made a spectacle to their enemies, and born down, not with calm reason and argument, but with the Royal Authority, I approve, or I dissent; the King making himself both Judge and Party. No wonder therefore, if Dr. Raynolds fell below himself, and lost some part of his esteem with the Puritans, being over-awed by the place and Company, and his Sovereign Opponent. The Puritans refused to be concluded by this conference, for the following reasons, because,

Remarks  
upon the  
whole.

1. “ The Ministers appointed to speak for them were not “ of their nomination or choosing, nor of one judgment in “ the points of controversy; for being desired by their “ Brethren to argue against the Corruptions of the Church “ as simply evil, they replied, they were not so persuaded. Being further desired to acquaint the King, that “ some of their Brethren thought them sinful, they refused “ that also. Lastly, Being desired to give their reasons “ in writing, why they thought the Ceremonies only in- “ different; or to answer the Reasons they had to of- “ fer to prove them sinful, they would do neither one “ nor other.

Christian  
and Modest  
offer of a  
conference  
with the  
Prelates,  
Printed  
1606.

2. “ Because



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2. " Because the Points in Controversy were not thoroughly debated, but nakedly propounded, and some not at all touch'd. Neither was there any one argument to the purpose pursued and followed.

3. " Because the Prelates took the Liberty of interrupting at their Pleasure those of the other side, insomuch that they were checked for it by the King himself."

They objected also to the account of the conference published by Dean Barlow, as done without the knowledge, advice or consent of the other side, and therefore deserving no credit; they said that Dr. Moreton had called some part of it in question, and rectified some speeches fathered on the King: Besides, that none but Prelates were present at the first day's conference, when the principal matters were agreed upon.

" Therefore the Puritan Ministers offer (if his Majesty will give them leave) in one week's space to deliver his Majesty in writing, a full answer to any argument or assertion pronounced in that Conference by any Prelate; and in the mean time they do aver them to be most vain and frivolous."

If the Bishops had been men of temper; or if the King had discovered any part of that wisdom he was flatter'd with, all parties might have been made easy at this time; for the Bishops would have complied with any thing his Majesty should insist on; but by his cowardice, his love of flattery, his high and arbitrary Principles, and his mortal hatred of the Puritans, one of the fairest opportunities that had ever offered to heal the divisions of the Church, was entirely lost.

Proclamation to enforce Conformity.

On the 5th of March the King published a Proclamation, in which he says, " That though the Doctrine and Discipline of the Established Church were unexceptionable and agreeable to primitive Antiquity, nevertheless he had given way to a Conference, to hear the Exceptions of the Non-Conformists, which he had found very slender; but that some few explanations of Passages had been yielded to for their satisfaction; therefore now he requires and enjoins all his Subjects to conform to it, as " the only publick Form established in this Realm;" and admonishes them not to expect any further alterations, for that his Resolutions were absolutely settled." The Common-Prayer-Book was accordingly printed with the Amendments, and the Proclamation prefixed

Remarks.

It was a high strain of the Prerogative, to alter a Form of

of Worship establish'd by Law, merely by a Royal Proclamation, without consent of Parliament or Convocation; for by the same Authority that his Majesty altered one Article in the Liturgy, he might set aside the whole; for every sentence was equally established by Act of Parliament; but this wise Monarch made no scruple of dispensing with the Laws. However, the validity of all Proclamations determining with the King's Life, and there being no subsequent Act of Parliament to establish these Amendments, it was argued very justly in the next Reign, that this was not the Liturgy of the Church of England established by Law, and consequently not binding upon the Clergy.

King  
James I.  
1603.

A Fortnight before this Conference died the Learned and Reverend Mr. Thomas Cartwright, one of the chief of the Puritans, and a great sufferer for Non-Conformity. He was born in Hertfordshire, 1535, and enter'd into St. John's College, Cambridge, 1550, where he became a hard Student, never sleeping above five hours in a night. In the Reign of Queen Mary he left the University, and became a Lawyer's Clerk; but upon the accession of Queen Elizabeth he resumed his Theological studies, and was chose Fellow of Trinity College in the year 1563. The year following he bore a part in the Philosophy Act before the Queen. In the year 1567, he commenc'd Bachelor of Divinity, and three years after was chosen Lady Margaret's Professor. He was such a popular Preacher, that when his turn came at St. Mary's, the Sexton was oblig'd to take down the windows. But Mr. Cartwright venturing in some of his Lectures to shew the defects of the Discipline of the Church, as it then stood, was questioned for it before the Vice-Chancellor, denied his Doctor's degree, and expell'd the University, as has been related. He then travelled to Geneva, and afterwards became Preacher to the English Merchants at Antwerp. King James invited him to be Professor in his University of St. Andrew's, but he declined accepting it. After his return from Antwerp he was often in trouble by Suspensions, Deprivations, and long Imprisonment; at length the great Earl of Leicester, who knew his worth, made him Governor of his Hospital in Warwick, where he ended his days, December 27th, 1703. He was certainly one of the most learned and acute Disputants of his age, but very ill used by the governing Clergy. He writ several Books besides his Controversy with Archbishop Whitgift, as his Latin  
Comment

Mr. Cart-  
wright's  
Death and  
Character.

King  
James I.  
1603



Comment on Ecclesiastes, dedicated to King James, in which he thankfully acknowledges his being appointed Professor to a Scots University: His learned confutation of the Rhemist Translation of the New Testament, to which he was solicited not only by Sir Francis Walsingham, but by letter under the hands of the principal Divines of Cambridge, as Roger Goad, William Whitaker, Thomas Croke, John Ireton, William Fulke, John Field, Nicholas Crane, Gibs Seinthe, Richard Gardiner, William Charke, &c. Such an opinion had these Divines of his learning and abilities. He was a person of great industry and piety, fervent in prayer, a frequent preacher, and of a meek and humble spirit. In his old age he was so troubled with the Stone and Gout by lying in prisons, that he was obliged always to study on his knees. His last Sermon was on Eccles. xii. 7. "Then shall the Dust return to the Earth, and the Spirit shall return to God who gave it." The Tuesday following he was two hours on his knees in private prayer, and a few hours after quietly resigned his spirit to God, in the 68th year of his age, and was buried in his own Hospital. The famous Mr. Dod preached his funeral Sermon.

Archbishop  
Whitgift's  
Death and  
Character.

Six weeks after, died his great antagonist Dr. John Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury; he was born at Great Grimsby in Lincolnshire, in the year 1530. and educated in Pembroke Hall, Cambridge. He complied with the times in Queen Mary's reign, though he disapproved of her Religion. He commenced Doctor of Divinity 1569; and was afterwards Margaret and Queen's Professor, and Master of Trinity College. Having been a celebrated Champion for the Hierarchy the Queen advanced him first to the Bishoprick of Worcester, and then to the Archbishoprick of Canterbury. He was a severe Governor of the Church, pressing Conformity with great rigor, for which her Majesty always gave him her countenance and support. He regarded neither the intreaties of poor Ministers, nor the intercessions of Courtiers, but was steady to the Laws, and out-went them in the cause of Uniformity. Mr. Fuller says, he would give fair words and good language, but would abate nothing. Sir G. Paul the writer of his Life, says, that Choler was his chief infirmity, which has sufficiently appeared by the account given of the many persecutions, oppressions, and unjustifiable hardships the Puritans suffered under his Administration; notwithstanding which they increased prodigiously, insomuch, that towards his latter end his Grace grew weary



weary of the invidious employment; and being afraid of King James's first Parliament, died (as it is said) with grief before it met, "Desiring rather to give an account of his "Bishoprick to God than to Men." He was at Court the first Sunday in Lent, but going to the Council-Chamber to Dinner, he was taken with the dead Palsy on the right-side, and with the loss of his speech; upon which he was carried immediately to Lambeth, where the King visited him on Tuesday, but not being able to converse, he lifted up his Eyes and Hand, and said, "Pro Ecclesia Dei," which were his last Words. He would have writ something, but could not hold his Pen. His disease increasing he died the next day, being the 29th of February, ætat. 73. and was buried at Croydon on the 27th of March following, where he has a fair Monument, with his effigies at length upon it. He was an hospitable Man, and usually travell'd with a great Retinue; in the year 1589, he came into Canterbury with a train of five hundred horse, of which one hundred were his own Servants. He founded an Hospital and Free-school at Croydon, and though he was a cruel persecutor of the Puritans, yet if compared with his successor Bancroft he was a valuable Prelate.

King  
James I.  
1604.

Before the meeting of the Parliament the King issued out Proclamations, one commanding all Jesuits and Priests in Orders to depart the Kingdom [Jan. 22d.] in which he was very careful to let the World know, that he did not banish them out of hatred to the Catholick Religion; but only for maintaining the Pope's temporal power over Princes. The other was against the Puritans, in which there was no Indulgence for tender Consciences, but all must conform, or suffer the extremities of the Law.

Proclamations against  
Jesuits and  
Puritans.  
Rapin, p.  
250.

The King opened his first Session of Parliament with a long Speech, in which there are many strokes of tyranny and arbitrary power: "His Majesty acknowledges the "Roman Church to be his Mother-church, though defiled "with some infirmities and corruptions. That his mind "was ever free from persecution for matters of conscience, as he hopes those of that Religion have proved since "his first coming. He pities the Laity among them, and "would indulge their Clergy if they would but renounce "the Pope's Supremacy, and his pretended power to dispense with the murder of Kings. He wishes that he "might be a means of uniting the two Religions, for if "they would but abandon their late corruptions, he would "meet them in the mid-way, as having a great veneration

King's  
Speech to  
his Parliament.  
Rapin, p.  
261.

King  
James I.  
1604.

“ for antiquity in the points of ecclesiastical policy. But  
“ then as to the Puritans or Novelists, who do not differ  
“ from us so much in points of Religion, as in their con-  
“ fused form of policy and purity ; those (says he) are dis-  
“ contented with the present Church Government ; they  
“ are impatient to suffer any superiority, which makes  
“ their sect insufferable in any well govern’d Common-  
“ wealth.”

Remarks.  
Rapin, p.  
275.

The Bishops and their adherents were pleased with this Speech, because the King seemed resolved not to suffer the Puritans at any rate ; the Catholicks did not like his Majesty’s distinction between the Laicks and Clericks ; but the Puritans had most reason to be dissatisfied, to see so much charity for Papists, and so little for themselves. All the Protestants in general heard with concern the King’s offer to meet the Papists half-way. What does he mean ? say they ; is there no difference between popery and protestantism, but the Pope’s authority over Princes ? are all other Doctrines to be given up ? are the Religions the same ? and, is this the only point upon which we separated from the Church of Rome ? thus unhappily did this pretended protestant King set out, with laying the foundation of Discontent among all ranks of people.

His arbitra-  
ry Govern-  
ment.

His Majesty made frequent mention in his Speech, of his hereditary Right to the Crown, and of his lineal descent. That he was accountable to none but God ; and, that the only difference between a rightful King and a Tyrant is, that the “ one is ordained for preserving the prosperity of  
“ his people, the other thinks his Kingdom and People are  
“ ordained to satisfy his unreasonable Appetites.” Further, his Majesty altered the Writs for electing Members, and took upon him to describe, what sort of representatives should be elected, not by way of exhortation but of command, and as conditions without which they should not be admitted into the House, the determination of which was to be in Chancery. He threaten’d to fine and disfranchise those corporations that did not choose to his mind ; and to fine and imprison their Representatives if they presumed to sit in the House. When the Parliament met he interrupted their examinations of Elections, and commanded the return of Sir Francis Goodwin, whose Election they had set aside, to be brought before him and his Judges. Most of those who approached the King’s person laboured to inspire him with the design of making himself absolute ; or rather, to confirm

Rapin, p.  
282.  
Coke, p. 51.

confirm him in that resolution. The Bishops were among this number; and from this time there has appeared among the Clergy a party of Men that have carried the obedience of the Subject, and the authority of the Sovereign, as high as in the most arbitrary Monarchies.

King  
James I.  
1604.

But though the Court and Bishops were so well agreed, the Parliament pass'd some Acts which gave them uneasiness; as the revival of the Statute of Edward the VI. which enacts, that all processess, citations, judgments, &c. in any ecclesiastical Courts, shall be issued in the King's name, and under the King's Seal of Arms. The Bishops were said to be asleep when they suffered this Clause to pass; but the Laudæan Clergy broke through it afterwards, as they did through every thing else that stood in the way of their Sovereignty. It was farther enacted, that all leases or grants of Church Lands to the King, or his Heirs, &c. for more than twenty one years for the future should be made void; which put an effectual stop to the alienation of the Churches Revenues. The marriages of the Clergy were also legitimated, by reviving the Statute of King Edward VI. for that purpose.

Proceedings  
of Parlia-  
ment.

Heyl. Aer.  
Red. p. 375.

The Convocation that sat with the Parliament was very active against the Puritans. The See of Canterbury being vacant, Bancroft Bishop of London presided, and produced the King's license to make Canons. May the 2d, he delivered a Book of Canons of his own preparing to the Lower House for their approbation. About the same time Mr. Egerton, Fleetwood, Wotton, Clark, and other Puritan Divines, presented a Petition for Reformation of the Book of Common-Prayer; but instead of receiving it, they were admonished to be obedient and conform, together with their adherents before Midsummer-day, or else they should undergo the censures of the Church. In the mean time the Canons were revising. May 23d, there was a debate in the Upper House upon the Cross in Baptism, when Bancroft and some others spoke vehemently for it; but Dr. Rudd, Bishop of St. David's stood up, and made the following Speech for charity and moderation.

Proceedings  
of Convoca-  
tion.

Strype's  
Annals, Vol.  
IV. p. 396.

—“ For my own part, I acknowledge the antiquity of  
“ the use of the Cross, as mentioned in Tertullian, and af-  
“ ter him in St. Cyprian, St. Chrysostom, Austin and  
“ others. I also confess the original of the ceremony to  
“ have sprung by occasion of the Pagans, who reproached  
“ the ancient Christians for believing in Christ crucified;

Bp. Rudd's  
Speech in  
Convocation  
about the  
Cross in  
Baptism.

Peirce, p.  
158, 159.



King  
James I.  
1604.

“ and that in Popery it has been superstitiously abused ;  
“ and I affirm, that it is in the Church of England now  
“ admitted and entertained by us, and restored to its ancient integrity, all superstition abandoned.

“ Likewise I wish, that if the King’s Highness shall persist in imposing it, all would submit to it (as we do) rather than forego the Ministry in that behalf. But I greatly fear, by the report that I hear, that very many learned Preachers, whose consciences are not in our custody, nor to be disposed of at our devotion, will not easily be drawn thereunto ; of which number, if any shall come in my walk, I desire to be furnished before hand, by those that be present, with sufficient reasons to satisfy them (if it be possible) concerning some points which have been now delivered.

First, “ Whereas sundry passages of Scripture have been alledged for the Crofs ; as, “ God forbid that I should rejoice save in the Crofs of Christ ;” and divers others of the like sense ; if any of the adverse opinion fall into my company, and say, that these scriptures are figurative, implying the death and passion of our Saviour Christ ; and that to draw an argument from them to justify the sign of the Crofs in the Forehead, is an insufficient kind of reasoning, and a fallacy ; what answer shall I make unto them ?

Secondly, “ Whereas I have observed upon present relation, that the impugnors of this ceremony were heard at large in the conference at Hampton Court, and having objected the example of Hezekiah, who broke in pieces the brazen Serpent, after it had been abused to idolatry, and therefore the sign of the Crofs (which was not brought into the Church by God’s expresse command, as the brazen Serpent was, but was from the beginning a mere invention of Men) ought now to be taken away by reason of the superstitious abuse which is sustained in popery ; they received answer, that King Hezekiah might have preserved it, abandoning the abuse of it, if it had pleased him, and consequently it is in the King’s Majesty’s power to abolish this ceremony, having been abused, or to retain it in manner aforesaid. Hereunto I say, that I was one of the conference, yet I was not at that part of the conference, where those that stood for Reformation had access to the King’s Majesty’s presence, and liberty to speak for themselves ; for that I, and some other of my Brethren the  
“ Bishops,

King  
James I.  
1604.

“ Bishops, were secluded from that Day’s Assembly ; but  
“ I suppose it to be true, as it has been formerly reported,  
“ and I for my own particular admit the consequence put  
“ down above. Now, because I wish all others abroad as  
“ well satisfied herein as ourselves that be here present, if  
“ any of the contrary opinion shall come to me, and say,  
“ that the aforesaid answer does not satisfy them, because  
“ they think there is to be as great reason now, to move  
“ them to become petitioners to his Majesty for abolishing  
“ the Cross in Baptism, as there was to move the godly  
“ Zealous in Hezekiah’s time to be petitioners for defacing  
“ the Brazen Serpent, because the Church-going Papists  
“ now among us, do superstitiously abuse the one, as the  
“ Israelites did the other ; what sound answer shall I make  
“ to them for their better satisfaction ?

Thirdly, “ Whereas it has been this day alledged, that  
“ ’tis convenient and necessary to preserve the memory  
“ of the Cross of Christ by this means ; if haply any of the  
“ other side shall come to me, and say, that the memory  
“ of the Cross of Christ might be sufficiently, and more  
“ safely preserved by preaching the Doctrine of the Gospel,  
“ the sum whereof is Christ crucified ; which was so lively  
“ preached to the Galatians, as if his bodily image had  
“ been crucified among them ; and yet we know not of any  
“ material or signal Cross that was in use in the Church  
“ at that time ; I desire to know what satisfaction or an-  
“ swer must be given to them ?

“ Moreover, I protest that all my speeches now are ut-  
“ tered by way of Proposition, not by way of Opposition,  
“ and that they all tend to work pacification in the Church ;  
“ for I put great difference between what is lawful and  
“ what is expedient, and between them that are schis-  
“ matical, and them that are scrupulous only upon some  
“ Ceremonies, being otherwise learned, studious, grave and  
“ honest men.

“ Concerning these last, I suppose, if upon the urging them  
“ to absolute subscription, they should be stiff, and choose  
“ rather to forego their livings and the exercise of their  
“ ministry, though I do not justify their doing herein, yet  
“ surely their service will be missed at such a time, as  
“ need shall require us and them to give the right hand of  
“ fellowship one to another, and to go arm in arm against  
“ the common adversary. —

“ Likewise consider who must be the executioners of  
“ their deprivation ? even we our selves the Bishops, against  
whom

King  
James I.  
1604.

“ whom there will be a great clamour of them and their dependents, and many others who are well affected towards them, whereby our persons will be in hazard to be brought into extreme dislike or hatred.

“ Also remember, that when the Benjamites were all destroyed, saving six hundred, and the men of Israel sware in their fury that none of them would give his daughter to the Benjamites to wife, though they suffered for their just deserts, yet their brethren afterwards lamented and said, There is one Tribe cut off from Israel this day, and they used all their wits, to the uttermost of their policy, to restore that Tribe again.

“ In like sort, if these our brethren aforesaid shall be deprived of their places for the matter premised, I think we should find cause to bend our wits to the utmost extent of our skill, to provide some cure of souls for them, that they may exercise their Talents.

“ Furthermore, if these men, being divers hundreds, should forsake their charges, who, I pray you, should succeed them? Verily, I know not where to find so many able Preachers in this Realm unprovided for; but suppose there were, yet they might more conveniently be settled in the seats of unpreaching Ministers. But if they are put in the places of these men that are dispossessed, thereupon it will follow, 1. That the number of preaching Ministers will not be multiplied. 2. The Church cannot be so well furnished on a sudden; for though the new supply may be of learned men from the Universities, yet will they not be such ready preachers for a time, nor so experienced in pastoral government, nor so well acquainted with the manners of the people, nor so discreet in their carriage, as those who have already spent many years in their ministerial charge.

“ Besides, forasmuch as in the time of the late Archbishop of Canterbury these things were not so extremely urged, but that many learned Preachers enjoyed their liberty conditionally, that they did not by word or deed openly disturb the State established, I would know a reason why they should now be so generally and exceeding straitly called upon, especially since there is a greater encrease of Papists lately than heretofore.

“ To conclude, I wish, that if by petition to the King's Majesty there cannot be obtained a quite remove of the premises, nor yet a toleration for them, that are of more  
“ stand



“staid and temperate carriage, yet at least there might be  
“procured a mitigation of the penalty.”

King  
James I.  
1604.

The Bishops of London, Winchester, Ely and Lincoln, answered the Bishop of St. David's Speech; but when his Lordship would have replied, he was forbid by the President and submitted; affirming, that as nothing was more dear to him than the peace of the Church, he was determined to use the best means he could to draw others to Unity and Conformity with himself, and the rest of the reverend company. And thus the debate ended.

The book of Canons found an easy passage through both Houses of Convocation, and was afterwards ratified by the King's Letters Patents under his Great Seal; it contained one hundred forty one Articles, collected out of the Injunctions, and other episcopal and synodical Acts of the reigns of King Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth, and are the same that are now in force, except such as are set aside by the late Act of Indulgence to Protestant Dissenters. By these we may see the spirit of the Church at this time, and how freely she dispensed her Anathema's against those that attempted a further Reformation. The Canons that relate to the Puritans deserve a particular notice.

“Canon III. says, That whosoever shall affirm, that  
“the Church of England by Law established is not a  
“true and Apostolical Church, let him be excommu-  
“nicated ipso facto, and not restored but only by the  
“Archbishop, after his repentance and publick revocation  
“of his wicked Error.

Abstract of  
the book of  
Canons.

“Canon IV. Whosoever shall affirm the form of  
“God's Worship in the Church of England established  
“by Law, and contained in the book of Common-prayer,  
“and administration of Sacraments, is a corrupt, super-  
“stitious, and unlawful worship, or contains any thing  
“repugnant to Scripture, let him be excommunicated  
“ipso facto, and not be restored, &c.

“Canon V. Whosoever shall affirm, that any of the  
“Thirty-nine Articles of the Church, agreed upon in the  
“year 1562. “for avoiding diversity of Opinions, and for  
“establishing Consent touching true Religion,” are in any  
“sort superstitious or erroneous, or such as he may not  
“with a good conscience subscribe to, let him be excom-  
“municated ipso facto, and not restored, &c.

“Canon

King  
James I.  
1604.

“ Canon VI. Whosoever shall affirm, that the Rites  
“ and Ceremonies of the Church of England by law esta-  
“ blished, are wicked, anti-christian, superstitious, or such  
“ as being commanded by lawful authority, good men may  
“ not with a good conscience approve, use, or, as occasion  
“ requires, subscribe, let him be excommunicated ipso  
“ facto, and not restored, &c.

“ Canon VII. Whosoever shall affirm, the government  
“ of the Church of England by Archbishops, Bishops,  
“ Deans and Archdeacons, and the rest that bear office in  
“ the same, is antichristian, or repugnant to the Word of  
“ God, let him be excommunicated Ipso facto, and not  
“ restored, &c.

“ Canon VIII. Whosoever shall affirm, that the form  
“ and manner of making and consecrating Bishops, Priests,  
“ or Deacons, contains any thing repugnant to the Word  
“ of God; or that persons so made and consecrated are not  
“ lawfully made, or need any other calling or ordination to  
“ their divine offices, let him be excommunicated ipso  
“ facto, and not restored, &c.

“ Canon IX. Whosoever shall separate from the Com-  
“ munion of the Church of England, as it is approved by  
“ the Apostles rules, and combine together in a new Bro-  
“ therhood, accounting those who conform to the Doc-  
“ trines, Rites and Ceremonies of the Church unmeet for  
“ their Communion, let them be excommunicated ipso  
“ facto, and not restored, &c.

“ Canon X. Whosoever shall affirm, that such Ministers  
“ as refuse to subscribe to the form and manner of God’s  
“ worship in the Church of England, and their adherents,  
“ may truly take to themselves the name of another Church  
“ not established by law, and shall publish, that their intended  
“ Church has groaned under the burden of certain grie-  
“ vances, imposed on them by the Church of England, let  
“ them be excommunicated ipso facto, and not restored, &c.

“ Canon XI. Whosoever shall affirm, that there are with-  
“ in this Realm, other Meetings, Assemblies or Congrega-  
“ tions of the King’s born Subjects, than such as are esta-  
“ blished by law, which may rightly challenge to them-  
“ selves the name of true and lawful Churches, let him be  
“ excommunicated ipso facto, and not restored, &c.

“ Canon XII. Whosoever shall affirm, that it is lawful  
“ for any sort of Ministers or Lay-persons to make Rules,  
“ Orders and Constitutions, in Causes ecclesiastical, without  
“ the King’s Authority, and shall submit to be ruled and  
“ governed

“ governed by them, let him be excommunicated ipso facto,  
“ and not restored, &c.

King  
James I.  
1604.

“ Canon XCVIII. We decree and appoint, that after  
“ any Judge ecclesiastical, hath proceeded judicially against  
“ obstinate and factious persons, for not observing the Rites  
“ and Ceremonies of the Church, or for contempt of pub-  
“ lick Prayer, no Judge ad quem shall admit or allow of  
“ an Appeal, unless he having first seen the Original  
“ Appeal, the party Appellant do first personally promise  
“ and vow, that he will faithfully keep and observe all the  
“ Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of England, as also  
“ the prescript form of Common-prayer ; and do likewise  
“ subscribe the three Articles formerly by us specified and  
“ declared.”

They that are acquainted with the terrible consequences of Remarks.  
an Excommunication in the spiritual Courts, must be sensible  
of the new hardships put upon the Puritans by these Canons ;  
Suspensions and Deprivations from their Livings, were not  
now thought sufficient punishments for the sin of Non-con-  
formity ; but the Puritans, both Clergy and Laity, must  
be turned out of the Congregation of the Faithful ; they  
must be made incapable of suing for their lawful debts ;  
they must be imprisoned for life by a Capias, unless they  
make satisfaction to the Church ; when they die they must  
not have Christian Burial ; but as much as lies in the power  
of the Court be excluded the Kingdom of Heaven. O un-  
charitableness ! Papists excommunicate Protestants, because  
by renouncing the Catholick Faith they apprehend them  
guilty of Heresy ; but for Protestants of the same Faith to  
excommunicate their fellow-christians and subjects, and de-  
prive them of their Liberties, Properties, and Estates, for a  
few indifferent Ceremonies ; or, because they have not the  
same veneration for the ecclesiastical Constitution with them-  
selves, is hardly to be parallel'd.

To take notice of a few more of the Canons ; Canon Remainder  
of the Ca-  
nons.  
XIV. forbids the Minister to add to, or leave out any part  
of the Prayers. Canon XVIII. enjoins bowing at the name  
of Jesus. Canon XVII, XXIV, XXV, LVIII, LXXIV,  
enjoins the wearing the Habits in Colleges, Cathedrals, &c.  
as Copes, Surplices, Hoods. Canon XXVII. forbids giving  
the Sacrament to Schismatics, or to any but such as kneel,  
and allow of the Rites, Ceremonies and Orders of the  
Church. Canon XXVIII. says, that none shall be admitted  
to



King  
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to the Sacrament but in their own Parish. Canon XXIX. That no Parent shall be urged to be present, nor be admitted to answer as a God-father for his own child in Baptism. Canon XXX. declares the sign of the Cross to be no part of the substance of the Sacrament of Baptism, but that the ordinance is perfect without it. Canon XXXIII. prohibits Ordination without a Presentation, and says, that if any Bishop ordain without a title, he shall maintain the person till he be provided with a living. Canon XXXVI, and XXXVII. say, that no person shall be ordained, or suffered to preach, or catechize in any place as a Lecturer, or otherwise, unless he first subscribe the three Articles following; “ 1. That the King’s Majesty is the supreme  
“ Head and Governor of this Realm, as well in all spiritual  
“ and ecclesiastical, as temporal Causes. 2. That the  
“ Book of Common-prayer, &c. contains nothing contra-  
“ ry to the word of God, and that he will use it and none  
“ other. 3. That he alloweth the Thirty nine Articles of  
“ 1562. to be all, and every one of them agreeable to the  
“ word of God.” To these he shall subscribe in the following form of Words.

**I**N. N. do willingly, and Ex Animo, subscribe to these three Articles abovementioned, and to all things that are contained in them.

Canon XXXVIII. says, that if any Minister, after subscription, shall disuse the Ceremonies, he shall first be suspended; then after a month excommunicated, and after another month deposed from his Ministry. Canon LV. contains the form of bidding Prayer before Sermon; “ Ye  
“ shall pray for Christ’s Holy Catholick Church, &c.” the original of which I have accounted for. Canon LXXXII. appoints, “ That convenient and decent Tables shall be  
“ provided in all Churches for the celebration of the holy  
“ Communion, and the same tables shall be covered in  
“ time of divine Service with a carpet of Silk, or other  
“ convenient stuff; and with a fair linen Cloth at the time of  
“ the Administration, as becometh that Table, and so  
“ stand, saving when the said holy Communion is to be  
“ administered; at which time the same shall be placed in  
“ so good sort within the Church or Chancel, as thereby  
“ the Minister may be more conveniently heard of the  
“ Communicants in his Prayer and Administration; and  
“ the

“ the Communicants also more conveniently, and in more numbers, may communicate with the said Minister ; and a convenient Seat shall be made for the Minister to read Service in.”

King  
James I.  
1604.

The other Canons relate to the particular duties of Ministers, Lecturers, Church-wardens, Parish Clerks ; to the jurisdiction and business of Ecclesiastical Courts, with their proper Officers, as Judges Ecclesiastical, Surrogates, Proctors, Registers, Apparitors, &c. The Book concludes with denouncing the Sentence of Excommunication, 1. Against such as shall affirm, that this Synod thus assembled is not the true Church of England by representation. 2. Against such as shall affirm, that persons not particularly assembled in this Synod, either Clergy or Laity, are not subject to the decrees thereof, as not having given their Voices to them. 3. Against such as shall affirm, this sacred Synod was a company of such persons as did conspire against godly and religious professors of the Gospel, and therefore that they and their proceedings ought to be despised and contemned, though ratified and confirmed by the Royal Supremacy and Authority.

The King in his Ratification of these Canons, commands them to be diligently observed and executed ; and for the better observation of the same, that every parish Minister shall read them over once every year in his Church on a Sunday or Holiday, before divine Service ; and all Archbishops, Bishops and others, that have ecclesiastical jurisdiction, are commanded to see all and every the same put in execution, and not spare to execute the penalties in them severally mentioned on those that wilfully break or neglect them. I shall leave the reader to make his own comment on the proceedings of this Synod, and only observe, that when they had finished their Decrees, they were prorogued to January, 1603. when Dr. Overall being Prolocutor, they gave the King four Subsidies, but did no more Church business till the time of their dissolution, in the year 1610.

Ratification  
of the Canons.

Dr. Bancroft, Bishop of London, being translated to the See of Canterbury, [December 1604.] was succeeded by Vaughan Bishop of Chester, a corpulent Man, and of little activity ; upon his advancement the Dutch and French Ministers within his Diocese, presented him with an address for his protection and favour, wherein they set forth, “ That their Churches were granted them by Charter “ from pious King Edward VI. in the year 1550 ; and that, “ though

Address of  
the French  
and Dutch  
Churches to  
the Bp. of  
London.  
Strype's An.  
Vol. ult. p.  
390.

King  
James I.  
1604.

“ though they were again dispersed by the Marian Persecution, they were restored to their Churches and Privileges by Queen Elizabeth, in the year 1558. from which time they have been in the uninterrupted possession of them. It appears from our Records (say they) how kind and friendly the pious Grindal was to us; and what pains the prudent Bishop Sandys took in composing our differences. We promise ourselves the like favour from your Lordship, &c.----for whom we shall always pray, &c.”----- Monsieur De la Fontain delivered the Address, with a short Latin Speech, to whom the Bishop replied, “ I thank you, most dear Brethren, for your kind Address; I am sensible of the Merits of John Alasco, Utenhovius, and Edmund Grindal Bishop of London, Superintendents of your Churches; and of the rest of my Predecessors in this bishoprick, who had reason to take your Churches, which are of the same faith with our own, under their patronage, which I also am ready to do. I have known your Churches twenty-five years to have been beneficial to the Kingdom, and serviceable to the Church of England, in which the Devil, the author of Discord, has kindled the fire of Dissention, into which I pray you not to pour oil, but to endeavour, by your Counsels and Prayers, to extinguish.” Thus the foreign Churches enjoyed full peace, while his Majesty’s own Subjects, of the same Faith and Discipline with them, were harrassed out of the Kingdom.

Strype’s Ar.  
Vol. ult. p.  
395.

Bancroft was a Divine of a rough temper, a perfect creature of the Prerogative, and a declared enemy of the religious and civil liberties of his Country. He was for advancing the Prerogative above Law, and for enlarging the jurisdiction of the Spiritual Courts, by advising his Majesty to take the whole Right of granting Prohibitions from the Courts of Westminster-Hall to himself: for this purpose he framed twenty-five Grievances of the Clergy, which he called Articuli Cleri, and presented them to the King for his approbation; but the Judges having declared them to be contrary to law, they were set aside.

Persecution  
of the Puritans  
revived.

His Grace revived the Persecution of the Puritans, by enforcing the strict observance of all the festivals of the Church; by reviving the use of Copes, Surplices, Caps, Hoods, &c. according to the first service Book of King Edward; by obliging the Clergy to subscribe over again to the three Articles of Whitgift, which by the late Canon

[No,



[No. XXXVI.] they were obliged to declare they did “willingly, and from the heart.” By these methods of severity above three hundred Puritan Ministers were silenced or deprived; some of whom were excommunicated and cast into prison, others were forced to leave their native Country and livelihood, and go into banishment, to preserve their Consciences. “I say (says Mr. Collier) to “preserve their Consciences, for ’tis a hard thing to bring “every body’s understanding to the common standard, and “to make all honest Men of the same mind.”

King  
James I.  
1604.

Altare  
Damasc.

Eccle. Hist.  
p. 687.

To countenance and support the Archbishop’s proceedings, the King summoned the twelve Judges into the Star Chamber, and demanded their Judgments upon three Questions; there were present the Bishops of Canterbury and London, and about twelve Lords of the Privy Council.

Opinion of  
the Star-  
Chamber a-  
bout depri-  
vations, pro-  
hibitions and  
petitions.

The Lord Chancellor opened the Assembly with a sharp Speech against the Puritans, as disturbers of the Peace, declaring that the King intended to suppress them, by having the Laws put in execution; and then demanded, in his Majesty’s name, the opinion of the Judges in three things:

Crooke’s re-  
ports, Term  
Mich 2d.  
Jacobi, Part  
2d. p. 37.  
Parag. 13.

Q. 1. “Whether the deprivation of Puritan Minis-  
ters by the High Commissioners, for refusing to conform  
to the Ceremonies appointed by the last Canons, was  
lawful?”

The Judges replied, “That they had conferred thereof  
before, and held it to be lawful, because the King had  
the supreme Ecclesiastical Power, which he has delega-  
ted to the Commissioners, whereby they have the pow-  
er of deprivation, by the Canon Law of the Realm,  
and the Statute first Eliz. which appoints Commis-  
sioners to be made by the Queen, but does not confer any  
New Power, but explain and declare the Ancient Pow-  
er; and therefore they held it clear, “That the King  
without Parliament might make Orders and Constituti-  
ons for the Government of the Clergy, and might de-  
prive them if they obeyed not; and so the Commissioners  
might deprive them;” but that the Commissioners could  
not make any new Constitutions without the King. And the  
divulging such Ordinances by Proclamation is a most gra-  
cious admonition. And soasmuch as they [the Puritans]  
have refused to obey, they are lawfully deprived by the  
Commissioners Ex Officio, without libel, Et ore tenus  
convocati.

Q. 2.

King  
James I.  
1604.

Q. 2. "Whether a Prohibition be grantable against the Commissioners upon the Statute of 2 Henry V. if they do not deliver the Copy of the Libel to the Party?"

The Judges replied, "That that Statute was intended where the Ecclesiastical Judge proceeds Ex Officio, & ore tenus.

Q. 3. "Whether it be an offence punishable, and what punishment they deserved, who framed petitions, and collected a multitude of hands thereto, to prefer to the King in a publick cause, as the Puritans had done, with an intimation to the King, that if he denied their suit many thousands of his Subjects would be discontented?"

The Judges replied, "That it was an offence fineable at discretion, and very near to treason and felony in the punishment, for it tended to the raising sedition, rebellion and discontent among the People." To which unaccountable Resolution all the Lords agreed.

Remarks.

By these determinations the whole Body of the Clergy are excluded the benefit of the Statute Law of the Land; for the King without Parliament may make what Constitutions he pleases: His Majesty's High Commissioners may proceed upon these "Constitutions Ex Officio," without the forms of common Law; and the Subject may not open his complaints to the King, nor petition for relief, without being fineable at pleasure, and coming within danger of treason or felony?

King James's  
protestation.

Before the breaking up of the Assembly some of the Lords declared, that the Puritans had raised a false rumour of the King, as intending to grant a toleration to Papists; which offence the Judges conceived to be heinously fineable by the rules of common Law, either in the King's Bench or by the King and his Council; or now, since the Statute of 3 Henry VII. in the Star Chamber. And the Lords severally declared, that the King was discontented with the said false rumour, and had made but the day before a protestation to them, "That he never intended it, and that he would spend the last drop of blood in his Body before he would do it; and prayed that before any of his Issue should maintain any other Religion than what he truly professed and maintained, that God would take them out of the world." The reader will remember this solemn protestation hereafter.

After these determinations the Archbishop resumed fresh courage, and pursued the Puritans without the least compassion.

passion. A more grievous persecution of the Orthodox Faith (says my Author) is not to be met with in any Prince's Reign. Dr. John Burges, Rector of Sutton Colefield, in one of his letters to King James, says, the number of Non-conformists in the Counties he mentions, were six or seven hundred, agreeable to the address of the Lincolnshire Ministers hereafter mentioned, viz.

King  
James I.  
1604.

Adridgment  
of Linc.

|    |                   |    |    |                  |    |   |
|----|-------------------|----|----|------------------|----|---|
| In | Oxfordshire       | 9  | In | Staffordshire    | 14 | Addr. p. 52.<br>Numbers of<br>Non-sub-<br>scribers. |
|    | Dorsetshire       | 17 |    | Hertfordshire    | 17 |   |
|    | Nottinghamshire   | 20 |    | Surrey           | 21 |   |
|    | Norfolk           | 28 |    | Wiltshire        | 31 |   |
|    | Buckinghamshire   | 33 |    | Suffex           | 47 |   |
|    | Leicestershire    | 57 |    | Cheeshire        | 12 |   |
|    | Bedfordshire      | 16 |    | Somersetshire    | 17 |   |
|    | Derbyshire        | 20 |    | Lancashire       | 21 |   |
|    | Kent              | 23 |    | London           | 30 |   |
|    | Lincolnshire      | 33 |    | Warwickshire     | 44 |   |
|    | Devon and Cornwal | 51 |    | Northamptonshire | 57 |   |
|    | Suffolk           | 71 |    | Essex            | 57 |   |

In the twenty four Counties abovementioned — 754

From whence 'tis reasonable to conclude, that in the fifty two Counties of England and Wales there were more than double the number.

The whole Clergy of London being summoned to Lambeth, in order to subscribe over again, many absconded, and such numbers refused, that the Church was in danger of being disfurnished, which awakened the Court, who had been told that the Non-conformists were but an inconsiderable body of Men. Upon this surprising appearance the Bishops were obliged to relax the rigor of the Canons for a time; and to accept of a Promise from some, to use the Cross and Surplice only; from others to use the Surplice only; and from others a verbal promise, that they might be used, not obliging themselves to the use of them at all; the design of which was to serve the Church by them at present, 'till the Universities could supply them with new Men; for they had a strict eye upon those Seminaries of learning, and would admit no young Scholar into Orders without an absolute and full subscription to all the Articles and Canons.

Bancroft in a Letter to his Brethren the Bishops, dated December 18th, 1604. gives the following directions, "As

Bancroft's  
Letter about  
pressing con-  
formity.  
Pierce, p.  
170.

" to



King  
James I.  
1604.

“ to such Ministers as are not already placed in the Church,  
“ the 36th and 37th Canons are to be observed ; and none  
“ are to be admitted to execute any Ecclesiastical Functi-  
“ on without subscription. Such as are already placed in  
“ the Church are of two sorts : 1. Some promise conform-  
“ ity, but are unwilling to subscribe again. Of these,  
“ forasmuch as the nearer affinity between conformity and  
“ subscription gives apparent hopes, that being Men of  
“ sincerity, they will in a short time frame themselves to a  
“ more constant course, and subscribe to that again, which  
“ by their practice they testify not to be repugnant to the  
“ Word of God ; your Lordship may (an Act remaining  
“ upon record of such their offer and promise) respite their  
“ subscription for some short time. 2. Others in their ob-  
“ stinacy will yield neither to subscription, nor promise of  
“ conformity ; these are either stipendary Curates, or sti-  
“ pendary Lecturers, or Men beneficed ; the two first are  
“ to be silenced, and the third deprived.” He adds, “ That  
“ the King’s Proclamation of July 16, 1604. admonishes  
“ them to conform to the Church, and obey the same,  
“ or else to dispose of themselves and their families some  
“ other way, as being Men unfit, for their obstinacy and  
“ contempt, to occupy such places ; and besides, they are  
“ within the compass of several Laws.”

Mr. Lad,  
Mr. Maun-  
sel, and Mr.  
Fuller’s suf-  
ferings.

The Puritans that separated from the Church, or inclin-  
ed that way, were treated with yet greater rigor. Mr.  
Mansel Minister of Yarmouth, and Mr. Lad a Merchant  
of that town, were imprisoned by the High Commission,  
for a supposed Conventicle, because that on the Lord’s-day  
after Sermon, they joined with Mr. Jackler their late Mi-  
nister, in repeating the heads of the Sermon preached that  
day in the Church. Mr. Lad was obliged to answer upon  
oath certain Articles, without being able to obtain a sight  
of them before hand ; and after he had answered before  
the Chancellor, was cited up to Lambeth to answer them  
again before the High Commissioners upon a new oath,  
which he refusing, without a sight of his former Answer,  
was thrown into prison, where he continued a long time,  
without being admitted to Bail. Mr. Maunsel the Minister  
was charged further, with signing a complaint to the Lower  
House of Parliament, and for refusing the oath Ex Officio ;  
for which he also was shut up in prison without bail. At  
length being brought to the bar upon a Writ of Habeas  
Corpus ; and having prevailed with Nic. Fuller, Esq ;

a Bench

a Bencher of Grays Inn, and a learned Man in his profession, to be their Counsel; he moved, that the prisoners ought to be discharged, because the High Commissioners were not impowered by law to imprison, or to administer the oath *Ex Officio*, or to fine any of his Majesty's Subjects. This was reckoned an unpardonable crime, and instead of serving his Clients, brought the indignation of the Commissioners upon himself. Bancroft told the King, that he was the champion of the Non-conformists, and ought therefore to be made an example, to terrify others from appearing for them; accordingly he was shut up in close prison, from whence neither the intercession of his friends, nor his own most humble petitions, could obtain his release to the day of his death.

King  
James I.  
1604.

This high abuse of Church Power obliged many learned Ministers and their Followers to leave the Kingdom, and retire to Amsterdam, Rotterdam, the Hague, Leyden, Utrecht, and other places of the Low Countries, where English Churches were erected after the Presbyterian model, and maintained by the States according to Treaty with Queen Elizabeth, as the French and Dutch Churches were in England. Besides, the English being yet in possession of the cautionary Towns, many went over as Chaplains to Regiments, which together with the Merchants that resided in the trading Cities, made a considerable body. The Reverend and learned Dr. William Ames, one of the most acute controversial Writers of his Age, settled with the English Church at the Hague; the learned Mr. Robert Parker a Wiltshire Divine, and Author of the Ecclesiastical Policy, being disturbed by the High Commission, retired to Amsterdam, and afterwards became Chaplain to the English Regiment at Doesburgh, where he died. The learned Mr. Forbes, a Scots Divine, settled with the English Church at Rotterdam; as Mr. Pots, Mr. Paget, and others, did at Amsterdam and other places.

Puritans retire to Holland.

But the greatest number of those that left their native Country for Religion were Brownists, or rigid Separatists, of whom Mr. Johnson, Ainsworth, Smith and Robinson, were the Leaders. Mr. Johnson erected a Church at Amsterdam, after the model of the Brownists, having the learned Mr. Ainsworth for Doctor or Teacher. These two published to the World a Confession of Faith of the People called Brownists, in the year 1602, not much different in Doctrine from the harmony of Confessions; but being Men of warm Spirits, they fell to pieces about some points of Discipline; worth.

History of the Brownists professed.

Of Mr. Johnson and Ainsworth.

King  
James I.  
1604.

cipline ; Johnson excommunicated his own Father and Brother for trifling matters, after having rejected the mediation of the Presbytery of Amsterdam. This divided the Congregation, insomuch that Mr. Ainsworth and half the Congregation excommunicated Johnson, who after some time returned the same compliment to Ainsworth. At length the contest grew so hot, that Amsterdam could not hold them ; Johnson and his Followers removing to Embden, where soon after he died, and his Congregation dissolved. Nor did Mr. Ainsworth and his Followers live long in peace, for soon after he left them and retired to Ireland, where he continued some time, but when the spirits of his People were quieted he returned to Amsterdam, and continued with them to his death. This Mr. Ainsworth was Author of an excellent little Treatise, entitled, “ an Arrow against Idolatry,” and of a most learned Commentary on the five Books of Moses, by which he appears to have been a most complete Master of the Oriental Languages and of Jewish Antiquities. His death was sudden, and not without suspicion of Violence ; for it is reported, that having found a Diamond of very great value in the Streets of Amsterdam ; he advertised it in print, and when the Owner, who was a Jew, came to demand it, he offered him any acknowledgment he would desire ; but Ainsworth, though poor, would accept of nothing but a conference with some of his Rabbies upon the Prophecies of the Old Testament relating to the Messias, which the other promised ; but not having interest enough to obtain it, 'tis thought he was poison'd. His Congregation remained without a Pastor for some years after his death, and then chose Mr. Canne, Author of the Marginal References to the Bible, and sundry other Treatises.

Of Mr.  
Smith the  
Brownist.

Mr. Smith was a learned Man, and of good Abilities, but of an unsettled Head, as appears by the Preface to one of his Books, in which he desires that his last Writings may always be taken for his present Judgment. He was for refining upon the Brownists Scheme, and at last declared for the Principles of the Baptists ; upon this he left Amsterdam, and settled with his Disciples at Ley ; where, being at a loss for a proper Administrator of the Ordinance of Baptism he plunged himself, and then performed the Ceremony upon others, which gained him the name of a Se-baptist. He afterwards embraced the Tenets of Arminius, and published certain conclusions upon those points in the year 1611, which Mr. Robinson answer'd ; but Smith died soon after, and his Congregation dissolved.

Mr.



Mr. John Robinson was a Norfolk Divine, beneficed about Yarmouth, but being often molested by the Bishop's Officers, and his Friends almost ruined in the Ecclesiastical Courts, he removed to Leyden, and erected a Congregation upon the model of the Brownists. He set out upon the most rigid Principles, but by conversing with Dr. Ames, and other learned Men, he became more moderate; and though he always maintained the lawfulness and necessity of separating from those reformed Churches among whom he lived, he did not deny them to be true Churches, but admitted their Members to occasional Communion, and his own to join with the Dutch Churches in Prayer and hearing the word, but not in the Sacraments and Discipline, which gained him the Character of a Semi-separatist; his Words are these, "Profitemur coram Deo & hominibus adeo nobis convenire cum Ecclesiis reformatis Belgicis in re Religionis ut omnibus & singulis earundum Ecclesiarum fidei Articulis, prout habentur in harmonia Confessionum fidei, parati sumus subscribere.——Ecclesias reformatas pro veris & genuinis habemus, cum iisdem in sacris Dei communionem profitemur, & quantum in nobis est, colimus. Conciones publicas ab illarum Pastoribus habitas, ex nostris qui norunt linguam Belgicam frequentant: Sacram Cœnam earum Membris, si qua forte nostris cœtibus intersint nobis cognita, participamus." i. e. "We profess before God and Men, that we agree so entirely with the reformed Dutch Churches in Matters of Religion; that we are willing to subscribe all and every one of their Articles, as they are set down in the Harmony of Confessions.——We acknowledge these reformed Churches for true and genuine; we hold Communion with them as far as we can; those among us that understand the Dutch Language frequent their Sermons; and we administer the Lord's Supper to such of their Members as are known to us, and desire it occasionally." This Mr. Robinson was the Father of the Independants.

King  
James I.  
1604.

Of Mr. Robinson, the first Independent.  
Bayle's Dictionnaire, p. 17.

Rob. Apol. for the Brownists, p. 7, 11, 35.

Mr. Henry Jacob was born in Kent, and educated in St. Mary Hall, where he took the Degrees in Arts, enter'd into Holy Orders, and became Precentor of Christ Church College, and afterwards beneficed in his own Country at Cheriton. He was a person most excellently read in Theological Authors, but withal a most zealous Puritan. He writ two Treatises against Fr. Johnson the Brownist, in defence of the Church of England's being a true Church,

Of Mr. Henry Jacob, L. of Whit. p. 566.

King  
James I.  
1604.

Ath. Ox.  
Vol. I. p.  
464.

printed at Middleburgh, 1599, and afterwards published  
“ Reasons taken out of God’s Word, and the best human  
“ Testimonies, proving a necessity of reforming our  
“ Churches of England, &c. 1604,” but going to Leyden,  
and conversing with Mr. Robinson, he embraced his senti-  
ments of Discipline and Government, and transplanted it  
into England in the Year 1616, as will be seen in its pro-  
per place.

Lawfulness  
of Separation  
from  
the Ch. of  
Eng. argued.

This difference among the Puritans engaged them in a  
warm controversy among themselves about the “ Lawful-  
“ nefs and Necessity of separating from the Church of  
“ England,” while the conforming Clergy stood by as  
Spectators of the Combat. Most of the Puritans were  
for keeping within the pale of the Church, apprehending  
it to be a true Church in its Doctrines and Sacraments,  
though defective in Discipline, and corrupt in Ceremonies,  
but being a true Church they thought it not lawful to sepa-  
rate, though they could hardly continue in it with a good  
conscience. They submitted to Suspensions and Deprivati-  
ons ; and when they were turned out of one Diocese they  
took Sanctuary in another, but were afraid of incurring the  
danger of Schism by setting up separate Communion. The  
Brownists maintained, that the Church of England, in its  
present constitution, was no true Church of Christ, but a  
Limb of Antichrist, or at best but a mere creature of the  
State ; that their Ministers were not rightly called and or-  
dained, nor the Sacraments duly administer’d ; but suppo-  
sing it to be a true Church, it was owned by their adver-  
saries [the conforming Puritans] to be a very corrupt one ;  
and therefore it must be as lawful to separate from the  
Church of England, as for the Church of England to sepa-  
rate from Rome. The Puritans evaded this consequence,  
by denying the Church of Rome to be a true Church ;  
nay, they affirmed it to be the very Antichrist ; but the  
Argument remained in full Force against the Bishops, and  
that part of the Clergy that acknowledged the Church of  
Rome to be a true Church.

Remarks.

’Tis certainly as lawful to separate from the corruptions o  
one Church as of another ; and ’tis necessary to do so’  
when those corruptions are imposed as terms of Communi-  
on. Let us hear Archbishop Laud, in his Conference with  
the Jesuit Fisher. “ Another Church (says his Grace) may  
“ separate from Rome, if Rome will separate from Christ,  
“ and so far as it separates from him, and the Faith, so far  
“ may another Church separate from it.—— I grant the  
“ Church

Archbishop  
Laud’s Sen-  
timents of  
Separation  
p. 140.

“ Church of Rome to be a true Church in Essence, though  
 “ corrupt in manners and doctrine.—And corruption of  
 “ manners attended with errors in the doctrines of Faith,  
 “ is a just cause for one particular Church to separate from  
 “ another”—— His Grace then adds, with regard to the  
 Church of Rome ; “ The cause of the separation is yours,  
 “ for you thrust us from you because we called for truth  
 “ and redress of Abuses ; for a Schism must needs be  
 “ theirs whose the cause of it is ; the woe runs full out of  
 “ the Mouth of Christ even against him that gives the  
 “ offence, not against him that takes it.—It was ill  
 “ done of those, whoe’er they were, who first made the  
 “ separation [from Rome] ; I mean not actual but causal,  
 “ for as I said before, the schism is theirs whose the cause  
 “ of it is : and he makes the separation who gives the first  
 “ just cause of it, not he that makes an actual separation  
 “ upon a just cause preceding.” Let the Reader carefully  
 consider these concessions, and then judge how far they will  
 justify the separation of the Brownists, or the Protestant  
 Non-conformists at this day.

King  
James I.  
1604.

p. 128.

p. 148.

p. 133.

p. 142, 143.

This year was famous for the discovery of the Gun-  
 powder-plot, which was a contrivance of the Papists to  
 blow up the King and the whole Royal Family, with the  
 chief of the Protestant Nobility and Gentry, November 5th,  
 the first day of their assembling in Parliament ; for this  
 purpose a Cellar was hired under the House of Lords, and  
 stored with thirty six barrels of Gun-power, covered over  
 with Coals and Faggots. But the plot was discovered the  
 Night before, by means of a Letter sent to the Lord Mont-  
 eagle, advising him to absent from the House, because  
 “ they were to receive a terrible Blow, and not to know  
 “ who hurt them.” Monteaule carrying the Letter to the  
 Court, the King ordered the apartments about the Parlia-  
 ment-House to be searched ; the Powder was found under  
 the House of Lords, and Guy Vaux with a dark Lan-  
 thorn in the Cellar, waiting to set Fire to the Train when  
 the King should come to the House next Morning. Vaux  
 being apprehended confessed the Plot, and discovered several  
 of his Accomplices, eight of whom were tried and ex-  
 ecuted, and among them Garnet, Provincial of the Eng-  
 lish Jesuits, whom the Pope afterwards canonized.

1605.  
The Gun-  
powder-plot.

The Discovery of this murderous Conspiracy was ascri-  
 bed to the King’s Penetration ; but Mr. Osborne and  
 others, with great probability say, that the first Notice of  
 it came from Henry IV. King of France, who heard it from

Rapin, p.  
297.  
Osborne, p.  
438.



King  
James I.  
1605.

Hist. Presb.  
p. 378.

To be fa-  
thered on the  
Puritans.

the Jesuits; and, that the Letter to Monteagle was an artifice of Cecil's, who was acquainted beforehand with the proceedings of the Conspirators, and suffered them to go their full length. Even Heylin says, "That the King and his Council mined with them, and undermined them, and by so doing blew up their whole Invention." But 'tis agreed on all hands, that if the Plot had taken place it was to have been fathered upon the Puritans; and, as if the King was in the secret, his Majesty in his Speech to the Parliament, November 9th, takes particular care to bring them into it; for after he had cleared the Roman Catholick Religion from encouraging such murderous practices, he adds, "That the cruelty of the Puritans was worthy of Fire, that would not allow salvation to any Papists." So that if these unhappy people had been blown up, his Majesty thinks they would have had their deserts. Strange! that a Puritan should be so much worse than a Papist, or deserve to be burnt for uncharitableness, when his Majesty could not but know, that the Papists were more criminal in this respect, because they not only deny Salvation to the Puritans, but to all that are without the pale of their own Church. But what was all this to the Plot? except it was to turn away the indignation of the people from the Papists, whom the King both feared and loved, to the Puritans, who in a course of forty years sufferings had never moved the least sedition against the State.

Oath of Al-  
legiance.

The discovery of this Plot occasioned the drawing up the "Oath of Allegiance, or of Submission and Obedience to the King as a Temporal Sovereign, independent of any power upon Earth;" which quickly pass'd both Houses, and was appointed to be taken by all the King's Subjects; this oath is distinct from the oath of Supremacy, which obliges the Subject to acknowledge his Majesty "to be supreme Head of the Church as well as the State," and might therefore be taken by all such Roman Catholicks as did not believe "the Pope had power to depose Kings, and give away their Dominions." Accordingly Blackwell their superior, and most of the English Catholicks, took the oath, but the Pope absolutely forbid it on pain of Damnation; which occasioned a new Debate, concerning the extent of the Pope's power in Temporals, between the learned of both Religions. Cardinal Bellarmine, under the feigned name of Tortus, writ against the oath, which gave occasion to King James's Apology to all Christian Princes; in which, after clearing himself from the charge of persecu-  
ting

K. James's  
Apol. p. 253.

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ting the Papists, he reproaches his Holiness with ingratitude, “ considering the free liberty of Religion that he had granted “ the Papists, the honours he had conferr’d on them, the “ free access they had to his person at all times ; the general “ Gaol delivery of all Jesuits and Papists convict, and the “ strict orders he had given his Judges not to put the Laws “ in execution against them for the future.” All which was true, while the unhappy Puritans were imprisoned and fined, or forc’d to fly into Banishment. The Parliament, on occasion of this Plot, appointed an annual Thanksgiving on the 5th of November, and passed another Law, “ oblig- “ ing all persons to come to Church under the penalty of “ twelve pence every Sunday they were absent,” unless they gave such reasons as should be satisfactory to a Justice of Peace. This, like a two-edged Sword, cut down all Separatists, whether Protestants or Papists.

To return to the Puritans, the more moderate of whom being willing to steer a middle course, between a total separation and absolute conformity, were attacked by some of the Bishops with this Argument.

Puritans un-  
willing to  
separate  
from the  
Church.

“ All those that wilfully refuse to obey the King in “ things indifferent, and to conform themselves to the or- “ ders of the Church authorized by him, not contrary to “ the word of God, are Schismaticks, enemies to the “ King’s Supremacy, and the State, and not to be tolera- “ ted in Church or Common-wealth.

“ But you do so—

“ Therefore you are not to be tolerated in Church or “ Commonwealth.

The Puritans denied the charge, and returned this argu- ment upon their Accusers.

“ All those that freely and willingly perform to the King “ and State all obedience, not only in things necessary, but “ indifferent, “ commanded by Law,” and that have “ been always ready to conform themselves to every order “ of the Church authorized by him, “ not contrary to the “ word of God,” are free from all Schism, friends to the “ King’s Supremacy, and to the State, and unworthy in “ this manner to be molested in Church or Common- “ wealth.

“ But there is none of us that are deprived or suspended “ from our Ministry, but have been ever ready to do all “ this ; therefore we are free from Schism, friends to the “ King’s Supremacy, and most unworthy of such molesta- “ tion as we sustain.”

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Abridgment  
of the Linc.  
Min.  
Reasons for  
not sub-  
scribing

This being the point of Difference, the Puritans offered a publick Disputation upon the "Lawfulness of imposing Ceremonies in general; and in particular upon the Surplice, the Crofs in Baptism, and kneeling at the Communion;" but were refused. Upon which the Lincolnshire Ministers drew up an Apology for those Ministers who are troubled for refusing of Subscription and Conformity," and presented it to the King December 1st, 1604, the Abridgment of which is now before me, and begins with a Declaration of their Readiness to subscribe the first of the three Articles required by the 36th Canon, concerning the King's Supremacy; but to the other two (say they) we cannot subscribe, because we are persuaded, that both the Book of Common Prayer, and the other Book [of Articles] to be subscribed by this Canon (of which, yet in some respects, we reverently esteem) contain in them sundry things which are not "agreeable, but contrary to the word of God."

They object to the Book of Common-Prayer in general, "That it appoints that order for reading the holy Scriptures, which in many respects is contrary to the Word of God. As,

1. "The greatest part of the canonical Scripture is left out in the publick Reading; whereas all Scripture is given by inspiration, and is profitable, &c. and sundry Chapters that are, in their opinion, more edifying than some others that are read, are omitted.—

2. "It does too much honour to the Apocryphal Writings, commanding many of them to be read for first Lessons, and under the name of Holy Scripture, and in as great a proportion; for of the canonical chapters of the old Testament (being in all seven hundred seventy nine) are read only five hundred ninety two, and of the Apocryphal Books (being one hundred seventy two chapters) are read one hundred and four. This they apprehend to be contrary to the word of God, forasmuch as the Apocryphal Books contain sundry and manifest errors, divers of which are here produced.

3, 4, 5, 6, 7. "The Book of Common-Prayer appoints such a translation of the Holy Scriptures to be read in the Churches as in some places is absurd, and in others, takes from, perverts, obscures and falsifies the word of God; examples of which are produced, with the Authorities of the most considerable Reformers."

Their

Their Arguments  
against sub-  
scribing the  
Book of  
Common-  
Prayer.



Their next general objection against subscribing the Book of Common-Prayer is, "because it enjoins the Use of such Ceremonies as they apprehend contrary to the Word of God."

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To make good this assertion they say, "It is contrary to the Word of God to use (much less to command the Use of) such ceremonies in the worship of God, as man hath devised, if they be notoriously known to be abused to idolatry and superstition by the Papists, and are of no necessary use in the Church. Here they cite such passages of Scripture as command the Jews to abolish all Instruments of Idolatry; and even to cast away such things as had a good original, when once they are known to have been abused to idolatry; as Images, Groves, and the Brazen Serpent, 2 Kings xviii. 11. They produce further the testimonies of sundry Fathers, as Eusebius, St. Austin, &c. and of the most considerable moderns, as Calvin, Bucer, Musculus, Peter Martyr, Beza, Zanchy; Bishop Jewel, Pilkington, Bilson; Dr. Humphrys, Fulk, Andrews, Sutcliffe, and others, against Conformity with Idolaters."

With regard to the three ceremonies in question they say, they have all been abused by the papists to superstition and idolatry.

1. "The Surplice has been thus abused, for it's one of those Vestments without which nothing can be consecrated; all Priests that are present at Mass must wear it, and therefore the use of it in the Church has been condemned, not only by foreign Divines, but by Bishop Hooper, Farrar, Jewel, Pilkington, Rogers, and others among ourselves." Against the three Ceremonies. p. 28.

2. "The Cross has been also abused to superstition and Idolatry, to drive away devils, to expel diseases, to break the force of witchcraft, &c. It is one of the images to which the papists give religious adoration. The water in Baptism has no spiritual virtue in it without the Cross, nor is any one rightly baptized (according to the Papists) without it.

3. "Kneeling at the Sacrament has been no less abused; it arose from the notion of the Transubstantiation of the Elements, and is still used by the papists in the worship of their Breaden God; who admit they should be guilty of idolatry in kneeling before the elements, if they did not believe them to be the real Body and Blood of Christ. This ceremony was not introduced into the Church till  
"Antichrist

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“ Antichrist was at his full height ; and there is no one ac-  
“ tion in the whole service that looks so much like idolatry  
“ as this.”

P. 37.

Their second argument for the unlawfulness of the Cere-  
monies, is taken from their Mystical Signification, which  
gives them the nature of a Sacrament. Now, no Sacra-  
ment ought to be of Man’s devising ; the Ceremonies there-  
fore being affirmed in the Book of Common-Prayer to be  
significant are unlawful.

P. 37.

Their third argument is taken from the “ Unlawfulness  
“ of imposing them as parts of God’s Worship,” which  
they prove from hence, “ That God is the only appointer  
“ of his own Worship, and condemns all human inventi-  
“ ons, so far forth as they are made parts of it. Now all  
“ Ceremonies in question are thus imposed ; for Divine Ser-  
“ vice is supposed not to be rightly performed without the  
“ Surplice, nor Baptism rightly administer’d without the  
“ Cross, nor the Lord’s Supper but to such as kneel ; and  
“ therefore they are unlawful.

P. 45.

Their fourth is taken from hence, “ That no Rites or  
“ Ecclesiastical Orders should be ordained or used, but such  
“ as are needful and profitable, and for edification ; and  
“ especially, that none should be ordained or used that  
“ cause offence, and hinder edification,” Rom. xiv. 21.

I Cor. x. 23, 32. “ Now, the Ceremonies in question  
“ are neither needful nor profitable, nor do they tend to edi-  
“ fication ; but on the contrary, have given great offence,  
“ as appears from hence, that very many of the learned  
“ and best experienced Ministers in the land have chosen  
“ rather to suffer any trouble than yield to the use of them ;  
“ and we doubt not to affirm, That the greatest number of  
“ resident, able, and godly Ministers in the land at this  
“ day, do in their consciences dislike them, and judge them  
“ needless and unfit ; as appears by the list of the Non-sub-  
“ scribers, already mentioned, [p. 47.] besides many more,  
“ who, though unwilling in some other respects to join in  
“ petition, did profess their hearty desire to have them re-  
“ moved. And if the rest of the shires be esteemed ac-  
“ cording to this proportion, it will easily appear, that the  
“ greatest number of the resident, preaching, and fruitful  
“ Ministers of the land do dislike them. This may yet  
“ further appear, by their seldom using them for many  
“ years past, and their great unwillingness to yield to the  
“ use of them now. If they thought them needful or pro-  
“ fitable, why do they neglect them in their publick Mini-  
“ stry

P. 52.

“ ftry being commanded by lawful authority? Besides,  
 “ those very Bishops that have been most hot in urging the  
 “ Ceremonies have declared, that the Church might well  
 “ be without them, and have wished them taken away, as  
 “ Archbishop Whitgift, in his defence of the answer to  
 “ Cartwright’s Admonition, p. 259. Dr. Chadderton,  
 “ Bishop of Lincoln, in his speech before all the Ministers,  
 “ convened before him at Huntington, Nov. 30th 1604,  
 “ and others in Ecclesiastical Dignities have spoken vehe-  
 “ mently against them, as things that do not edify, nor have  
 “ any tendency to promote decency or order.

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1605.

Against the  
Surplice.

“ With regard to the Surplice, they produce the testi-  
 “ monies of the learned Bucer, Peter Martyr, Beza, Cran-  
 “ mer, Ridley, Hooper, and others, for the inexpediency  
 “ of it, even though they submitted to wear it. Bucer  
 “ says he could be content to suffer some grievous loss or  
 “ pain in his body, upon condition the Surplice might be a-  
 “ bolished.

“ The like authorities are brought against the Crofs, and  
 “ against Kneeling at the Communion, the former being a  
 “ mere invention of man, neither taught by Christ nor his  
 “ Apostles, and the latter being apparently different from the  
 “ first institution, they receiving it in a Table-posture; and  
 “ ’tis gross hypocrisy (say they) for us to pretend more holi-  
 “ ness, reverence and devotion, in receiving the Sacrament  
 “ than the Apostles, who received it from the immediate  
 “ hand and person of Christ himself. They (to be sure)  
 “ had the corporal presence of Christ and yet did not kneel;  
 “ why then should it be enjoined the Church, when the  
 “ corporal presence of Christ is withdrawn? This has been  
 “ thought an argument of great force by our chief Divines,  
 “ as Calvin, Bullinger, Beza, Chemnitius, Bishop Pilkington,  
 “ Willet, and others, who declare strongly for the  
 “ posture of sitting, or at most standing at the Commu-  
 “ nion.

p. 54.  
Crofs in  
Baptism and  
kneeling at  
the Sacra-  
ment.

“ Besides, Kneeling at the Sacrament is of veay late an-  
 “ tiquity, and was not introduced into the Church ’till An-  
 “ tichrist was in his full height; the primitive christians  
 “ (according to Tertullian) thought it unlawful to kneel at  
 “ prayer on the Lord’s Day; and the first Council of Nice,  
 “ Ann. Dom. 327, made a solemn decree, that none  
 “ might pray kneeling, but only standing on the Lord’s  
 “ Day, because on that day is celebrated the joyful remem-  
 “ brance of our Lord’s Returrection. To kneel is a ges-  
 “ ture



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P. 59.

Acts and  
Mon. p. 19.

Hist. Ecc  
Lib. VII.  
cap. 8.

“ ture of sorrow and humiliation ; whereas, he that prays  
“ standing shews himself thankful for the obtaining some  
“ mercy or favour. So that either the primitive Church  
“ used a gesture of greater reverence and humility at the  
“ Sacrament, which is a feast, and a joyful remembrance  
“ of the death of Christ, than they did at Prayer, or else  
“ they received it in another posture. Besides (it is said)  
“ that the antient councils commanded, that “ no man  
“ should kneel down at the Communion, fearing it should  
“ be an occasion of Idolatry.” Mr. Fox speaking of the  
“ use of the primitive Church says, They had the Com-  
“ munion not at an Altar, but at a plain Table of Boards,  
“ when the whole Congregation together did communi-  
“ cate, with reverence and thanksgiving ; not litting over  
“ the Priest’s head, nor worshiping, nor kneeling, nor  
“ knocking their breasts, but either sitting at supper, or  
“ standing after supper. Eusebius speaking of a man that  
“ had been admitted to the Communion, says he stood at  
“ the Table, and put forth his hand to receive the holy  
“ Food. And Bishop Jewel says, that in St. Basil’s days  
“ [Ann. 380.] the Communion Table was of Boards, and  
“ so placed, that men might stand round it, and that every  
“ man was bound by an apostolical Tradition to stand up-  
“ right at the Communion.

“ Besides, the Gesture of Kneeling is contrary to the  
“ very nature of the Lord’s supper, which is ordained to  
“ be a banquet and sign of that sweet familiarity that is be-  
“ tween the faithful and him, and of that spiritual nou-  
“ rishment we are to receive by feeding on his Body and  
“ Blood by faith ; and in what nation is it thought decent  
“ to kneel at Banquets ? Where no men eat and drink up-  
“ on their knees ? Further, the proper disposition of mind  
“ at the Lord’s Table is not so much Humility, as Assu-  
“ rance of Faith, and cheerful Thankfulness for the Bene-  
“ fit of Christ’s Death. For these reasons, and because kneel-  
“ ing at the Sacrament had an idolatrous original, and has  
“ a tendency to lead men into that Sin, they think it un-  
“ lawful, and to be laid aside.”

The abridgment concludes with a short table of sun-  
dry other exceptions against the three books whereunto they  
are required to subscribe, which they purpose to justify  
and confirm in the same manner as those they have done  
in this book ; a summary whereof we shall meet with here-  
after.

The

The abridgment was answered by Bishop Moreton and Dr. Burges, who after he had suffered himself to be deprived for Non-conformity, June 19, 1604, was persuaded by King James to conform, and write in defence of his conduct against his former arguments. Bishop Moreton endeavours to defend the innocency of the three ceremonies from Scripture, Antiquity, the testimony of Protestant Divines, and the practice of the Non-conformists themselves in other cases: and has said as much as can be said for them, though 'tis hard to defend the imposing them upon those who think them unlawful, or that apprehend things indifferent ought to be left in the state that Christ left them. Dr. Downham, Sparkes, Covell, Hutton, Rogers, and Ball, writ for the ceremonies; and were answered by Mr. Bradshaw, Mr. Paul Baynes, Dr. Ames and others.

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Answers to  
the Abridg-  
ment.

From the writings of these Divines it appears, that the Puritans were removing to a greater distance from the Church; for whereas [says Dr. Burges] Mr. Cartwright and his Brethren writ sharply against the ceremonies, as inconvenient; now they are opposed as absolutely unlawful, neither to be imposed nor used. The cruel severities of Bancroft and the high commissioners were the occasion of this, for being pushed upon one of these extremes, either to a constant and full conformity to those ceremonies with which their tender consciences were burdened, or to lay down their Ministry in the Church; many of them, at one of their conferences, came to this conclusion, That "if they could not enjoy their livings in the Church without subscribing over again the three articles abovementioned, and declaring at the same time, they did it Willingly, and from their Hearts, it was their duty to resign." These were called Brethren of the second Separation, who were content to join with the Church in her Doctrines and Sacraments, but apprehended it unlawful to declare their hearty approbation of the Ceremonies; and if their conduct was grounded upon the duty of Christians to bear their testimony against all unscriptural impositions in the worship of God, it must deserve the commendation of all impartial and disinterested Protestants. No men could go greater lengths for the sake of peace than they were willing to do; for in their defence of the Ministers reasons for refusal of subscription to the book of Common Prayer against the cavils of F. Hutton, B. D. Dr. Covell and Dr. Sparkes, published 1607. They begin thus, "We protest before the Almighty God, that we acknowledge the Churches of England

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“ England as they be established by publick authority, to  
“ be true visible Churches of Christ; that we desire the  
“ Continuance of our Ministry in them above all earthly  
“ things, as that without which our whole life would be  
“ wearisome and bitter to us; that we dislike not a set form  
“ of Prayer to be used in our Churches; nor do we write  
“ with an evil mind to deprave the Book of Common-  
“ Prayer, Ordination, or Book of Homilies; but to shew  
“ our reasons why we cannot subscribe to all things con-  
“ tained in them.”

These extreme proceeding of the Bishops strengthened the hands of the Brownists in Holland, who with great advantage writ against the lawfulness of holding communion with the Church of England at that time, not only because it was a corrupt Church, but a persecuting one. On the other hand, the younger Divines in the Church that preached for preferment, painted out the Separatists in the most frightful Colours, as Hereticks, Schismaticks, Fanaticks, Precisians, Enemies to God and the King, and of unstable minds. The very same language that the Papists used against the first Reformers!

Principles of the Puritans. To remove these reproaches, and to inform the world of the real Principles of the Puritans of these times, the Reverend Mr. Bradshaw published a small treatise, entitled, English Puritanism, “ containing the main opinions of the  
“ rigidest sort of those that went by that Name in the  
“ Realm of England,” which the learned Dr. Ames translated into Latin for the benefit of Foreigners. The Reader will learn by the following abstract of it, the true state of their case, as well as the near affinity between the Principles of the ancient and modern Non-conformists.

## CHAP. I.

### Concerning Religion in general.

English Puritanism printed, 1605.

- “ The Puritans hold and maintain the absolute perfection  
“ of the Holy Scriptures, both as to Faith and Worship;  
“ and, that whatsoever is enjoined as a part of Divine Ser-  
“ vice, that cannot be warranted by the said Scriptures, is  
“ unlawful.
2. “ That all inventions of men, especially such as have  
“ been abused to Idolatry, are to be excluded out of the  
“ Exercises of Religion.
  3. “ That all outward means instituted to express and  
“ set forth the inward Worship of God, are Parts of Di-  
“ vine



“ vine Worship, and ought therefore evidently to be pre-  
scribed by the Word of God.

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4. “ To institute and ordain any mystical Rites or Cere-  
monies of Religion, and to mingle the same with the Di-  
vine Rites and Ceremonies of God’s ordinance, is gross  
“ Superstition.”

## C H A P. II.

### Concerning the Church.

1. “ They hold and maintain, That every Congregation  
“ or assembly of men, ordinarily joining together in the  
“ true Worship of God, is a true visible Church of Christ.

2. “ That all such Churches are in all Ecclesiastical  
“ Matters equal, and by the Word of God ought to have  
“ the same Officers, Administrators, Order, and Forms  
“ of Worship.

3. “ That Christ has not subjected any Church or Con-  
gregation to any other superior Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction  
“ than to that which is within itself, so that if a whole  
“ Church or Congregation should err in any matters of  
“ Faith or Worship, no other Churches or Spiritual Offi-  
“ cers, have power to censure or punish them, but are only  
“ to counsel and advise them.

4. “ That every Church ought to have her own Spirit-  
tual Officers and Ministers resident with her ; and those  
“ such as are enjoined by Christ in the New Testament,  
“ and no other.

5. “ That every Church ought to have liberty to choose  
“ their own Spiritual Officers.

6. “ That if particular Churches err in this choice, none  
“ but the Civil Magistrate has power to controul them, and  
“ oblige them to make a better choice.

7. “ That Ecclesiastical Officers or Ministers in one  
“ Church ought not to bear any Ecclesiastical Office in  
“ another ; and they are not to forsake their callings with-  
“ out just cause, and such as may be approved by the Con-  
gregation ; but if the Congregation will not hearken to  
“ reason, they are then to appeal to the Civil Magistrate,  
“ who is bound to procure them justice.

8. “ That a Church having chosen its Spiritual Gover-  
nors, ought to live in all canonical obedience to them,  
“ agreeable to the Word of God ; and if any of them be  
“ suspended, or unjustly deprived, by other Ecclesiastical  
“ Officers, they are humbly to pray the Magistrate to re-  
“ store them ; and if they cannot obtain it, they are to own  
“ them

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“ them to be their Spiritual Guides to the death, though  
“ they are rigorously deprived of their Ministry and ser-  
“ vice.

9. “ That the laws and orders of the Churches war-  
“ ranted by the Word of God are not repugnant to Civil Go-  
“ vernment, whether Monarchical, Aristocratical, or De-  
“ mocratical ; and we renounce all jurisdiction that is re-  
“ pugnant or derogatory to any of these, especially to the  
“ Monarchy of this Kingdom.”

### C H A P. III.

#### Concerning the Ministers of the Word.

1. “ They hold, That the Pastors of particular Con-  
“ gregations are the highest Spiritual Officers in the Church,  
“ over whom there is no superior Pastor by Divine Appoint-  
“ ment but Jesus Christ.

2. “ That there are not by Divine Institution in the  
“ Word, any ordinary National, Provincial, or Diocesan  
“ Pastors, to whom the Pastors of particular Churches are  
“ to be subject.

3. “ That no Pastor ought to exercise, or accept of any  
“ Civil Jurisdiction or Authority, but ought to be wholly  
“ employed in Spiritual Offices and Duties to that Con-  
“ gregation over which he is set.

4. “ That the supreme Office of the Pastor is to preach  
“ the Word publickly to the Congregation ; and that the  
“ people of God ought not to acknowledge any for their  
“ Pastors that are not able by preaching to interpret and  
“ apply the Word of God to them ; and consequently all  
“ ignorant, and mere reading Priests, are to be rejected.

5. “ That in publick Worship the Pastor only is to be  
“ the mouth of the Congregation to God in prayer ; and  
“ that the people are only to testify their assent by the  
“ word Amen.

6. “ That the Church has no power to impose upon her  
“ Pastors or Officers, any other Ceremonies or Injunctions  
“ than what Christ has appointed.

7. “ That in every Church there should be a Doctor to  
“ instruct and catechize the ignorant in the main principles  
“ of Religion.”

### C H A P. IV.

#### Concerning the Elders.

1. “ They hold, that by God's Ordinance the Con-  
“ gregation should choose other Officers as Assistants to  
the

“ the Ministers in the Government of the Church, who  
 “ are jointly with the Ministers to be Overseers of the  
 “ manners and conversation of all the congregation.  
 2. “ That these are to be chosen out of the gravest, and  
 “ most discreet Members, who are also of some note  
 “ in the World, and able (if possible) to maintain them-  
 “ selves.”

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 James I.  
 1605.

## CHAP. V.

### Of Church Censures.

1. “ They hold, that the spiritual Keys of the Church  
 “ are committed to the aforesaid spiritual Officers and Go-  
 “ vernors, and to none others.

2. “ That by virtue of these Keys they are not to exa-  
 “ mine and make inquisition into the Hearts of Men, nor  
 “ molest them upon private suspicions, or uncertain fame,  
 “ but to proceed only upon open and notorious crimes.  
 “ If the Offender be convinced, they ought not to scorn,  
 “ deride, taunt, and revile him with contumelious lan-  
 “ guage, nor procure Proctors to make personal invectives  
 “ against him ; nor make him give attendance from Term  
 “ to Term, and from one Court Day to another, after the  
 “ manner of our Ecclesiastical Courts ; but to use him  
 “ brotherly, and if possible to move him to repentance ;  
 “ and if he repent they are not to proceed to censure, but  
 “ to accept his hearty sorrow and contrition as a sufficient  
 “ satisfaction to the Church, without imposing any fines,  
 “ or taking fees, or enjoining any outward mark of shame,  
 “ as the white sheet, &c.

“ But if the offender be obstinate, and shew no signs  
 “ of Repentance, and if his crime be fully prov'd upon  
 “ him, and is of such a high nature as to deserve a cen-  
 “ sure according to the word of God, then the Ecclesi-  
 “ astical Officers, with the free consent of the whole con-  
 “ gregation (and not otherwise) are first to suspend him  
 “ from the Sacrament, praying for him at the same time,  
 “ that God would give him Repentance to the acknow-  
 “ ledgment of his Fault ; and if this does not humble  
 “ him, they are then to denounce him to be as yet no  
 “ Member of the Kingdom of Heaven, and of that con-  
 “ gregation ; and so are to leave him to God and the King.  
 “ And this is all the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction that any spi-  
 “ ritual Officers are to use against any Man for the greatest  
 “ crime that can be committed.



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“ If the party offending be a civil Superior, they are to  
“ behave towards him with all that reverence and civil sub-  
“ jection that his honour or his high Office in the State may  
“ require. They are not to presume to convene him be-  
“ fore them, but are themselves to go to him in all civil  
“ and humble manner, to stand bare-headed, to bow, to  
“ give him all his civil Titles ; and if it be a supreme Go-  
“ vernor or King, to kneel, and in most humble manner  
“ to acquaint him with his faults ; and if such, or any other  
“ Offenders will voluntarily withdraw from the Communi-  
“ on, they have no farther concern with them.

“ They hold the Oath Ex Officio on the imposers part  
“ to be most damnable and tyrannous, against the very  
“ Law of Nature, devised by Antichrist, through the in-  
“ spiration of the Devil, to tempt weak Christians to per-  
“ jure themselves, or be drawn in to reveal to the enemies  
“ of Christianity those secret religious Acts, which though  
“ done for the advancement of the Gospel, may bring on  
“ themselves and their dearest friends heavy sentences of  
“ condemnation from the Court.

## C H A P. VI.

### Concerning the civil Magistrate.

1. “ They hold, that the civil Magistrate ought to have  
“ supreme civil power over all the Churches within his  
“ Dominions ; but that as he is a Christian he ought to be  
“ a Member of some one of them ; which is not in the  
“ least derogatory to his civil Supremacy.

2. “ That all Ecclesiastical Officers are punishable by  
“ the civil Magistrate, for the abuse of their Ecclesiastical  
“ Offices ; and much more if they intrude upon the Rights  
“ and Prerogatives of the civil Authority.

3. “ They hold the Pope to be Antichrist, because he  
“ usurps the Supremacy over Kings and Princes ; and  
“ therefore all that defend the popish Faith, and that are  
“ for tolerating that Religion, are secret enemies of the  
“ King’s Supremacy.

4. “ That all Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, Officials,  
“ &c. hold their Offices and Functions, at the King’s Will  
“ and Pleasure, merely Jure Humano ; and whosoever  
“ holdeth, that the King may not remove them, and dis-  
“ pose of them at his Pleasure, is an enemy to his Supre-  
“ macy.”

Let

King  
James I.  
1605.

Let the Reader now judge, whether there was so much ground for all the calumny and reproach that was cast upon the Puritans of these times: But their Adversaries having often charged them with denying the Supremacy, and with claiming a sort of Jurisdiction over the King himself, they published another Pamphlet this Summer, entitled, “ A “ Protestation of the King’s Supremacy, made in the name “ of the afflicted Ministers, and opposed to the shameful “ Calumnies of the Prelates.” To which was annexed, an humble Petition for Liberty of Conscience. In their Protestation they declare,

1. “ We hold and maintain the King’s Supremacy in all “ Causes, and over all Persons Civil and Ecclesiastical, as “ it was granted to Queen Elizabeth, and explained in the “ Book of Injunctions; nor have any of us been unwilling “ to subscribe and swear to it. We believe it to be the “ King’s natural Right without a Statute Law, and that “ the Churches within his Dominions would sin damnably “ if they did not yield it to him. Nay, we believe, that “ the King cannot alienate it from his Crown, or transfer “ it to any spiritual Potentates or Rulers; and that it is “ not tied to his Faith or Christianity, but to his very “ Crown; so that if he was an Infidel the Supremacy is “ his due.
2. “ We hold, that no Church Officers have power to “ deprive the King of any Branch of his Royal Prerogative, much less of his Supremacy, which is inseparable “ from him.
3. “ That no Ecclesiastical Officers have power over the “ Bodies, Lives, Goods, or Liberties, of any Persons “ within the King’s Dominions.
4. “ That the King may make Laws for the good ordering of the Churches within his Dominions; and that the “ Churches ought not to be disobedient, unless they apprehend them contrary to the Word of God; and even “ in such case they are not to resist, but peaceably to forbear Obedience, and submit to the punishment, if Mercy cannot be obtained.
5. “ That the King only hath power within his Dominions, to convene Synods or general Assemblies of Ministers, and by his Authority Royal to ratify and give Life “ to their Canons and Constitutions, without whose Ratification

Ministers  
Protestation concerning the  
King’s Supremacy,  
printed  
1605.

King  
James I.  
1605.

“ cation no Man can force any Subject to yield obedience  
“ to the same.

6. “ That the King ought not to be subject to the cen-  
“ sures of any Churches, Church-Officers, or Synods  
“ whatsoever; but only to that Church, and those Offi-  
“ cers of his own Court and Household, with whom he  
“ shall voluntarily join in Communion, where there can  
“ be no fear of unjust usage.

7. “ If a King, after he hath held Communion with a  
“ Christian Church should turn Apostate, or live in a course  
“ of open defiance to the Laws of God and Religion, the  
“ Church Governors are to give over their spiritual charge  
“ and tuition of him, which by calling from God and  
“ the King, they did undertake; and more than this  
“ they may not do, for the King still retains his supreme  
“ Authority over the Churches as entirely, and in as ample  
“ a manner as if he were the most Christian Prince in the  
“ World.

8. “ We refuse no obedience to the King, nor to any  
“ of the Canons required by the Prelates, but such as we  
“ are willing to take upon our Consciences, and to swear  
“ (if requir'd) that we believe contrary to the Word of  
“ God. We deny no Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction to the  
“ King but that which Christ has appropriated to him-  
“ self, who is the sole Doctor and Legislator of his  
“ Church.

9. “ We are so far from claiming any Supremacy to  
“ ourselves, that we exclude from ourselves all secular  
“ pomp and power, holding it a sin to punish Men in  
“ their Bodies, Goods, Liberties or Lives, for any merely  
“ spiritual Offence.

10. “ We confine all Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction with-  
“ in one Congregation, and that Jurisdiction is not a-  
“ lone in the Ministers, but also in the Elders of the  
“ Church; and their Jurisdiction is merely Spiritual.

Their hum-  
ble Petition.

“ **T**herefore all that we crave of his Majesty and the  
“ State is, that with his and their Permission, it may  
“ be lawful for us to worship God according to his reveal-  
“ ed Will; and that we may not be forced to the obser-  
“ vance of any human Rites and Ceremonies. We are  
“ ready to make an open Confession of our Faith, and  
“ Form of Worship, and desire that we may not be  
“ obliged to worship God in corners, but that our Religi-  
“ ous and civil Behaviour may be open to the Observa-  
“ tion



“ tion and censure of the civil Government, to whom we  
 “ profess all due subjection. So long as it shall please  
 “ the King and Parliament to maintain the Hierarchy or  
 “ Prelacy in this Kingdom, we are content that they en-  
 “ joy their State and Dignity ; and we will live as brethren  
 “ among those Ministers that acknowledge spiritual Ho-  
 “ mage to their spiritual Lordships, paying to them all tem-  
 “ poral duties of Tithes, &c. and joining with them in the  
 “ Service and Worship of God, so far as we may, without  
 “ our own particular communicating in those human Tra-  
 “ ditions which we judge unlawful. Only we pray, that  
 “ the Prelates and their ecclesiastical Officers may not be  
 “ our Judges, but that we may both of us stand at the Bar of  
 “ the civil Magistrate, and that if we shall be openly vilified  
 “ and slandered, it may be lawful for us, without fear of  
 “ punishment, to justify ourselves to the world ; and then  
 “ we shall think our lives, and all that we have, too little  
 “ to spend in the service of our King and Country.”

King.  
 James I.  
 1606.

Though the principles of Submission are here carried to a great length, and though the practice of the Puritans was agreeable to it, yet their enemies did not fail to charge them with Disloyalty, with Sedition, and with disturbing the peace of the State. Upon which the Ministers of Devon and Cornwall published another small Treatise, entitled, “ A Removal of certain Imputations laid upon the Ministers, &c.” in which they say (p. 21.) “ Let them [the Bishops] sift well our Courses since his Majesty’s happy entrance in among us, and let them name wherein we have done ought that may justly be said ill to become the Ministers of Jesus Christ. Have we drawn any Sword ? Have we raised any Tumult ? Have we used any Threats ? Hath the State been put into any Fear or Hazard through us ? Manifold disgraces have been cast upon us, and we have endured them ; the liberty of our Ministry hath been taken from us, and (though with bleeding hearts) we have sustained it. We have been cast out of our houses, and deprived of our ordinary maintenance, yet have we blown no trumpet of Sedition. These things have gone very near us, and yet did we never so much as entertain a thought of Violence. The truth is, we have petitioned the King and State ; and who hath reason to deny us that Liberty ? We have craved of the Prelates to deal with us according to Law ; and is not this the common benefit of every Subject ? We have besought them to

Protestation  
 of the Mini-  
 sters of De-  
 von and  
 Cornwall,  
 concerning  
 their Loyal-  
 ty.

Presb. p.  
 150.

King  
James I.  
1606.

“ convince our Consciences by Scripture.---Alas ! what would  
“ they have us to do ? Will they have us content ourselves  
“ with this only, that they are Bishops, and therefore for their  
“ Greatness ought to be yielded to ? The weight of episco-  
“ pal Power may oppress us but cannot convince us.”

Remarks

It appears from hence, that the Puritans were the King's faithful Subjects ; that they complied to the utmost length of their Consciences, and that when they could not obey they were content to suffer. Here are no Principles inconsistent with the safety of Church or State ; no marks of Heresy, Impiety or Sedition ; nor charges of Ignorance, or neglect of Duty ; how unreasonable then must it be, to silence and deprive such Men ? To shut them up in prison, or send them with their poor families a begging, while their Pulpit Doors were shut up, and there was a Famine in many parts of the Country, not of Bread but of the Word of the Lord ? But these honest People were not only persecuted at home, but forbid to retire into his Majesty's Dominions abroad ; for when the Ecclesiastical Courts had driven them from their habitations and livelihoods, and were still hunting them by their Informers from one place to another, several families crossed the Ocean to Virginia, and invited their friends to come over and settle with them ; but Bancroft being informed, that great numbers were preparing to embark, obtained a Proclamation, prohibiting any of his Majesty's Subjects to transport themselves to Virginia, without a special Licence from the King ; a severity hardly to be parallel'd ! Nor was it ever imitated in this Nation but by Archbishop Laud.

Rapin,  
p. 312, 354.

Islands of  
Guernsey  
and Jersey  
reduced to  
Conformity.

The Isles of Guernsey and Jersey having enjoyed the Discipline of the French Churches, without disturbance, all the reign of Queen Elizabeth, upon the accession of the present King, addressed his Majesty for a Confirmation of it ; which he was pleased to grant by letter under the Privy Seal, in these Words :

“ **W** Hereas we have been given to understand, that our  
“ dear Sister Queen Elizabeth did permit and allow  
“ to the Isles of Jersey and Guernsey, parcels of the  
“ Dutchy of Normandy, the use of the Government of the  
“ reformed Churches of the said Dutchy, whereof they  
“ have stood possessed till our coming to the Crown ; for  
“ this Cause, as well as for the edification of the Church,  
“ we do will and ordain, that our said Isles shall quietly  
“ enjoy

“ enjoy their said Liberty in the use of ecclesiastical Discipline there now established ; forbidding any one to give them any trouble or impeachment so long as they contain themselves in our Obedience.”---

King  
James I.  
1606.

Given at Hampton-Court, Aug. 8th. in the first year of our Reign. 1603.

But Bancroft and some of his brethren the Bishops, having possessed the King with the necessity of a general Uniformity throughout all his Dominion, these Islands were to be included ; accordingly Sir John Peyton, a zealous churchman, was appointed Governor, with secret Instructions to root out the Geneva Discipline, and settle the English Liturgy and Ceremonies. This Gentleman taking advantage of the Synod's appointing a Minister to a vacant Living according to custom, protested against it, as injurious to the King's Prerogative, and complained to Court that the Jersey Ministers had usurped the patronage of the benefices of the Island ; that they admitted men to Livings without the form of Presentation, which was a loss to the Crown in its First Fruits ; that by the connivance or allowance of former Governors they exercised a kind of arbitrary jurisdiction ; and therefore prayed that his Majesty would settle the English Discipline among them, The Jersey Ministers alleged in their own defence, that the Presentation to Livings was a branch of their Discipline ; and that the payment of First Fruits and Tenths had never been demanded since they were disengaged from the See of Constance. They pleaded his Majesty's royal confirmation of their Discipline, which was read publickly in a Synod of both islands in the year 1605. But this pious King had very little regard to Promises, Oaths, or Charters, when they stood in the way of his arbitrary designs. He ordered therefore his ecclesiastical Officers to pursue his Instructions in the most effectual manner ; accordingly they took the Presentations to vacant Livings into their own hands, without consulting the Presbytery ; they annulled the Oath, whereby all ecclesiastical and civil Officers were obliged to swear to the maintenance of their Discipline ; and whereas all that received the holy Sacrament were required to subscribe to the allowance of the general form of Church Government in that Island, the King's Attorney and his Friends now refused it. Their Elders likewise were cited into the tem-



Ja King  
James I.  
1607.

poral Courts and stripped of their privileges ; nor had they much better quarter in the Consistory, for the Governor and Jurats made the Decrees of that Court ineffectual, by reversing them in the Town-Hall.

Collyer,  
p. 706.  
Heylin.

Complaint being made to the Court of these impositions, the King sent them word, that to avoid all disputes for the future, he was determined to revive the office and authority of a Dean, and to establish the English Common-prayer-book among them, which he did accordingly ; and ordered the Bishop of Winchester, in whose Diocese they were, to draw up some Canons for the Dean's direction in the exercise of his government ; which being done, and confirmed by the King, put an end to their former privileges. Upon which many left the Islands, and retired into France and Holland ; but others made a shift to support their Discipline after a manner, in the Island of Guernsey, where the episcopal Regulations could not take place.

Mr. Parker's  
Sufferings.

Mr. Robert Parker, a Puritan Minister already mentioned, published this year a very learned Treatise " of the Cross in Baptism. But the Bishops, instead of answering it, persuaded the King to put forth a Proclamation, with an offer of a reward for taking him, which obliged him to abscond. A treacherous servant of the family having informed the Officers where he was, they came and searched the house, but by the special providence of God he was wonderfully preserved, the only room they neglected to search being that in which he was, from whence he heard them quarrelling and swearing at one another ; one saying, they had not searched that room, and another confidently asserting the contrary, and refusing to suffer it to be searched over again. Had he been taken he had been cast into prison, where without doubt (says my author) he must have died. When he got into Holland he would have been chosen Minister of the English Church at Amsterdam, but the Magistrates were afraid of disobliging King James, so that he went to Doeshburgh, and became Minister of that Garrison, where he died 1630.

Peirce,  
p. 171.

Dr. Ray-  
nolds's death  
and charac-  
ter.

This year died the famous Dr. John Raynolds, King's Professor in Oxford, at first a zealous Papist, while his brother William was a Protestant, but by conference and disputation the brothers converted each other, William dying an inveterate Papist, and John an eminent Protestant. He was born in Devonshire 1540. and educated in Corpus Christi College, Oxford, of which he was afterwards President. He was  
a Pro-

a prodigy for reading, and his Memory was a living library. Dr. Hall used to say, That his memory and reading were near a miracle. He had turned over all writers prophane and ecclesiastical, as Councils, Fathers, Histories, &c. He was a critick in the languages; of a sharp wit and indefatigable industry; his piety and sanctity of life was so eminent and conspicuous, that the learned Cracanthorp used to say, That to name Raynolds was to commend virtue itself. He was also of great modesty and humility. In short, says the Oxford historian, Nothing can be spoken "against him, but that he was the pillar of Puritanism, and "the grand favourer of Non-conformity." An unpardonable crime in his opinion! At length, after a severe and mortified life, he died in his College May 21, 1607. ætatis 68. and was buried with great funeral solemnity in St. Mary's Church.

King  
James I.  
1607.

Wood's  
Ath. p. 340.

Soon after died the famous Mr. Thomas Brightman, Author of a Commentary upon the Song of Solomon, and the Revelations: He was born at Nottingham, and bred in Queen's College Cambridge, where he became a champion for Non-conformity to the Ceremonies. He was afterwards presented by Sir John Osburne to the rectory of Haunes in Bedfordshire, where he spent the remainder of his days in hard study, and constant application to his charge, as far as his Conscience would admit. His life, says Mr. Fuller, was Angelical; his learning uncommon; he was a close Student, of little stature, and such a Master of himself, that he was never known to be moved with anger. His daily discourse was against episcopal government, which he prophesied would shortly be thrown down, and the Government of the foreign Protestant Churches be erected in its place. He died suddenly upon the road, as he was riding with Sir John Osburne in his coach, by a sudden obstruction of the liver or gall, Aug. 24. 1607. ætatis 51.

Death of  
Mr. Bright-  
man.

B. X. p. 50.

The King having given the reins of the Church into the hands of the Prelates and their dependants, these in return preached and printed for the prerogative. Two Books were published this year, that maintained the most extravagant maxims of arbitrary power; one was writ by Cowel, Doctor of the civil Law, and Vicar General to the Archbishop, wherein he affirms, 1. That the King is not bound by the laws, or by his Coronation oath. 2. That he is not obliged to call Parliaments to make laws, but may do it without them. 3. That 'tis a great favour to admit the consent of the Subject

1609.  
Advances of  
the preroga-  
tive.

King  
James' I.  
1609.

Subject in giving subsidies. The other was composed by Dr. Blackwood, a Clergyman, who maintained, that the English "were all slaves from the Norman conquest." The Parliament would have brought the Authors to justice, but the King protected them by proroguing the Houses in displeasure; and to supply his wants, his Majesty began to raise money by Monopolies of divers manufactures, to the unspeakable prejudice of the trade of the kingdom.

Death and  
character of  
Arminius.

This year died the famous Jacobus Arminius, Divinity Professor in the University of Leyden, who gave birth to the famous Sect still called by his name. He was born at Oudewater, 1560. his parents dying in his infancy, he was educated at the publick expence by the Magistrates of Amsterdam, and was afterwards chosen one of the Ministers of that City in the year 1588. Being desired by one of the Professors of Franequer to confute a treatise of Beza's upon the Supralapsarian scheme of Predestination, he fell himself into the contrary extreme. In the year 1600. he was called to succeed Junius in the Divinity Chair of Leyden, and was the first that was solemnly created Doctor of Divinity in that University. Here his notions concerning Predestination and Grace, and the "Extent of Christ's Redemption," met with a powerful opposition from Gomarus and others. But though his Disciples encreased prodigiously in a few years, yet the troubles he met with from his adversaries, and the attacks made upon his character and reputation, broke his Spirits, so that he sunk into a melancholy disorder, attended with a Complication of distempers, which put an end to his life, after he had been Professor but six years, and lived forty nine. He is represented as a Divine of considerable learning, piety and modesty, far from going the lengths of his successors, Vorstius, Episcopius, and Curcellæus; but his Doctrines occasioned such confusion in that Country, as could not be terminated but by a national Synod, and produced no less distractions in the Church of England, as will be seen hereafter.

1610.  
Proceedings  
of Parlia-  
ment.  
Speech a-  
gainst Bi-  
shops and  
their Courts.  
Record of  
Proceedings  
of Parlia-  
ment,  
1611.

In the Parliament that met this Summer the Spirit of English liberty began to revive; one of the Members made the following bold Speech in the House of Commons, which gives a particular account of the grievances of the nation, and of the attempts made for the redress of them. "It begins with a complaint against the Bishops in their Ecclesiastical Courts, for depriving, disgracing, silencing, and imprisoning such of God's mes-  
sengers



“ sengers (being learned and godly preachers) as he has  
 “ furnished with most heavenly Graces to call us to repen-  
 “ tance, for no other cause, but for not conforming them-  
 “ selves further, and otherwise than by the subscription li-  
 “ mited in the Statute of the 13th Eliz. they are bound  
 “ to do, thereby making the laws of the Church and Com-  
 “ monwealth to jar, which to reform, (says he) we made  
 “ a law for Subscription, agreeing to the intent of the  
 “ aforesaid Statute, which would have established the peace  
 “ both of Church and State; and if it had received the  
 “ Royal Assent, would have been an occasion that many  
 “ Subjects might be well taught the means of their salvation,  
 “ who now want sufficient knowledge of the Word of God  
 “ to ground their Faith upon——

King  
 James I.  
 1610.

“ And whereas by the laws of God and the land, eccle-  
 “ siastical persons should use only the Spiritual Sword,  
 “ by Exhortation, Admonition, and Excommunication,  
 “ which are the keys of the Church, to exclude impeni-  
 “ tent sinners, and leave the temporal Sword to the civil  
 “ Magistrate, which was always so used in England,  
 “ till the second year of the reign of King Henry IV.  
 “ at which time the popish Prelates got the temporal  
 “ Sword into their hands; which Statute was since by  
 “ several Acts of Parliament made void; yet by virtue  
 “ of that temporal Authority once by a short space by  
 “ them used, some ecclesiastical persons do use both  
 “ Swords, and with those two Swords the oath Ex Offi-  
 “ cio, which began first in England by the Statute of the  
 “ second of King Henry IV. being contrary to the laws of  
 “ England, and, as I verily think, contrary to the laws of  
 “ God.

“ Wherefore to reform these abuses we made two good  
 “ laws; one to abridge the force of the Ecclesiastical  
 “ Commission in many points; the other to abrogate and  
 “ take away the power of ecclesiastical persons to admi-  
 “ nister the oath Ex Officio, being a very hateful thing and  
 “ unlawful.

“ And forasmuch as among the Canons lately made by  
 “ the Clergy of England in Convocation, it was thought  
 “ that some of their Canons did extend to charge the bodies,  
 “ lands, and goods of the Subjects of this Realm, farther than  
 “ was lawful and meet, we therefore made a good law to make  
 “ void such Canons, unless the same Canons were confirmed  
 “ by Parliament.

“ And

King  
James I.  
1610.

Against  
grievances  
in the State.

“ And as we had care of the Church, so likewise of the  
“ Commonwealth ; and therefore after searching the Re-  
“ cords of the Tower, and after hearing the opinion of  
“ Lawyers, we found it clear, that impositions laid upon  
“ merchandize, or other goods of the subject, by the  
“ King, without consent of Parliament, was not lawful ;  
“ and therefore we past a bill, declaring, That no im-  
“ position laid upon goods is lawful without consent of Par-  
“ liament——

“ But God has not permitted these, and sundry other  
“ good laws to take effect, or pass into Statutes, though  
“ we earnestly desired them ; if they had, both the King  
“ and his Subjects would have been more happy than  
“ ever : what would we not then have given to supply the  
“ King’s wants ? But as things now stand, and without  
“ Reformation of the aforementioned grievances, we  
“ cannot give much, because we have no certainty of  
“ that which shall remain to us after our gift.”

King’s  
Speech to  
them.  
Rapin,  
P. 322.

To put a stop to such dangerous Speeches as these the  
King summoned both Houses to Whitehall, and told  
them, “ That he did not intend to govern by the abso-  
“ lute power of a King, though he knew the power of  
“ Kings was like the Divine Power ; for (says his Majesty) as  
“ God can create and destroy, make and unmake at his plea-  
“ sure, so “ Kings can give life and death, judge all and be  
“ judged by none ; they can exalt and abase, and like  
“ Men at Chess, make a pawn, take a Bishop or a Knight——”  
After this he tells the Houses, “ That as it was Blasphemy  
“ to dispute what God might do, so it was sedition in  
“ Subjects “ To dispute what a King might do in the height  
“ of his power.” He commanded them therefore not to  
“ meddle with the main points of Government, which  
“ would be to lessen his Craft, who had been thirty years  
“ at his trade in Scotland, and served an apprenticeship of  
“ seven years in England.”

Sundry pe-  
titions about  
grievances.

Record of  
proceedings  
of Parlia-  
ment.  
1610.

But the Parliament not terrified with this high language,  
went on steadily in asserting their rights ; May 24th.  
Twenty of the lower House presented a Remonstrance, in  
which they declare, “ That whereas they had first received  
“ a message, and since by his Majesty’s Speech had been  
“ commanded to refrain from debating upon things relat-  
“ ing to the chief points of Government ; “ They do hold it  
“ their undoubted right to examine into the grievances of  
“ the Subject, and to enquire into their own rights and pro-  
“ perties,

“ perties. as well as his Majesty’s Prerogative ;” and they  
 “ most humbly and instantly beseech his gracious Majesty,  
 “ that without offence to the same, they may, according  
 “ to the undoubted right and liberty of Parliament proceed  
 “ in their intended course against the late new imposi-  
 “ tions——”

King  
 James I.  
 1610.

In another petition they beseech his Majesty to put the laws in execution against Papists ; and with regard to the Puritans they say, “ Whereas divers learned and painful

In favour of  
 the Puritans.

“ Pastors that have long travelled in the work of the Mi-  
 “ nistry with good fruit and blessing of their labours, who  
 “ were ever ready to perform the legal Subscription ap-  
 “ pointed by the 13th of Elizabeth, which only concern-  
 “ eth the profession of the true Christian Faith and Doctrin-  
 “ of the Sacraments, yet for not conforming in some points  
 “ of ceremonies, and for refusing the subscription directed  
 “ by the late Canons, have been removed from their Eccle-  
 “ siastical Livings, being their Freehold, and barr’d from  
 “ all means of maintenance, to the great grief of your Maje-  
 “ sty’s subjects, seeing the whole people that want instruction  
 “ lie open to the seducement of popish and ill affected per-  
 “ sons ; we therefore most humbly beseech your Majesty,  
 “ that such deprived and silenced Ministers may by license,  
 “ or permission of the Reverend Fathers in their several  
 “ Diocesess, instruct and preach unto their people in such  
 “ parishes and places where they may be employed, so as  
 “ they apply themselves in their Ministry to wholesome  
 “ Doctrin and Exhortation, and live quietly and peaceably  
 “ in their callings ; and shall not by writing or preaching  
 “ impugn things established by publick authority. They  
 “ also pray, That dispensations for pluralities of benefices  
 “ with cure of souls, may be prohibited ; and, that tolera-  
 “ tion of non-residency may be restrained. And forasmuch  
 “ as excommunication is exercised upon an incredible num-  
 “ ber of the common people, by the subordinate officer  
 “ of the jurisdiction ecclesiastical, for small causes, by the  
 “ sole information of a base Apparitor, so that the Poor  
 “ are driven to excessive expences for matters of small mo-  
 “ ment, while the Rich escape that censure by Commuta-  
 “ tion of Penance ; they therefore most humbly pray for a  
 “ reformation in the premises.”

In another petition they represent to his Majesty the great grievance of the Commission Ecclesiastical, and in all humility beseech his Majesty to ratify the law they had pre-  
 pared



King  
James I.  
1610.

Reasons for  
amending  
the Act of  
Supremacy.

pared for reducing it within reasonable and convenient limits; they say, " That the Statute 1 Eliz. cap. 1. by which the Commission is authorized, has been found dangerous and inconvenient on many accounts :

First, " Because it enables the making such Commission to one Subject born as well as more.

Secondly, " Because under Colour of some Words in the Statute, whereby the Commissioners are authorized to act according to the tenor and effect of your Highness's Letters Patents, and by Letters Patents grounded thereon, they do fine and imprison, and exercise other authorities not belonging to the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, restored to the Crown by this Statute; for by the same rule your Highness may by your Letters Patents authorize them to fine without stint, and imprison without limitation of time; as also, according to Will and Discretion, without regard to any laws Spiritual and Temporal; they may impose utter confiscation of Goods, forfeiture of Lands, yea, and the taking away of Limb and Life itself, and this for any matter appertaining to Spiritual Jurisdiction, which could never be the intent of the Law.

Thirdly, " Because the King by the same Statute, may set up an Ecclesiastical Commission in every Diocese, County, and Parish of England, and thereby all Jurisdiction may be taken from Bishops and transferred to Lay-Men.

Fourthly, " Because every petty offence appertaining to Spiritual Jurisdiction is by colour of the said Words and Letters Patents made subject to Excommunication, whereby the smallest offenders may be obliged to travel from the most remote parts of the Kingdom to London, to their utter ruin.

Fifthly, " Because 'tis very hard, if not impossible, to know what matters or offences are included within their Commission, as appertaining to Spiritual and Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, it being unknown what ancient Canons or Laws Spiritual are in force.

And for re-  
forming the  
Ecclesiastical  
Commission.

" As for the Commission Ecclesiastical itself, grounded on the Statute abovementioned, it is a very great grievance, because,

1. " The same Men have both Spiritual and Temporal Jurisdiction, and may force the party by oath to accuse himself, and also enquire thereof by a Jury; and, lastly, may inflict for the same offence, and at the same time,  
by

“ by one and the same sentence, both a spiritual and temporal punishment.

King  
James I.  
1610.

2. “ Whereas upon sentences of deprivation, or other spiritual Censures, given by force of ordinary Jurisdiction, an Appeal lies for the Party grieved; this is here excluded by express Words of the Commission. Also, here is to be a Trial by Jury, but no Remedy by Traverse or Attaint. Nor can a Man have any Writ of Error, though Judgment be given against him amounting to the taking away all his goods and imprisoning him for Life, yea, to the adjudging him in the case of Præmunire, whereby his Lands are forfeited, and he put out of the Protection of the Law.

3. “ Whereas penal Laws, and Offences against them, cannot be determined in other Courts, or by other Persons, than those entrusted by Parliament, yet the execution of many such Statutes made since the first Eliz. are committed to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, who may inflict the Punishments contained in the Statutes, being Præmunire, and of other high Nature, and so enforce a Man upon his Oath to accuse himself, or else inflict other temporal Punishments at Pleasure; and after this, the Party shall be subject in the Courts mentioned in the Acts, to Punishments by the same Acts appointed and inflicted.

4. “ The Commission gives Authority to oblige Men, not only to give Recognizance for their appearance from time to time, but also for performance of whatsoever shall be by the Commissioners ordered, and to pay such Fees as the Commissioners shall think fit.

“ The execution of the Commission is no less grievous to the subject; for, (1.) Lay-Men are punished for speaking of the Simony, and other misdemeanors of spiritual Men, though the thing spoken be true, and tends to the inducing some condign Punishment. (2.) These Commissioners usually allot to Women, discontented, and unwilling to live with their Husbands, such Portions and Maintenance as they think fit, to the great Encouragement of Wives to be disobedient to their Husbands. And, (3.) Pursuivants, and other Ministers employed in apprehending suspected Offenders, or in searching for supposed scandalous Books, break open Mens Houses, Closets and Desks, rifling all Corners and private Places, as in Cases of High Treason.

Grievances  
in the Execution of the  
Ecclesiastical  
Commission.

A fur-

King  
James I.  
1610.

A further grievance is the “ Stay of Writs of Prohibition, Habeas Corpus & de Homine replegiando,” which are a considerable relief to the oppressed Subjects of the Kingdom. His Majesty, in order to support the inferior Courts against the principal Courts of Common Law, had ordered things so, that Writs had been more sparingly granted, and with greater caution. They therefore pray his Majesty, to require his Judges in Westminster-hall, to grant such Writs in cases wherein they lie.

Fuller,  
B. X. p. 56.

But one of the greatest, and most threatening Grievances, was the King’s granting Letters Patents for Monopolies, and Licenses for Wine, Ale-houses, selling Sea-coal, &c. which they pray his Majesty to forbear for the future, that the disease may be cured, and others of like nature prevented. But the King, instead of complying with his Parliament, was so disgusted with their Remonstrance, that he dissolved them [December 31st] without passing any one Act this Session, after they had continued above six years; and was so out of humour with the Spirit of English Liberty that was growing in the Houses, that he resolved (if possible) to govern without Parliaments for the future. This was done by the advice of Bancroft, and other servile Court Flatterers, and was the beginning of that mischief (says Wilson) which, when it came to a full Ripeness, made such a bloody Tincture in both Kingdoms as never will be got out of the Bishops Lawn Sleeves.

History of  
King James  
p. 46.

Affairs of  
Scotland.

From the time that King James came to the English Throne, and long before, if we may believe Dr. Heylin, his Majesty had projected the restoring Episcopacy in the Kirk of Scotland, and reducing the two Kingdoms to one uniform Government and Discipline; for this purpose Archbishop Bancroft maintained a secret correspondence with him, and corrupted one Norton, an English Bookseller at Edinburgh [in the year 1589.] to betray the Scots affairs to him, as he confessed with Tears at his Examination. The many curious Articles he employed him to search into are set down in Calderwood’s History, p. 246. In the Month of January, 1591, his letters to Mr. Patrick Adamson were intercepted, wherein he advises him, “ To give the Queen of England more honourable Titles, and to praise the Church of England above all others. He marvelled why he came not to England, and assured him he would be well accepted by my Lord of Canterbury’s Grace, and well rewarded if he came.” This Adamson was afterwards excommunicated, but repenting of what he had done

Peirce, p.  
166.



done against the Kirk desired Absolution ; part of his confession runs thus, " I grant I was more busy with some  
" Bishops in England, in prejudice of the Discipline of our  
" Kirk, partly when I was there, and partly by intelligence since, than became a good Christian, much less  
" a faithful Pastor ; neither is there any thing that more  
" ashamed me, than my often deceiving and abusing the  
" Kirk heretofore by Confessions, Subscriptions, and Protestations."

King  
James I.  
1610.

Upon his Majesty's arrival in England he took all occasions to discover his aversion to the Scots Presbyterians, taxing them with sauciness, ill-manners, and an implacable enmity to kingly power ; he nominated Bishops to the thirteen Scots Bishopricks which himself had formerly abolished ; but their Revenues being annexed to the Crown, their dignities were little more than Titular. In the Parliament held at Perth in the year 1606, his Majesty obtained an Act to restore the Bishops to their Temporalities, and to repeal the Act of Annexation ; by which they were restored to their Votes in Parliament, and had the title of " Lords of Parliament," contrary to the sense both of Clergy and Laity, as appears by the following Protest of the General Assembly.

" **I**N the name of Christ, and in the name of the Kirk in  
" general, whereof the Realm hath reaped comfort  
" this forty six years ; also in the name of our Presbyteries, from which we received our Commission ; and in  
" our own Names as Pastors and Office-Bearers within  
" the same, for the discharging of our necessary duty, and  
" for the disburthening of our Consciences, we except  
" and protest against the Erection, Confirmation or  
" Ratification of the said Bishopricks and Bishops by this  
" present Parliament ; and humbly pray, that this our  
" Protestation may be admitted and register'd among the  
" Records."

Course of  
Scots Conformity, p.  
19.

In the Convention at Linlithgow, December 12th, consisting of Noblemen, Statesmen, and some Court Ministers, it was agreed, that the Bishops should be perpetual Moderators of the Kirk Assemblies, under certain cautions, and with a Declaration, that they had no purpose to subvert the Discipline of the Kirk, or to exercise any tyrannous or unlawful jurisdiction over their Brethren ; but the Body of the Ministers being uneasy at this, another Convention was held at Linlithgow, 1608, and a Committee appointed to

Ib. p. 49.

King  
James I.  
1610.

compromise the Difference; the Committee consisted of two Earls, and two Lords, as his Majesty's Commissioners; five new Bishops; two University Men, three Ministers on one part, and ten for the other; they met at Falkland, May 4. 1609, and debated, (1.) Whether the Moderators of Kirk Assemblies should be constant or circular; and, (2.) Whether the Caveats should be observed. But coming to no agreement they adjourned to Striveling, where the Bishops with great difficulty obtained their Point. And to encrease their power, his Majesty was pleased next year [in the Month of Feb. 1610.] contrary to Law, to put the High Commission into their hands.

Episcopacy  
restored in  
Scotland.  
Ibid. p. 53.

But still they wanted the "Sanction of a general Assembly, and a Spiritual Character;" to obtain the former an Assembly was held at Glasgow, June 8th, 1610. Means having been used by the Courtiers to model it to their mind. In that costly assembly (says my Author) the Bishops were declared Moderators in every Diocesan Assembly, and they or their Deputies Moderators in their weekly Exercises; Ordination and Deprivation of Ministers, Visitation of Kirks, excommunication and absolution, with presentations to Benefices, were pinned to the Lawn Sleeves; and it was farther voted, (1.) That every Minister at his entry shall swear obedience to his Ordinary. (2.) That no Minister shall preach or speak against the Acts of this Assembly. (3.) That the question of the parity or imparity of Pastors shall not be mentioned in the Pulpit under pain of Deprivation. This was a vast advance upon the constitution of the Kirk.

Ordination  
of their Bi-  
shops.

To obtain a Spiritual Character superior to the order of Presbyters, it was necessary that the Bishops elect should be consecrated by some of the same Order; for this purpose the King sent for three of them into England (viz. Mr. Spottwood Archbishop of Glasgow, Mr. Lamb Bishop of Brechin, and Mr. Hamilton Bishop of Galloway) and issued a Commission under the great Seal to the Bishops of London, Ely, Bath and Wells, and Rochester, requiring them to proceed to the Consecration of the abovementioned Bishops according to the English Ordinal: but Andrews Bishop of Ely was of opinion, that before their consecration they ought to be made Priests, because they had not been ordained by a Bishop. This the Scots Divines were unwilling to admit, for fear of the consequences among their own Countrymen; for what must they conclude concerning the Ministers of Scotland, if their Ordination as Presbyters was

was not valid? Bancroft therefore yielded, that where Bishops could not be had; Ordination by Presbyters must be valid, otherwise the character of most of the reformed Churches might be questioned. Abbot Bishop of London and others were of Opinion, that there was no necessity of passing through the inferior Orders of Deacon and Priest, but that the Episcopal Character might be conveyed at once, as appears from the example of St. Ambrose, Nectarius, Eucherius, and others, who from mere Lay-Men were advanced at once into the Episcopal Chair. But whether this supposition does not rather weaken the Arguments for Bishops being a distinct order from Presbyters, I leave with the Reader. However, the Scotch Divines were consecrated in the Chapel at London House [October 21, 1610.] and upon their return into Scotland they conveyed their new Character in the same manner to their Brethren. Thus the King, by an usurped Supremacy over the Kirk of Scotland, and other violent and indirect means, subverted their Constitution; and contrary to the genius of the People, and the protestation of the general Assembly, the Bishops were made Lords of Council, Lords of Parliament, and the King's High Commissioners in Causes Ecclesiastical; but with all their high Titles they sat uneasy in their Chairs, being generally hated both by the Ministers and People.

King James I. 1610.

Collyer, p. 702.

Calderwood, p. 644.

About ten days after this Consecration Dr. Richard Bancroft Archbishop of Canterbury, departed this Life; he was born at Farnworth in Lancashire, 1544. and educated in Jesus College, Cambridge. He was first Chaplain to Cox Bishop of Ely, who gave him the Rectory of Teversham near Cambridge. In the year 1585. he proceeded D. D. and being ambitious of preferment got into the Service of Sir Christopher Hatton, by whose Recommendation he was made Prebendary of Westminster. Here he signalized himself by preaching against the Puritans; a sure way to preferment in those times. He also writ against the Discipline; and was the first in the Church of England that openly maintained the Divine Right of the Order of Bishops. While he sat in the High Commission he distinguished himself by an uncommon zeal against the Non-conformists, for which he was preferr'd, first to the Bishoprick of London, and upon Whitgift's Death to the See of Canterbury; how he behaved in that High Station has been sufficiently related. This Prelate left behind him no extraordinary Character for Piety, Learning, Hospitality, or

Archbishop Bancroft's Death and Character,



King  
James I.  
1610.

Vol. I. p. 88.

any other Episcopal Quality. He was of a rough, uncourtly Temper; a Tool of the Prerogative, and an enemy to the Laws and Constitutions of his Country. Some have represented him as inclined to Popery, because he maintained several secular Priests in his House; but this was done (say his Advocates) to keep up the Controversy between them and the Jesuits. Lord Clarendon says, "That he understood the Church excellently well, that he had almost rescued it out of the Hands of the Calvinian Party, and very much subdued the unruly Spirit of the Non-conformists; and that he countenanced Men of Learning." His Lordship might have added, that he was covetous, passionate, ill-natur'd, and a cruel Persecutor of good Men. That he laid aside that Hospitality that becomes a Bishop, and lived without State or Equipage, which gave occasion to the following Satire upon his Death, which happened Nov. 2. 1610. *Ætatis* 66.

Here lies his Grace in cold Clay clad,  
Who died for Want of what he had.

## CHAP. II.

From the Death of Archbishop Bancroft to the Death of King James I.

1617.  
Abbot made  
Archbishop.  
B. I. p. 88.

**B**ANCROFT was succeeded by Dr. George Abbot, Bishop of London, a Divine of a quite different Spirit from his Predecessor; he was a sound Protestant, a thorough Calvinist, an avowed Enemy to Popery, and even suspected of Puritanism, because he relaxed the penal Laws, whereby, says Lord Clarendon, "He unravell'd all that his Predecessor had been doing for many years, who, if he had lived a little longer, would have subdued the unruly Spirit of the Non-conformists, and extinguished that Fire in England which had been kindled at Geneva; but Abbot (says his Lordship) considered the Christian Religion no otherwise than as it abhorred and reviled Popery, and valued those Men most who did that most furiously. He enquired but little after the strict Observation of the Discipline of the Church, or Conformity to the Articles or Canons established, and did not think so ill of the [Presbyterian] Discipline as he ought to have done, but if Men prudently forbore a publick re-  
viling

“ viling at the Hierarchy and Ecclesiastical Government,  
 “ they were secure from any inquisition from him, and  
 “ were equally preferred. His house was a sanctuary to  
 “ the most eminent of the factious party, and he licensed  
 “ their pernicious Writings.” Such was the language of  
 the noble Historian against one of the most religious and  
 grave Prelates of his age, and a steady friend of the Con-  
 stitution in Church and State. If Abbot’s moderate mea-  
 sures had been pursued, the Liberties of England had been  
 secured, Popery discountenanced, and the Church preven-  
 ted from running into those excesses which afterwards  
 proved its ruin,

King  
 James I.  
 1611.

The translation of the Bible, now in use, was finished  
 this year; it was undertaken at the request of the Puritan  
 Divines in the Hampton-Court Conference; and being the  
 last, it may not be unacceptable to set before the reader  
 in one view, the various translations of the Bible into the  
 English language.

Account of  
 all the Trans-  
 lations of the  
 Bible into  
 English.  
 Wickliffe’s  
 N. T.  
 1380.

The New Testament was first translated by Dr. Wick-  
 liffe out of the vulgar Latin about the year 1380, and is in-  
 titled, “ The New Testament, with the Lessons taken out  
 “ of the old Law, read in Churches according to the use  
 “ of Sarum.

Lewis’s Pro-  
 legom. to  
 Wickliffe’s  
 New Test.  
 Durel.  
 Calmet.

The next translation was by William Tyndal, printed at  
 Antwerp, 1526, in Octavo, without a name, and without  
 either Calendar, references in the margin, or table at the  
 end; it was corrected by the author, and printed in the  
 years 1534, and 1536, having pass’d through five editions in  
 Holland.

Tyndal’s  
 New Test.  
 1526.

In the mean time Tyndal was translating several books  
 of the Old Testament, as the Pentateuch, and the book  
 of Jonas, printed 1531; the books of Joshua, Judges,  
 Ruth, the four books of Kings, the two books of Chroni-  
 cles and Nehemiah. About the same time George Joy,  
 sometime Fellow of Peter College, Cambridge, translated  
 the Psalter, the prophecy of Jeremiah, and the Song of  
 Moses, and printed them beyond Sea.

In the year 1535, the whole Bible was printed the first  
 time in folio, adorned with wooden cuts, and Scripture re-  
 ferences; it was done by several hands, and dedicated to  
 King Henry VIII. by Miles Coverdale. In the last page  
 ’tis said to be printed in the year of our Lord 1535, and  
 finished the fourth Day of October. This Bible was re-  
 printed in quarto, 1550, and again with a new title, 1553.

First Edition  
 of the Bible,  
 1535.

Two years after the Bible was reprinted in English, with

Matthew’s  
 Bible,  
 this 1537.

King  
James I.  
1611.

this title, "The Holy Byble, which is all the Holy Scripture, in which are containyd the Olde and Newe Testament, trueley and purelye translated into English by [a fictitious Name] Thomas Mathew, 1537." It has a Calender with an Almanack; and an exhortation to the study of the Scripture, signed J. R. John Rogers; a table of contents and marriages; marginal notes, a prologue; and in the Apocalypse some wooden cuts. At the beginning of the prophets are printed at the top of the page R. G. Richard Grafton, and at the Bottom E. W. Edward Whitchurch, who were the Printers. This Translation, to the End of the Book of Chronicles, and the Book of Jonah, with all the New Testament, was Tyndal's; the rest was Miles Coverdale's and John Rogers's.

Cranmer's  
Bible,  
1539.

In the year 1539, the abovementioned translation having been revised and corrected by Archbishop Cranmer, was reprinted by Grafton and Whitchurch, "Cum Privilegio ad imprimendum solum." It has this title, "The Bible in Englyshe, that is to say, the Content of the Holy Scripture, both of the Olde and Newe Testament, truly translated after the Veritie of the Hebrue and Greke Texts, by the diligent study of divers excellent learned men, expert in the foresayde Tongues." In this edition Tyndal's prologue and marginal notes are omitted. It was reprinted the following year in a large folio, proper for Churches, begun at Paris, and finished at London. In the year 1541, it was printed again by Grafton, with a preface by Cranmer, having been revised by Tonsal and Heath, Bishops of Durham and Rochester. But after this time the Popish Party prevailing at Court, there were no more editions of the Bible in this Reign.

1548.  
1549.

In the beginning of King Edward's Reign the Bible of 1541, was reprinted, with Cranmer's prologue; and the Liturgy of the Church of England, being first composed and established in this Reign, the translation of the Psalter, commonly called the Old Translation, in use at this day, was taken from this edition. Next year Coverdale's Testament of 1535, was reprinted with Erasmus's Paraphrase; but there was no new translation.

Geneva  
Bible,  
1559.

In the Reign of Queen Mary [1555.] the exiles at Geneva undertook a new translation, commonly called the Geneva Bible; the names of the translators were Coverdale, Goodman, Gilby, Whittingham, Sampson, Cole, Knox, Bodleigh and Pullan, who published the New Testament first in a small twelves, 1557, by Conrad Badius. This was the first that was printed



printed with numerical verses. The whole Bible was published afterwards with marginal notes, 1559. dedicated to Queen Elizabeth. The Translators say, "They had been employed in this work night and day, with fear and trembling—and they protested from their Consciences, that in every point and word they had faithfully rendered the Text to the best of their knowledge." But the marginal notes having given offence it was not suffered to be published in England till the death of Archbishop Parker, when it was printed [1576.] by Christopher Barker, in Quarto, "Cum Privilegio," and met with such acceptance, that it past thro' twenty or thirty Editions in this Reign.

King  
James I.  
1611.

Cranmer's Edition of the Bible was reprinted in the years 1562, and 1566. for the use of Churches. But complaint being made of the incorrectness of it, Archbishop Parker projected a new Translation, and assigned the several Books of the Old and New Testament to about fourteen dignitaries of the Church, most of whom being Bishops, it was from them called "The Bishops Bible," and was printed in an elegant and pompous Folio, in the year 1568. with Maps and Cuts. In the year 1572. it was reprinted with some alterations and additions, and several times afterwards, but without any amendments.

Bishops  
Bible.

1568.

In the year 1582. the Roman Catholick Exiles translated the New Testament for the use of their People, and published it in Quarto, with this Title, "The New Testament of Jesus Christ, translated faithfully into English out of the authentick Latin, according to the best corrected Copies of the same, diligently conferred with the Greek and other Editions in divers Languages; with Arguments of Books and Chapters, Annotations, and other necessary helps for the better understanding of the Text, and especially for the discovery of the corruptions of divers late Translations, and for clearing the controversies in Religion of these days. In the English College of Rhemes. Printed by John Fogny." The Old Testament of this Translation was first published at Doway in two Tomes Quarto, the first in the year 1609. the other 1610. by Lawrence Kellam, at the sign of the Holy Lamb, with a Preface and Tables; the Authors are said to be Cardinal Allen, sometime Principal of St. Mary Hall, Oxford, Richard Bristow, Fellow of Exeter College, and Gregory Martin of St. John's College. The Annotations were made by Tho. Worthington, B. A. of Oxford; all of them Exiles for their Religion, and settled in popish Seminaries beyond sea.

Rhemish  
Testament,  
1582.

And Bible.  
1609.  
1610.

King  
James I.  
1611

Last Trans-  
lation by  
order of K.  
James I.  
1611.

The mistakes of this Translation, and the false glosses put upon the Text, were exposed by the learned Dr. Fulke and Mr. Cartwright.

At the request of the Puritans in the Hampton-Court Conference, King James appointed a new Translation to be undertaken by the most learned men of both Universities, under the following regulations, (1.) That they keep as close as possible to the Bishops Bible. (2.) That the Names of the Holy Writers be retained according to vulgar use. (3.) That the old ecclesiastical Words be kept, as Church not to be translated Congregation, &c. (4.) That when a word has divers Significations, that be kept which has been most commonly used by the Fathers. (5.) That the division of Chapters be not altered. (6.) No marginal Notes but for the explication of a Hebrew or Greek word. (7.) Marginal References may be set down. The other regulations relate to the Translators comparing notes, and agreeing among themselves; they were to consult the modern translations of the French, Dutch, German, &c. but to vary as little as possible from the Bishops Bible.

The King's Commission bears date 1604. but the work was not begun till 1606. and finished 1611. Fifty four of the chief Divines of both Universities were nominated; but some of them dying soon after, the work was undertook by Forty seven, who were divided into six Companies; the first company translated from Genesis to the first book of Chronicles; the second to the prophecy of Isaiah; the third translated the four greater Prophets, with the Lamentations and twelve smaller Prophets; the fourth had the Apocrypha; the fifth had the four Gospels, the Acts and the Revelations; and the sixth the Canonical Epistles. The work being finished, and revised by learned men from both Universities, the publishing it was committed to the Care of Bishop Bilson and Dr. Miles Smith, which last writ the Preface that now stands before it. It was first printed in the year 1611. with a Dedication to King James, and is the same that is now read in all the Churches.

K. James's  
real againt  
Vorstius.

Upon the death of Arminius the Curator of the University of Leyden chose Conradus Vorstius his successor. This Divine had published a very exceptionable treatise concerning the Nature and Properties of God, in which he maintained, that God had a Body; and denied his proper Immensity and Omniscience, as they are commonly understood. He maintained the Divine Being to be limited and restrained, and ascribed Quantity and Magnitude to him.

The

The Clergy of Amsterdam remonstrated to the States against his settlement at Leyden, the country being already too much divided about the Arminian Tenets. To strengthen their hands they applied to the English Ambassador to represent the case to King James; and prevailed with the Curators to defer his Induction into the Professorship till his Majesty had read over his Book; which having done, he declared Vorstius to be an Arch-Heretic, a Pest, a Monster of Blasphemies; and to shew his Detestation of his book, ordered it to be burnt publickly in St. Paul's Church-yard, and at both the Universities; in the conclusion of his Letter to the States on this occasion he says, "As God has honoured us with the title of Defender of the Faith, so (if you incline to retain Vorstius any longer) we shall be obliged not only to separate and cut ourselves off from such false and heretical Churches, but likewise to call upon all the rest of the reformed Churches to enter upon the same common consultation, how we may best extinguish and send back to hell these cursed [Arminian] heresies that have newly broken forth. And for ourselves, we shall be necessitated to forbid all the youth of our Subjects to frequent an University that is so infected as that of Leyden." His Majesty also sent over sundry other Memorials, in which he styles Vorstius "a wicked Atheist;" Arminius "an Enemy to God." And Bertius having writ concerning the Apostasy of the Saints, he said the Author was worthy of the Fire.

King  
James I.  
1611.

Brandt's  
Hist. Vol. II.  
P. 97.

At length the King published his Royal Declaration in several Languages, containing an account of all he had done in the affair of Vorstius, with his Reasons; which were, "His zeal for the glory of God, his love for his friends and allies [the States] and fear of the same contagion in his own Kingdom;" but their High Mightinesses did not like the King of England's meddling so much in their Affairs. However, Vorstius was dismissed to Gouda, where he lived privately till the Synod of Dort, when he was banished the seven Provinces; he then retired to Tonninghen, in the Dukedom of Holstein, where he died a professed Socinian, Sept. 19. 1622.

1612.

Bayle's  
Dict. Crit.

His Majesty had a further opportunity of discovering his zeal against Heresy this year, upon two of his own subjects; one was Bartholomew Legate an Arian; he was a comely person, of a black complexion, and about forty years of age, of a fluent tongue; excellently well versed in the Scriptures, and of an unblameable conversation. King James himself,

Hereticks  
burnt.  
Barth. Legate.  
Fuller, B. X.  
p. 63.



King  
James I.  
1612.

himself, and some of his Bishops, conferred with him, but could not convince him of his errors. Having lain a considerable time in Newgate he was at length convened before bishop King in his Consistory at St. Paul's, who with some other Divines and Lawyers there assembled, declared him a contumacious and obdurate Heretick, and certified the same into Chancery by a Significavit, delivering him up to the secular power; whereupon the King signed a Writ "De Hæretico comburendo" to the Sheriffs of London, who brought him to Smithfield March 18th. and in the midst of a vast concourse of people burnt him to death. A Pardon was offered him at the Stake if he would recant, but he refused it.

And Edward  
Wightman.  
Fuller, B. X.  
p. 64.

Next month Edward Wightman of Burton upon Trent, was convicted of Heresy by Dr. Neile Bishop of Coventry and Litchfield, and was burnt at Litchfield April 11th. He was charged in the Warrant with the Heresies of Arius, Cerinthus, Manichæus, and the Anabaptists—There was another condemned to the fire for the same Heresies; but the Constancy of the abovemention'd Sufferers moving compassion in the Spectators, it was thought better to suffer him to linger out a miserable Life in Newgate, which was done accordingly.

State of the  
Court.

Nothing was minded at Court but Luxury and Diversions. Affairs of the Church were left to the Bishops, and State Affairs to the Civil Officers, while the King himself sunk into a most indolent and inactive life, being govern'd by a Favourite, in choosing whom he had no regard to virtue or merit, but to youth, beauty, gracefulness of person, and fine clothes, &c. This exposed him to the contempt of foreign Courts, who from this time paid him very little regard. At the same time he was lavish and profuse in his expences and donations to his hungry Courtiers, which exhausted his Exchequer, and obliged him to have recourse to arbitrary and illegal methods of raising money by the Prerogative; this lost him the hearts of his People, which with all his Kingcraft he could never recover, and laid the foundation of all those Calamities, which in the next Reign overturned both Church and State.

King marries  
his Daughter  
to the Elec-  
tor Palatine.

But while the King and his Ministers were subverting the Protestant Religion and the Liberties of England, it pleased Almighty God to lay the Foundation of their recovery by the marriage of the King's Daughter Elizabeth to Frederick V. Elector Palatine of the Rhine, from whom the present Royal Family is descended. The Match was promoted  
by

by Archbishop Abbot, and universally approved by all the Puritans in England, as the grand Security of the Protestant Succession to the Crown in case of failure of Heirs from the King's Son. Mr. Echard says, they foretold by a distant Foresight, the succession of this Family to the Crown; and it must be owned, that they were always the delight of the Puritans, who prayed heartily for them, and upon all occasions exerted themselves for the support of the Family in their lowest circumstances.

King  
James I.  
1613.

The solemnity of these Nuptials was retarded some months, by the untimely death of Henry Prince of Wales, the King's eldest Son, who died Nov. 6th. 1612. and was buried the 7th of December following, being eighteen years and eight months old. Some have suspected that the King

Death and  
Character  
of Henry  
Prince of  
Wales.

his Father caused him to be poisoned, though there is no certain proof of it; the body being opened, his Liver appeared white, and his Spleen and Diaphragma black, his Gall without choler, and his Lungs spotted with much corruption, and his Head full of blood in some places, and in others full of water. 'Tis certain the King was jealous of his Son's popularity, and asked one day, "If he would bury

Rapin,  
p. 328, 340.

him alive;" and upon his death commanded, that "No person should appear at Court in mourning for him." This Prince was one of the most accomplished persons of his age, sober, chaste, temperate, religious, full of honour and probity, and never heard to swear an oath: Neither the example of the King his Father, nor of the whole Court, was capable of corrupting him in that respect. He had a great Soul, noble and generous Thoughts, and was as much displeased with trifles as his Father was fond of them. He had frequently said, that "If ever he mounted the Throne, his first care should be to try to reconcile the Puritans to the Church of England." As this could not be done without each parties making some Concessions; and as such a proceeding was directly contrary to the temper of the Court and Clergy, he was suspected to countenance Puritanism. Prince Henry was mild and affable, and yet of a warlike genius; and to say all in a word, he was the darling of the Puritans, and of all good men; for though he lived above eighteen Years, no Historian has taxed him with any Vice.

To furnish the Exchequer with money several new Projects were set on foot, as, (1.) His Majesty created a new Order of Knights Baronets; the number not to exceed two hundred, and the expence of the Patent one thousand ninety

New Me-  
thods of rais-  
ing Money.

King  
James I.  
1613.

ninety five pounds. (2.) His Majesty fold Letters Patents for Monopolies. (3.) He obliged such as were worth forty Pounds a Year to compound for not being Knights. (4.) He set to sale the highest Honours and Dignities of the Nation: The price for a Baron was ten thousand Pounds; for a Viscount fifteen thousand; and twenty thousand for an Earl. (5.) Those who had defective Titles were obliged to compound to set them right. And, (6.) The Star-chamber raised their Fines to an excessive degree. But these projects not answering the King's necessities, he was obliged at last to call a Parliament. When the Houses met they fell immediately upon grievances, upon which the King dissolved them, before one Statute was enacted, and committed some of the principal Members of the House of Commons to prison, without admitting them to bail, resolving again to raise money without Parliament.

1615.  
Abstract of  
the Reformation in  
Ireland.

This Year the Articles of the Church of Ireland were ratified and confirmed; the Reformation of that Kingdom had made but a slow progress in the late Reign, by reason of the wars between the English and Natives, and the small proportion of the former to the latter. The Natives had a strong prejudice against the English, as coming into the country by Conquest; and being bigotted Papists, their prejudices were increased by King Henry VIIIth's throwing off the Pope's Supremacy, which threaten'd the loss of their Religion, as well as their civil Liberties. In the Reign of Philip and Mary they were more quiet, when a Law was passed against bringing in the Scots and marrying with them, which continued in force during the whole Reign of Queen Elizabeth, and was a great hindrance to the Progress of the Protestant Religion in that Country; however, an University was erected at Dublin in the Year 1593, and furnished with learned Professors from Cambridge of the Calvinistical Persuasion. James Usher, afterwards the famous Archbishop of Armagh, was the first Student that was entered into the College. The Discipline of the Irish Church was according to the Model of the English; Bishops were nominated to the Popish Dioceses, but their Revenues being alienated, or in the hands of Papists, or very much diminished by the Wars, they were obliged to throw the Revenues of several Bishopricks together, to make a tolerable subsistence for one. The case was the same with the inferior Clergy, forty Shillings a year being a common allowance for a Vicar in the Province of Connaught, and sometimes but sixteen. Thus  
(says



(says Mr. Collyer) the authority of the Bishops went off, and the People followed their own fancies in the choice of Religion.

King  
James I.  
1615.

At the Hampton-Court Conference the King proposed sending Preachers into Ireland, complaining that he was but half Monarch of that Kingdom, the bodies of the People being only subject to his authority, while their Consciences were at the command of the Pope ; but it does not appear that any attempts were made to convert them till after the year 1607. when the Act of the third and fourth of Philip and Mary being repealed, the Citizens of London undertook for the Province of Ulster. These Adventurers built Londonderry, fortified Colrain, and purchased a great tract of Land in the adjacent parts. They sent over considerable numbers of Planters, but were at a loss for Ministers : for the beneficed Clergy of the Church of England being at ease in the enjoyment of their Preferments, would not engage in such a hazardous undertaking, it fell therefore to the Lot of the Scots and English Puritans ; the Scots, by reason of their vicinity to the northern parts of Ireland, transported numerous Colonies ; they improved the Country, and brought preaching into the Churches where they settled : but being of the Presbyterian Persuasion, they formed their Churches after their own Model. The London Adventurers prevailed with several of the English Puritans to remove, who being persecuted at home, were willing to go any where within the King's Dominions for the liberty of their Consciences ; and more would have gone, could they have been secure of a Toleration after they were settled ; but their chief resort was to the Scots ; the first Minister of that Persuasion that went over was Mr. Edward Bryce, who settled in Broad Island in the County of Antrim, 1611. after him Mr. Robert Cunningham in Hollywood, in the County of Down. At the same time came over three English Ministers, all Puritans, trained up under Mr. Cartwright (viz) Mr. Ridges of Antrim, Mr. Henry Calvert, and Mr. Hubbard at Carrickfergus. After these Mr. Robert Blair came from Scotland to Bangor, Mr. Hamilton to Ballywater, and Mr. Levington to Killinshy in the County of Down, with Mr. Welch, Dunbar, and others. Mr. Blair was a zealous Presbyterian, and scrupled Episcopal Ordination, but the Bishop of the Diocese compromised the difference, by agreeing that the other Scots Presbyters of Mr. Blair's Persuasion should join with him, and that such

Rise of the  
Scots Settlements in Ireland.

And of their  
Discipline.

Loyalty  
Presb. p.  
102, 103.

King  
James I.  
1615.

such passages in the established form of Ordination, as Mr. Blair and his Brethren scrupled should be omitted, or exchanged for others of their own approbation. Thus was Mr. Blair ordained publickly in the Church of Bangor; the Bishop of Raphoe did the same for Mr. Levingston; and all the Scots that were ordained in Ireland from this time to the year 1642. were ordained after the same manner; all of them enjoyed the Churches and Tithes though they remained Presbyterian, and used not the Liturgy; nay, the Bishops consulted them about affairs of common concernment to the Church, and some of them were Members of the Convocation in 1634. They had their monthly Meetings at Antrim, for the promoting of Piety and the extirpation of Popery. They had also their quarterly Communion, by which means great numbers of the Inhabitants were civilized, and many became serious Christians. Mr. Blair preached before the Judges of Assize on the Lord's Day, at the desire of the Bishop of Down, and his Curate administered the Sacrament to them the same day; so that there was a sort of comprehension between the two Parties, by the allowance and approbation of the great Archbishop Usher, who encouraged the Ministers in their work. Thus things continued till the administration of Archbishop Laud, who by dividing the Protestants weaken'd their hands, and made way for that prodigious growth of Popery, that ended in the Massacre of almost all the Protestants in the Kingdom.

Articles of  
the Church  
of Ireland.

It appears from hence, that the Réformation of Ireland was built upon a Puritan Foundation, though Episcopacy was the legal establishment; but it was impossible to make any considerable progress in the conversion of the Natives, because of their bigotry and prejudice against the English Nation, whose Language they could not be persuaded to learn. But the Protestant Religion being now pretty well established, it was thought adviseable to frame some Articles of their Common Faith, according to the custom of other Churches: Some moved in Convocation to adopt the Articles of the English Church, but this was overruled, as not so honourable to themselves, who were as much a National Church as England; nor so consistent with their Independency; it was therefore voted to draw up a new Confession of their own; the draught was referred to the conduct of Dr. James Usher, Provost of Dublin College, and afterwards Lord Primate; it afterwards past both Houses of Convocation and Parliament with great unanimity,

nimity, and being sent over to the English Court was approved in Council, and ratified by the Lord Deputy Chichester this year, in the King's Name.

King  
James I.  
1616.

Remarks.  
Append.  
No. I.

These Articles being rarely to be met with, I have given them a place in the Appendix, being in a manner the same that the Puritans requested, at the Hampton Court Conference; for, First, The Nine Articles of Lambeth are incorporated into this confession. Secondly, The morality of the Lord's-day is strongly asserted, and the spending it wholly in religious Exercises is required [Art. 56.] Thirdly, The observation of Lent is declared not to be a religious Fast, but grounded merely on political considerations, for provision of things tending to the better preservation of the Commonwealth [Art. 50.] Fourthly, All Clergymen are said to be lawfully called and sent, who are chosen and called to this work, by Men who have publick authority given them in the Church to call and send Ministers into the Lord's Vineyard [Art. 71.] which is an acknowledgment of the validity of the Ordinations of those Churches that have no Bishops. Fifthly, The power of the keys is said to be only declarative [Art. 74.] Sixthly, The Pope is declared to be Antichrist, or that Man of Sin, whom the Lord shall consume with the Spirit of his Mouth, and abolish with the brightness of his coming [Art. 80.] Seventhly, The Consecration of Archbishops, &c. is not so much as mentioned, as if done on purpose (says Mr. Collyer) to avoid maintaining the distinction between that Order and that of Priests. Lastly, no power is ascribed to the Church in making Canons, or censuring those who either carelessly or wilfully infringe the same. Upon the whole, these Articles seem to be contrived to compromise the difference between the Church and the Puritans; and they had that effect till the year 1634. when by the influence of Archbishop Laud, and of the Earl of Strafford these Articles were set aside, and those of the Church of England received in their room.

To return to England. Among the Puritans that fled from the persecution of Bishop Bancroft was Mr. Henry Jacob, mentioned in the year 1604. this Divine having conferred with Mr. Robinson, Pastor of an English Church at Leyden, embraced his peculiar sentiments of Church discipline, since known by the name of Independency. In the year 1610. Mr. Jacob published at Leyden a small treatise in Octavo, entitled, "The Divine Beginning and Institution of Christ's true visible and material Church;" And followed

Rise of the  
Independants in  
England.



King  
James I.  
1616.

Their man-  
ner of erect-  
ing a  
Church.  
MS. penes  
me.

lowed it next year with another from Middleburgh, which he called "An Explication and Confirmation of his former Treatise." Some time after he returned to England, and having imparted his design, of setting up a separate Congregation, like those in Holland, to the most learned Puritans of those times, as Mr. Throgmorton, Wring, Mansel, Dod, &c. it was not condemned as unlawful, considering there was no prospect of a national Reformation. Mr. Jacob therefore having summoned several of his friends together, as Mr. Staismore, Mr. Browne, Mr. Prior, Almey, Throughton, Allen, Gibbet, Farre, Goodal, and others; and having obtained their consent to unite in Church-fellowship, for the enjoying the Ordinances of Christ in the purest manner, they laid the foundation of the first Independant, or Congregational Church in England, after the following manner; having appointed a day of solemn Fasting and Prayer for a blessing upon their undertaking. Towards the close of the solemnity each of them made open confession of their Faith in our Lord Jesus Christ; and then standing together they joined hands, and "solemnly covenanted with each other in the presence of Almighty God, to walk together in all God's Ways and Ordinances, according as he had already revealed, or should further make them known to them." Mr. Jacob was then chosen their Pastor by the suffrage of the Brotherhood, and others were appointed to the office of Deacons with Fasting and Prayer, and imposition of hands. The same year [1616.] Mr. Jacob published, "A Protestation or Confession in the name of certain Christians, shewing how far they agreed with the reasons of their Dissent drawn from Scripture;" to which was added, a petition to the King for the Toleration of such Christians. And some time after he published, "A Collection of sound Reasons, shewing, how necessary it is for all Christians to walk in all the Ways and Ordinances of God in purity, and in a right Church way." Mr. Jacob continued with his flock about eight years, but in the year 1624. being desirous to enlarge his usefulness, he went with the consent of his Church to Virginia, where soon after he died. Thus, according to the testimony of the Oxford Historian, and some others, Mr. Henry Jacob was the first Independant Minister in England, and this the first Congregational Church. Upon the departure of Mr. Jacob, his Congregation chose Mr. Lathorp their Pastor, whose history, together with that of his little Church, will be continued in its proper place.

The King was so full of his Prerogative, that he apprehended he could convince his Subjects of its absolute extent; for this purpose he turned preacher in the Star-Chamber, and took his text, Psalm lxxii. 1. "Give the King thy Judgments, O God, and thy Righteousness to the King's Son." After dividing and subdividing, and giving the literal and mystical sense of his text, he applied it to the Judges and Courts of Judicature, telling them, "That the King sitting in the Throne of God, all Judgments center in him, and therefore for inferior Courts to determine difficult questions without consulting him, was to incroach upon his Prerogative, and to limit his power, which was not lawful for the tongue of a Lawyer, nor any subject to dispute. As it is Atheism and Blasphemy to dispute what God can do, (says he) so it is presumption, and a high contempt to dispute what Kings can do or say; it is to take away that mystical Reverence that belongs to them who sit in the Throne of God." Then addressing to the Auditory he advises them, "Not to meddle with the King's Prerogative or Honour. Plead not (says he) upon puritanical principles, which makes all things popular, but keep within the ancient limits."

King James I. 1616.  
King's discourse in the Star-Chamber.

Rapin, p. 393.

In speaking of Recusants he says, there are three sorts, (1.) Some that come now and then to Church; these [the Puritans] are formal to the laws, but false to God. (2.) Others that have their Conscience misled, some of these [the Papists that swear allegiance] live as peaceable Subjects. (3.) Others practising Recusants, who oblige their servants and tenants to be of their opinion. These are Men of Pride and Presumption. I am loth to hang a Priest only for his Religion, and saying Mass; but if they refuse the Oath of Allegiance I leave them to the law." He concludes with exhorting the Judges to countenance the Clergy against Papists and Puritans; adding, "God and the King will reward your zeal."

'Tis easy to observe from hence, His Majesty's implacable aversion to the Puritans, by whom we are to understand not only those that refuse the Ceremonies, but all such as were enemies to Monarchy; for all arguments against the extent of the Prerogative are said to be founded on Puritan principles. A King with these maxims should have been frugal of his Revenues, that he might not have stood in need of Parliaments; but our Monarch was extravagantly profuse, and to supply his wants he delivered back this

King  
James I.  
1617.

Mr.  
Baynes's  
Death and  
Character.

year to the Dutch their cautionary Towns, which were the keys of their Country, for less than a quarter part of the money that was borrowed upon them.

This year died the learned and judicious Mr Paul Baynes, born in London, and educated in Christ College, Cambridge, of which he was Fellow. He succeeded Mr. Perkins in the Lecture at St. Andrews Church, where he behaved with that gravity and exemplary piety, as rendered him universally acceptable to all that had any taste of serious Religion, till Archbishop Bancroft sending Dr. Harsnet to visit the University, called upon Mr. Baynes to subscribe according to the Canons, which he refusing, the Doctor silenced him, and put down his Lecture. Mr. Baynes appealed to the Archbishop, but his Grace stood by his Chaplains, and threatened to lay the good old Man by the heels, for appearing before him with a little black edging upon his cuffs. After this Mr. Baynes preached only occasionally, as he could get opportunity, and was reduced to such poverty and want, that he said, "He had not where to lay his head;" but at length death put an end to all his sufferings in the year 1617. He published, "A Commentary upon the Ephesians; the Diocesans trial against Dr. Downham; and some other practical treatises." Dr. Sibbes says, He was a Divine of uncommon learning, clear Judgment, ready wit, and of much Communion with God and his own heart. What pity was it, that such a Divine should be laid aside, and in a manner starved!

Progress of  
the Armini-  
an contro-  
versy in  
Holland.

The disputes in Holland between the Calvinists and Arminians upon the five points, relating to Election, Redemption, Original Sin, Effectual Grace, and Perseverance, rose to such an height, as obliged the States General to have recourse to a national Synod, which was appointed to meet at Dort, Nov. 13th, 1618. Each party had loaded the other with reproaches, and in the warmth of dispute charged their opinions with most invidious consequences, insomuch that all good Neighbourhood was lost, the Pulpits were filled with unprofitable disputes, and where one party prevailed, the other were turned out of the Churches. The Magistrates were no less divided, one City and Town being ready to take up arms against another. At length it grew into a State Faction, which endangered the dissolution of the Government. Maurice, Prince of Orange, though a Remonstrant, put himself at the head of the Calvinists [or Contra-remonstrants] because they were for a Stadtholder, and the Magistrates who were against



against a Stadtholder sided with the [Remonstrants, or] Arminians, among whom the Advocate of Holland, Oldenbarnevelt, and the Pensionaries of Leyden and Rotterdam, Hogerberts and Grotius, were the chief. Several attempts were made for an accommodation, or toleration of the two parties; but this not succeeding, the three heads of the Remonstrants [Arminians] were taken into custody, and the Magistrates of several Towns and Cities changed by the Authority of the Prince, which made way for the choosing such a Synod as his Highness desired. The classes of the several Towns met first in a Provincial Synod, and these sent deputies to the national one, with proper instructions. The Remonstrants were averse to the calling a Synod, because their numbers were not yet equal to the Calvinists, and their Leaders being in custody, it was easy to foresee their approaching fate. They complained of injustice in their summons to the Provincial Assemblies; but Trigland says, That where the Remonstrants [Arminians] were weakest, they were equally regarded with the other party; but in truth, their deputies were angry and dissatisfied, and in many places absented from their classes, and so yielded up their power into the hands of their adversaries, who condemned their principles, and deposed several of their Ministers.

King  
James I.  
1618.

The national Synod of Dort consisted of thirty eight Dutch and Walloon Divines, five Professors of the Universities, and twenty one Lay-elders, making together sixty one persons, of which not above three or four were Remonstrants. Besides these, there were twenty eight foreign Divines, from Great Britain, from the Palatinate, from Hessia, Switzerland, Geneva, Bremen, Emden, Nassau, and Wetteravia; the French King not admitting his Protestant Divines to appear. Next to the States Deputies sat the English Divines; the second place was kept void for the French Divines; the rest sat in the order recited. Upon the right and left hand of the chair, next to the Lay-deputies, sat the Netherland Professors of Divinity, then the Ministers and Elders according to the rank of their Provinces; the Walloon Churches setting last. After the Divines, as well domestick as foreign, had produced their Credentials, the Reverend Mr. John Bogerman of Leewarden was chosen President, the Reverend Mr. Jacob Roland and Herman Faulkelius, of Amsterdam and Middleburgh, Assessors; Heinsius was Scribe, and the Reverend Mr. Damman and Festius Hommius Secretaries; a general

Synod of  
Dort.

King  
James I.  
1618.

Names and  
instructions  
of the English  
Divines.  
Fuller's  
Worthies,  
P. 159.

Fast was then appointed, after which they entered upon Business.

The names of the English Divines were Dr. Carlton Bishop of Landaff, Dr. Hall Dean of Worcester, afterwards Bishop of Norwich, Dr. Davenant afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, and Dr. Samuel Ward Master of Sidney College, Cambridge; but Dr. Hall not being able to bear the climate, Dr. Goad Prebendary of Canterbury, was appointed in his room. Mr. Balcanqual a Scots Man, but no friend to the Kirk, was also commissioned by King James to represent that Church. He was taken into consultation, and joined in suffrage with the English Divines, so as to make one College; for the Divines of each Nation gave but one vote in the Synod, as their united sense: and though Balcanqual did not wear the habits of the English Divines, nor set with them in the Synod, having a place by himself as Representative of the Scots Kirk, yet (says the Bishop of Landaff) his apparel was decent, and in all respects he gave much satisfaction. His Majesty's instructions to them were (1.) To agree among themselves about the state of any question, and how far it may be maintained agreeably to Scriptures and the Doctrine of the Church of England. (2.) To advise the Dutch Ministers not to insist in their Sermons upon scholastick points, but to abide by their former Confession of Faith, and those of their neighbour reformed Churches. (3.) That they should consult the King's Honour, the peace of the distracted Churches, and behave in all things with gravity and moderation.

When all the members of the Synod were got together they took the following oath, in the twenty third Session, each person standing up in his place, and laying his hand on his heart.

Their Oath.  
Brandt,  
Vol. III.  
P. 62.

**I** Promise before God, whom I believe and worship,  
as here present, and as the Searcher of the Reins  
and Hearts, that during the whole course of the  
transactions of this Synod, in which there will be made  
an enquiry into, and judgment and decision of, not  
only the well known Five Points, and all the difficulties  
resulting from thence, but likewise of all other sorts  
of Doctrines; I will not make use of any kind of human  
writings, but only of the Word of God, as a sure  
and infallible rule of Faith. Neither will I have any  
other thing in view throughout this whole discussion,  
“ but

“ but the honour of God, the peace of the Church, and  
 “ above all, the preservation of the purity of Doctrine.  
 “ So help me, my Saviour Jesus Christ, whom I ardently  
 “ beseech to assist me in this my design, by his holy  
 “ Spirit.”

King  
 James I.  
 1618.

This was all the oath that was taken (says Bishop Hall) as I hope to be saved. It was therefore a vile insinuation of Mr. John Goodwin, who in his Redemption redeemed, p. 395. charged them with taking a previous oath to condemn the opposite party on what terms soever. “ It grieves my  
 “ soul, says the Bishop, to see any learned Divine raising  
 “ such imaginary Conjectures ; but since I have seen it, I  
 “ bless God that I yet live to vindicate them [1651.] by  
 “ this my knowing, and clear attestation, which I am ready  
 “ to second with the solemnest oath, if requir’d.”

The Synod continued to the 29th of May, in which time there were one hundred and eighty Sessions. In the hundred and forty fifth Session, and 30th of April, the Belgick Confession of Faith was debated, and put to the question, which the English Divines agreed to, except the Articles relating to the “ Parity of Ministers and Ecclesiastical Discipline.” They said, they had carefully examined the said Confession, and did not find any thing therein, with “ respect to Faith and Doctrine,” but what was in the main conformable to the word of God. They added, that they had likewise considered the Remonstrants [Arminians] exceptions against the said confession, and declared, that they were of such a nature as to be capable of being made against all the confessions of other reformed Churches. They did not pretend to pass any judgment upon the Articles relating to their Church Government, but only maintained, that their own Church Government was founded upon Apostolical Institution.

Brandt. Vol.  
 III. p. 288.

Mr. John Hales of Eaton, Chaplain to the English Ambassador Carlton, sat among the hearers for some weeks, and having taken notes of all that past, transmitted them twice or thrice a week to his Excellency at the Hague. After his departure Dr. Balcanqual, the Scots Commissioner, and Dr. Ames carried on the correspondence. Mr. Hales observes, that the Remonstrants behaved on several occasions very imprudently, not only in the manner of their Debates, but in declining the Authority of the Synod, though summoned by the Civil Magistrate in the most unexceptionable

Behaviour  
 of the Remonstrants.  
 Hales's Remains, p.  
 507, 514,  
 526, 586,  
 587.



King  
James I.  
168.

able manner. The Five points of difference between the Calvinists and Arminians, after a long hearing, were decided in favour of the former. After which the Remonstrant Ministers were dismissed the Assembly, and banished the Country within a limited time, except they submitted to the new confession; on which occasion there past some very hard Speeches on both Sides, and Appeals to the final judgment of God.

And of the  
English Di-  
vines.  
Brandt, p.  
256.

When the opinion of the British Divines was read, upon the extent of Christ's death, it was observed, that they omitted the received distinction between the Sufficiency and Efficacy of it; nor did they touch upon the received limitation of those Passages, which speaking of Christ's dying for the whole World, are usually interpreted of the "World of the Elect," Dr. Davenant and some of his brethren inclining to the Doctrine of "Universal Redemption." In all other points there was a perfect harmony; and even in this Bancroft says, King James and the Archbishop of Canterbury desired them to comply, though Heylin says, their instructions were not to oppose the Doctrine of Universal Redemption. But Dr. Davenant and Ward were for a middle way between the two extremes: they maintained the "Certainty of the Salvation of a certain number of the Elect," and that offers of pardon were sent not only to all that should believe and repent, but to all that heard the Gospel; and that Grace sufficient to convince and persuade the Impenitent (so as to lay the blame of their condemnation upon themselves) went along with these offers; that the Redemption of Christ and his Merits were applicable to these, and consequently there was a possibility of their Salvation. However, they complied with the Synod, and declared their confession in the main, agreeable to the word of God; but this gave rise to a report some years after, that they had deserted the Doctrine of the Church of England; upon which Bishop Hall expressed his concern to Dr. Davenant in these words, "I shall live and die in the suffrage of that Synod of Dort; and I do confidently avow, that those other opinions [of Arminius] cannot stand with the Doctrine of the Church of England." To which Bishop Davenant replied in these words, "I know that no Man can embrace Arminianism in the Doctrines of Predestination and Grace, but he must desert the Articles agreed upon by the Church of England; nor in the point of Perseverance, but he must vary from the received opinions of our best approved Doctors in the

“ the English Church.” Yet Heylin has the assurance to say, “ That though the Arminian Controversy brought some trouble for the present to the Churches of Holland, it was of greater advantage to the Church of England, whose Doctrine in those points had been so over-born by the Calvinists, that it was almost reckon’d for an heresy to be sound and orthodox [i. e. an Arminian] according to the Book of Articles, established by Law in the Church of England.” He adds, “ That King James did not appear for Calvinism out of judgment, but for reasons of State, and from a personal friendship to Prince Maurice, who had put himself at their head. He therefore sent such Divines as had zeal enough to condemn the Remonstrants, though it was well known that he had disapproved the Articles of Lambeth, and the Doctrine of Predestination; nor was it a secret what advice he had given Prince Maurice before he put himself at the head of the Calvinists.”

King  
James I.  
1618.  
Hist. Presb.  
p 381.  
Quinquart.  
Hist.

When the Synod was broke up people spake of it in a very different manner; the States of Holland were highly satisfied; they gave handsome rewards to the chief Divines, and ordered the original Records of their Proceedings to be kept amongst their Archives. The English Divines express’d full satisfaction in the proceedings of the Synod. Mr. Baxter says, the Christian World since the days of the Apostles never had an Assembly of more excellent Divines till this time. The learned Jacobus Capellus, Professor of Leyden, said, that the equity of the Fathers of this Synod was such, that no Instance can be given since the Apostolick age, of any other Synod, in which the Hereticks were heard with more Patience, or which proceeded with a better temper, or more sanctity. P. Du Moulin, Paulus Servita, and the Author of the Life of Walæus speak the same language. But others poured contempt upon the Synod, and burlesqu’d their proceedings in the following lines.

Censures of  
the Synod.  
Brandt, p.  
307.

“ Dordrechtii Synodus, Nodus; Chorus integer, æger;  
“ Conventus, ventus, Sessio, Stramen, Amen.

Lewis du Moulin, with all the favourers of the Arminian Doctrines, as Heylin, Womack, Brandt, &c. charge the Synod with partiality and unjustifiable severity. But upon the whole, they proceeded as well as most assemblies ancient or modern, who pretend to establish Articles of Faith

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for other people with penal Sanctions. I shall take leave of this venerable Synod with this further remark, that King James's sending over Divines to set in this assembly, was an open acknowledgment of the validity of ordination by mere Presbyters; for here was a Bishop of the Church of England setting as a private Member in a Synod of Divines, of which a mere Presbyter was the President.

Proceedings  
in Scotland,

In the summer of the year 1617, King James made a progress into Scotland, to advance the episcopal cause in that Country; the Chapel of Edinburgh was adorned after the manner of Whitehall; pictures being carried from hence with the Statues of the twelve Apostles, which were set up in the Church. His Majesty treated his Scots Subjects with a haughty distance; telling them, both in the Parliament and General Assembly, "That it was a power innate; a princely special prerogative which Christian Kings have, to order and dispose external things in the outward polity of the Church, as we with our Bishops shall think fit; and sirs for your approving or disapproving; deceive not yourselves, I will not have my reason opposed." Two Acts relating to the Church were pass'd this Session; one concerning the choice of Archbishops and Bishops, and another for the restitution of chapters; but the Ministers protested against both, for which several of them were suspended and deprived, and some of them banished, as the Melvins, Mr. Forbes, &c. and as the famous Mr. Calderwood, Author of the "Altare Damascenum," had been before; which Book when one of the English Prelates promised to answer, the King replied, "What will you answer, Man? there is nothing here than Scripture, Reason, and Fathers."

Calderw.  
Ch. Hist. in  
Pref.

Next year a Convention or Assembly was summoned to meet at Perth, August, 25. 1618. It consisted of some Noblemen, Statesmen, Barons and Burgesses, chosen on purpose to bear down the Ministers; and with what violence things were carried, God, and all indifferent Spectators, (says my Author) are witnesses. In this Assembly, the Court and Bishops made a shift to carry the following five Articles.

Five Arti-  
cles of  
Perth.

1. That the Holy Sacrament shall be received kneeling.

2. That Ministers shall be obliged to administer the Sacrament in private houses to the sick, if they desire it.

3. That



3. That Ministers may baptize Children privately at home in cases of necessity, only certifying it to the congregation the next Lord's Day.

4. That Ministers shall bring such Children of their parish as can say their Catechism, and repeat the Lord's Prayer, Creed, and Ten Commandments, to the Bishops, to confirm and give them their Blessing.

5. That the Festivals of Christmas, Easter, Whitson-tide, and the Ascension of our Saviour, shall for the future be commemorated in the Kirk of Scotland.

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Course  
inform.  
p. 60.

The King ordered these articles to be published at the Market Crosse of the severall Burroughs, and the Ministers to read them in their pulpits; but the greatest number of of the latter refused, there being no penalty, except the King's displeasure: But the vote of the Assembly at Perth not being sufficient to establish these articles into a law, it was resolved to use all the interest of the Court to carry them thro' the Parliament. This was not attempted till the year 1621, when the Parliament met on the first of June, the ministers had prepared a supplication against the Five Articles, giving reasons why they should not be received or confirmed, and came to Edinburgh in great numbers to support it. Upon this, the King's Commissioner, by advice of the Bishops and Council, issued out a proclamation, commanding all ministers to depart out of Edinburgh within twenty hours, except the settled Ministers of the city, and such as shall have a license from the Bishop. The Ministers obey'd, but left behind them a protestation against the articles, and an admonition to the members of parliament not to ratify them, as they would answer it in the Day of Judgment. They alledged, that the assembly of Perth was illegal, and that the articles were against the privileges of the Kirk, and the established laws of the kingdom: But the Court interest prevailed, and with much difficulty the articles were ratified, contrary to the sense of the Kirk and Nation. This bred a great deal of ill blood, and raised a new persecution throughout the kingdom, many of the Presbyterian Ministers being fined, imprisoned, and banished by the High Commission, at a time when, by their interest with the people, it was in their power to have turned their task-masters out of the kingdom.

Ratified in  
Parliament.

Thus far King James proceeded towards the restitution of Episcopacy in Scotland; but one thing was still wanting to compleat the work, which was a publick Liturgy, or Book

of

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Selden's  
Recanta-  
tion.

of Common Prayer. Several consultations were held upon this head ; but the King being assured it would occasion an insurrection over the whole kingdom wisely drop'd it, and left that unhappy work to be finished by his son, whose imposing it upon the Kirk, without consent of Parliament or General Assembly, set fire to the discontents of the people, which had been gathering for so many years.

To return to England. This year the learned Mr. Selden was summoned before the High Commission, for publishing his History of 'Tithes, in which he proves them not to be of divine, but human appointment ; and, after many threatnings, was obliged to sign the following recantation.

My good Lords,

" I Most humbly acknowledge my error in publishing the  
" History of 'Tithes, and especially in that I have at all  
" (by shewing any interpretation of Holy Scriptures, by  
" meddling with Councils, Fathers, or Canons, or by  
" what else soever occurs in it) offered any occasion of ar-  
" gument against any right of maintenance, Jure Divino,  
" of the Ministers of the Gospel ; beseeching your Lord-  
" ships to receive this ingenuous and humble acknowledg-  
" ment, together with the unfeigned protestation of my  
" grief, for that I have so incur'd his Majesty's and your  
" Lordships displeasure, conceived against me in behalf of  
" the Church of England."

Jan. 28, 1618.

John Selden.

Fuller,  
Book X.  
p. 70.  
Collyer,  
p. 717.

But notwithstanding this submission, Mr. Fuller says, 'tis certain that a fiercer storm never fell upon all Parsonage Barns since the Reformation, than what was raised up by this Treatise ; nor did Mr. Selden quickly forget their stopping his mouth after this manner.

Mr. Brad-  
shaw's death  
and cha-  
racter.

This year died the Reverend Mr. William Bradshaw, born at Bosworth in Leicestershire, 1571, and educated in Emanuel College, Cambridge. He was afterwards removed, and admitted Fellow of Sidney College ; where he got an easy admission into the Ministry, being dispensed with in some things that he scrupled. He preached first as a Lecturer at Abington, and then at Steeple-Morton. At length, by the recommendation of Dr. Chadderton, he was settled at

at Chatham in Kent, in the year 1601; but before he had been there a twelve-month, he was sent for by the Archbishop to Shorne, a town situate between Rochester and Gravesend, and commanded to subscribe, which he refusing, was immediately suspended. The inhabitants of Chatham, in their petition for his restoration, say, that his doctrine was most wholesome, true, and learned, void of faction and contention; and his life so garnished with unblemished virtues and graces, as malice itself could not reprove him. But all intercessions were to no purpose: He therefore removed into another Diocese, where he obtained a License, and at length was chosen Lecturer of Christ Church in London. Here he publish'd a treatise against the Ceremonies, for which he was obliged to leave the city, and retire to his friend Mr. Redriche's at Newhall in Leicester-shire. The Bishop's Chancellor followed him thither, with an inhibition to preach, but by the mediation of a couple of good angels (says my author) the restraint was taken off. In this silent and melancholy retirement he spent the vigour and strength of his days. At length, as he was attending Mrs. Redriche on a visit to Chelsea, he was seized with a violent fever, which in a few days put an end to his life, in the forty eighth year of his age. He was full of heavenly expressions in his last sickness, and died with great satisfaction in his Non-conformity. Dr. Hall, Bishop of Norwich, gives him this character: "That he was of a strong brain, and of a free spirit, "not suffering himself for small differences of judgment, "to be alienated from his friends, to whom, notwithstanding his seeming austerity, he was very pleasing in "conversation, being full of witty and harmless urbanity: He was very strong and eager in arguing, hearty "in friendship, regardless of the world, a despiser of compliments, a lover of reality, full of digested and excellent notions, a painful labourer in God's vineyard, and "now, no doubt, gloriously rewarded." Such was this Light, which, by the severity of the times, was put under a bushel!

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Gatak. Life  
of Bradth.  
P. 49.

In order to put a stop to the growth of Puritanism; and silence the objections of papists against the strictness of the reformed Religion; his Majesty this year published, "A declaration to encourage recreations and sports on the "Lord's Day," contrary to his proclamation in the first year of his reign; and to the Articles of the Church of Ireland, ratified under the Great Seal, 1615. in which the morality of

Book of  
Sports pub-  
lished.



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Heyl. Hist.  
Presb. p.  
389.

of the Lord's Day is affirmed. "But (says Heylin) the Puritans, by raising the Sabbath, took occasion to depress the Festivals, and introduced, by little and little, a general neglect of the weekly Fasts, the holy Time of Lent, and the Embring Days, reducing all Acts of Humiliation to solemn and occasional Fasts." Sad indeed! But this was not all the mischief that ensued (says the Doctor) for several Preachers and Justices of the Peace took occasion from hence to forbid all lawful sports on the Lord's Day, by means whereof the Priests and Jesuits persuaded the people in the northern Counties, that the reformed Religion was incompatible with that christian Liberty which God and nature had indulged to the sons of men: So that to preserve the people from Popery, his Majesty was brought under a necessity to publish the Book of Sports."

It was drawn up by Bishop Moreton, and dated from Greenwich, May 24, 1618. and is to this effect: "That for his good People's Recreation, his Majesty's pleasure was, that after the end of divine Service, they should not be disturbed, letted, or discouraged from any lawful Recreations; such as Dancing, either of men or women, Archery for men, Leaping, Vaulting, or any such harmless recreations; nor having of May-games, Whitsonales, or Morrice-dances, or setting up of May-poles, or other sports therewith used, so as the same may be had in due and convenient time, without impediment, or let of divine Service; and that women should have leave to carry Rushes to the Church for the decoring of it, according to their old Customs; withal prohibiting all unlawful Games to be used on Sundays only; as Bear-baiting, Bull-baiting, Interludes, and at all times (in the meaner sort of people prohibited) Bowling." Two or three restraints were annexed to the Declaration, which deserve the reader's notice: (1.) No Recusant, [i. e. Papist] was to have the benefit of this Declaration. (2.) Nor such as were not present at the whole of divine Service. Nor (3.) such as did not keep to their own Parish Churches, that is, Puritans.

This Declaration was ordered to be read in all the Parish Churches of Lancashire, which abounded with Papists; and Wilson adds, that it was to be read in all the Churches of England; but that Archbishop Abbot being at Croydon, flatly forbid its being read there. It was certainly an imprudent project, as well as a grief to all sober Protestants; and

and had the King insisted upon its being read throughout all the Churches at this time, I am apt to think it would have produced the same Convulsions, as it did about fifteen years afterwards.

King  
James I.  
1618.

'Tis hard to account for the distinction between lawful and unlawful Sports on the Lord's Day: If any Sports are lawful, why not all? What reason can be given why Morrice-dances, Revels, May-games, Whitson-ales, Wakes, &c. should be more lawful than Interludes, Bull-baiting, or Bowls. It cannot arise from their moral nature; for the former have as great a tendency to promote Vice, as the latter. But the Exceptions to the benefit of this Declaration are more extraordinary: Could his Majesty think that the Puritans, who were present at part of divine Service, though not at the whole; or that those who went to other Parish Churches for their better edification, would lay hold of the liberty of his Declaration, when he knew they believed the morality of the Fourth Commandment, and that no Ordinance of Man could make void the Law of God? Further, his Majesty debars Reculants, [i. e. Papists] from this liberty, which their Religion had always indulged them; but these are now to be restrained: The Papist is to turn Puritan, with regard to the Sabbath, being forbid the use of lawful Recreations on the Lord's Day; and Protestants are to dance and revel, and go to their May-games on that sacred Day, to preserve them from Popery: But this Subject will return again in the next reign.

Remarks.

This Year and the next proved fatal to the Protestant Interest in Germany, by the loss of the Palatinate into the hands of the Papists, and the ruin of the Elector Frederick V. King of Bohemia, who had married the King's only Daughter. This being a remarkable Period, relating to the Ancestors of his present Majesty King George II. it will be no unuseful Digression to set it in a proper light. The Kingdom of Bohemia was elective, and because their King did not always reside with them, a certain number of persons were chosen by the States, called Defenders, to see the laws put in Execution. There were two Religions established by law; one was called Sub-una, the other Sub-utraque; the former were Roman Catholicks, and communicated under one Kind; the latter Hussites and since the Reformation, Protestants, who communicated under both Kinds. The Emperor Sigismund, in order to secure his Election to this Kingdom, granted the Hussites an Edict in the year 1435. whereby it was decreed that

State of the  
Protestant  
Religion in  
the Kingdom  
of Bohemia.

Rapin.

King.  
James I.  
1619.

there should be no Magistrate or Freeman of the City of Prague, but what was of their Religion. This was religiously observed till the year 1570. when, by order of Maximilian, a Catholick was made a Citizen of Prague; after which time, the Edict was frequently broken, till at length the Jesuits erected a stately College, and put the Papists on a level with the Protestants. Matthias the present Emperor, having adopted his Cousin Ferdinand of Austria, had a mind to get him the Crown of Bohemia; for which purpose, he summoned an Assembly of the States, without sending, as usual, to the Protestants of Silesia, Moravia, and the Upper and Lower Alsatia: These therefore not attending (according to the Emperor's wish) made the Catholicks a majority, who declared Ferdinand presumptive successor to Matthias; after which, he was crowned at Prague, and resided at Gratz. The Defenders taking notice of this breach of their Constitution, and perceiving the design of the Imperial Court to extirpate the Protestant Religion, summoned an assembly of all the States, and among others, those of Silesia, Moravia, and Alsatia, who drew up a petition to the Emperor, to demand the execution of the laws, and a reasonable satisfaction for the injuries they had received; after which they adjourned themselves to the Monday after Rogation week, 1618. The Emperor, instead of granting their requests, ordered his Lieutenant to hinder the re-assembling of the States, as being called without his licence; but the States assembled according to their adjournment, and being informed of the force that was designed against them, went in a body to the Chancery, and having seized the Emperor's Chief Justice, the Secretary, and another of his Council, they threw them out of the Castle Window, and then drove the Jesuits out of the City. In order to justify their Proceedings they published to the world an Apology, and having signed a confederacy, to stand by one another against all opposers, they chose twenty four Protectors, empowering them to raise forces, and levy such taxes as they should find necessary.

Electo  
Palatine  
chosen K. of  
Bohemia.

In this situation of affairs the Emperor, who was also King of Bohemia, died, and on the 18th of Aug. 1619. Ferdinand was chosen his successor in the Empire, but the Bohemians not only disowned him for their King, but declared the Throne vacant, and on Sept. 5. elected Frederick, Elector Palatine, King James's Son in law, for their Sovereign. Deputies were immediately sent to acquaint him with the choice, and pray him to repair immediately



to Prague. Frederick dispatched an exprefs to England, to desire the advice of his Father in law ; but the affair not admitting of fo long delay, he accepted of the Kingdom, and was crown'd at Prague Nov. 4.

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All the Protestant Electors rejoiced at this providence, and gave him the title of King of Bohemia ; as did most of the Protestant Powers of Europe, except the King of England. It was acceptable news to the English Puritans, to hear of a Protestant King in Bohemia ; and they earnestly desired his Majesty to support him, as appears by Archbishop Abbot's letter, who was known to speak the sense of that whole party. This Prelate being asked his opinion as a Privy Counsellor, while he was confined to his bed with the Gout, writ the following letter to the Secretary of State.

Acceptable  
to the Puri-  
tans.

" That it was his opinion, that the Elector should accept  
" the Crown ; that England should support him openly ;  
" and, that as soon as news of his Coronation should ar-  
" rive, the bells should be rung, guns fired, and bonfires  
" made, to let all Europe see, that the King was deter-  
" mined to countenance him." The Archbishop adds,  
" 'Tis a great honour to our King, to have such a Son  
" made a King ; methinks, I foresee in this the work of  
" God, that by degrees the Kings of the earth shall leave  
" the Whore to Desolation. Our striking in, will comfort  
" the Bohemians, and bring in the Dutch and the Dane,  
" and Hungary will run the same Fortune. As for money  
" and means let us trust God and the Parliament, as the  
" old and honourable way of raising money. This from  
" my bed, (says the brave old Prelate) Sept. 12th 1619.  
" and when I can stand I will do better service."

Cabbala. B.I.  
p. 12.

But the King disliked the Archbishop's letter, as built upon Puritan Principles ; he had an ill opinion of Elective Kingdoms, and of the peoples power to dispose of Crowns ; besides, he was afraid of disobliging the Roman Catholick Princes, and in particular the King of Spain, a near relation of the new Emperor's, with whom he was in treaty for a Wife for his Son ; so that the Elector's Envoy, after long waiting, was sent back, with an admonition to his Son in law to refuse the Crown ; but this being too late, he took it into his head to persuade him to quit it, and stood still, offering his mediation, and sending Ambassadors, while the Emperor raised a powerful army, not only to reduce the Kingdom of Bohemia, but to dispossess the Elector of his hereditary Dominions. Several Princes of Europe gave the King notice of the design, and exhorted him to support the

But disliked  
by the Eng-  
lish Court.

Pro.

King  
James I.  
1619.

Protestant Religion in the Empire; but his Majesty was deaf to all advice, and for the sake of a Spanish Wife for his Son, suffered his own Daughter, with her numerous family of Children, to be sent a begging, and the balance of Protestant Power to be lost in the Empire; for the next summer the Emperor and his Allies having conquered the Palatinate entered Bohemia, and about the middle of November fought the decisive battle of Prague, wherein Frederick's army was entirely routed; his hereditary Dominions, which had been the sanctuary of the Protestants in Queen Mary's Reign, were given to the Duke of Bavaria a Papist; the noble Library of Heidelberg was carried off to the Vatican at Rome, and the Elector himself, with his Wife and Children, forced to fly into Holland in a starving condition.

Remarks.

Had the King of England had any remains of honour, courage, or regard for the Protestant Religion, he might have preserved it in the Palatinate, and established it in Bohemia, by which the balance of Power would have been on that side; but this cowardly Prince would never draw his Sword for the best Cause in the world; however, this noble Family was the care of divine Providence, during a long exile of twenty eight Years; after which they were restored to their Dominions by the treaty of Munster, 1648. and declared presumptive heirs of the Crown of Great Britain, in the last year of King William III. of which they took possession upon the death of Q. Anne, 1714. to the inexpressible joy of the Protestant Dissenters, and of all that loved the reformed Religion and the Liberties of their Country.

1620.  
Puritans settled in New  
England.

Among the Brownists in Holland we have mention'd the Reverend Mr. John Robinson of Leyden, the Father of the Independants, whose numerous Congregation being on the decline, by their aged members dying off, and their children marrying into Dutch families, they consulted how to preserve their Church and Religion; and at length, after several solemn addresses to Heaven for direction, the younger part of the Congregation resolved to remove into some part of America, under the Protection of the King of England, where they might enjoy the liberty of their consciences, and be capable of encouraging their Friends and Countrymen to follow them. Accordingly they sent over Agents into England, who, after they had obtained a Patent from the Crown, agreed with several Merchants to become Adventurers in this Undertaking. Several

veral of Mr. Robinson's Congregation sold their Estates, and made a common Bank, with which they purchased a small Ship of sixty Tons, and hired another of one hundred and eighty. The Agents sailed into Holland with their own Ship, to take in as many of the Congregation as were willing to embark, while the other vessel was freight- ing with all necessaries for the new Plantation. All things being ready, Mr. Robinson kept a day of Fasting and Prayer with his Congregation, and took his leave of the Adventurers with the following exhortation.

King.  
James I.  
1620.

Brethren,

WE are now quickly to part from one another, and whether I may ever live to see your Faces on Earth any more, the God of Heaven only knows; but whether the Lord has appointed that or no, I charge you before God and his blessed Angels, that you follow me no farther than you have seen me follow the Lord Jesus Christ.

Mr. Robin-  
son's parting  
Speech to  
his Congre-  
gation:

"If God reveal any thing to you, by any other instru- ment of his, be as ready to receive it as ever you was to receive any truth by my Ministry; for I am verily per- suaded, the Lord has more truth yet to break forth out of his holy word. For my part, I cannot sufficiently be- wail the condition of the reformed Churches, who are come to a period in Religion, and will go at present no farther than the instruments of their Reformation. The Lutherans can't be drawn to go beyond what Lũther saw; whatevver part of his will our God has revealed to Calvin, they will rather die than embrace it; and the Calvinists, you see, stick fast where they were left by that great Man of God, who yet saw not all things.

"This is a misery much to be lamented; for though they were burning and shining Lights in their times, yet they penetrated not into the whole Counsel of God; but were they now living, would be as willing to embrace further Light as that which they first received. I be- seech you, remember, 'tis an Article of your Church Covenant, that "You be ready to receive whatever truth shall be made known to you from the written word of God." Remember that, and every other Article of your sacred Covenant. But I must herewithal exhort you, to take heed what you receive as truth, examine it, consider it, and compare it with other Scriptures of truth, before you receive it; for it is not possible the Christian



King  
James I.  
1620.

“ World should come so lately out of such thick Antichristian darkness, and that perfection of knowledge should break forth at once.

“ I must also advise you to abandon, avoid, and shake off the name of Brownists, 'tis a mere Nick-name, and a brand for the making Religion, and the Professors of it, odious to the Christian World.”

Colony of  
New Plimouth.

On the 1st of July the Adventurers went from Leyden to Delfthaven, whither Mr. Robinson and the Ancients of his Congregation accompanied them; they continued together all night, and next morning, after mutual embraces, Mr. Robinson kneeled down on the Sea-shore, and with a fervent prayer committed them to the protection and blessing of Heaven. The adventurers were about one hundred and twenty, who, having joined their other Ship, sail'd for New England, August 5. but one of their vessels proving leaky they left it, and embarked in one vessel, which arrived at Cape Cod, November the 9th, 1620. Sad was the condition of these poor Men, who had the Winter before them, and no accommodations at land for their entertainment; most of them were in a weak and sickly condition with the voyage, but there was no remedy; they therefore mann'd their Long-boat, and having coasted the shore, at length found a tolerable harbour, where they landed their effects, and on the 25th of December began to build a Store-house, and some small cottages to preserve them from the weather. Their company was divided into nineteen families, each family having an allotment of land for lodging and gardens, in proportion to the number of persons of which it consisted; and to prevent disputes, the situation of each family was decided by lot. They agreed likewise upon some laws for their Civil and Military Government, and having chosen a Governor, they called the place of their Settlement by the name of New Plimouth.

Inexpressible were the hardships these new Planters underwent the first Winter; a sad mortality raged among them, occasioned by the fatigues of their late voyage, by the severity of the weather, and their want of necessaries. The Country was full of woods and thickets; their poor cottages could not keep them warm; they had no Physician, nor wholesome food, so that within two or three months half the company was dead, and of them that remained, which were about fifty, not above six or seven at a time were capable  
of

of helping the rest ; but as the spring came on they recovered, and having received some fresh supplies from their friends in England, they maintained their station, and laid the foundation of one of the noblest settlements in America, which from that time has proved an Asylum for the Non-conformists under all their oppressions.

King  
James I.  
1621

To return to England ; though the King had so lately expressed a zeal for the Doctrines of Calvin at the Synod of Dort, it now appeared that he had shaken them off, by his advancing the most zealous Arminians, as Buckeridge, Neile, Harfnet and Laud, to some of the best Bishopricks in the Kingdom. These Divines, apprehending their principles hardly consistent with the thirty nine Articles, fell in with the prerogative, and covered themselves under the wing of his Majesty's pretensions to unlimited power, which gave rise to a new distinction at Court between Church and State Puritans. All were Puritans with King James, who stood by the Laws of the Land in opposition to his arbitrary Government, though otherwise never so good Churchmen ; these were " Puritans in the State," as those who scrupled the ceremonies, and stood by the Doctrines of Calvin, were in the Church. The Church Puritans were comparatively few, but being joined by those who stood by the constitution, they became the majority of the Nation. To balance these the King protected and countenanced the Arminians and Papists, who joined heartily with the prerogative and became a State Faction against the old English constitution. The parties being thus formed grew up into hatred of each other. All that opposed the King's arbitrary measures were called at Court by the name of Puritans ; and those that stood by the Crown in opposition to the Parliament, went by the names of Papists and Arminians. These were the seeds of those factions which occasioned all the disturbances of the following Reign.

Rise of the  
Arminians  
at Court.

The Palatinate being lost, and the King's Son-in-law and Daughter forced to take sanctuary in Holland, all the World murmured at his Majesty's indolence, both as a Father and a Protestant ; these murmurs obliged him at length to have recourse to a Parliament, from whom he hoped to squeeze a little money to spend upon his pleasures ; at the opening of the Parliament, Jan. 20. 1620-1. his Majesty told them, " That they were no other than his Council, to give him " advice as to what he should ask. " 'Tis the King (says " he) that makes laws," and ye are to advise him to make " such as will be best for the Common-wealth ;—" With

1621.  
Proceedings  
of Parlia-  
ment.

King  
James I.  
1621.

regard to his tolerating Popery, on the account of his Son's Match, he professes, "He will do nothing but what shall be for the good of Religion."—With regard to the Palatinate he says, "If he can't get it restor'd by fair means, his Crown, his Blood, and his Son's Blood, shall be spent for its recovery." He therefore commands them not to hunt after grievances, but to be quick and speedy in giving him money. Though the Parliament did not believe the King's Speech, yet the occasion was so reasonable, that the Commons immediately voted him two entire Subsidies, and the Clergy three; but finding his Majesty awed by the Spaniard, and making no preparation for war, they began to enquire into grievances, upon which the King adjourned the Houses; (a power not claimed by any of his predecessors.) But upon the day of adjournment the Commons drew up a Declaration, wherein they say, "That being touched with a true sense, and fellow-  
"feeling of the Sufferings of the King's Children, and of  
"the true professors of the same Christian Religion pro-  
"fessed by the Church of England in foreign parts, as  
"Members of the same Body, they unanimously declare,  
"that they will be ready, to the utmost of their power,  
"both with their Lives and Fortunes, to assist his Majesty  
"so, as that he may be able to do that with the Sword  
"which by a peaceable course shall not be effected."

Their Re-  
monstrance  
against Pa-  
pists.

Upon their re-assembling in the month of November, finding the King still amused by the Spanish Match, while the Protestant Interest in the Palatinate was expiring, the Commons drew up a large Remonstrance, in which they represent the danger of the Protestant Religion from the Growth of Popery, from the open resort of Papists to the Ambassadors Chapels; from the frequent and numerous Conventicles both in City and Country; from the interposing of foreign Ambassadors in their favour; from the compounding of their forfeitures for such small sums of money as amounts to little less than a toleration; from the education of Gentlemen's Children in Popish Seminaries, and the licentious printing and publishing Popish Books; wherefore they pray his Majesty to take his Sword in hand for the Recovery of the Palatinate, to put the laws in execution against Papists, to break off the Spanish Match, and to marry his Son to a Protestant Prince. The King hearing of this Remonstrance sent the Speaker a Letter from New-Market to acquaint the  
House,

The King's  
arbitrary be-  
haviour.  
Rapin, p.  
466, &c.



House, "That he absolutely forbid their meddling with  
"any thing concerning his Government, or with his Son's  
"Match;" and to keep them in awe, his Majesty declar-  
ed, "That he thinks himself at liberty to punish any  
"Man's misdemeanor's in Parliament, as well during their  
"sitting, as after, which he means not to spare hereafter  
"upon occasion of any Man's insolent behaviour in the  
"House." In answer to this letter the Commons drew up

King  
James I.  
1621.

a petition to present with their Remonstrance, in which they  
insist upon the laws of their Country, and the freedom of  
debates in Parliament. The King writ them a long An-  
swer, which concludes with denying them, what they call  
"Their ancient and undoubted Right and Inheritance."

The Commons in debate upon his Majesty's Answer, drew  
up a Protestation in maintenance of their claim, and caus-  
ed it to be entered in their Journal Book. Upon this the  
King being come to London, declared in Council the pro-  
testation to be null, and with great indignation tore it out  
of the Book with his own hand. A few days after he  
dissolved the Parliament, and issued out a Proclamation,  
forbidding his Subjects to talk of State Affairs. He also  
committed the leading Members to prison, as Sir Edward  
Coke, Sir Robert Philips, Mr. Selden, Mr. Pym, and Mr.  
Mallery; others were sent into Ireland, and the Earls of Ox-  
ford and Southampton were sent to the Tower.

Wilson,  
p. 150.  
Rapin,  
p. 493.

The King having parted with his Parliament was at  
liberty to gratify the Spaniard, by indulging the Papists;  
for this purpose the Lord Keeper Williams, by his Ma-  
jesty's Command, writ to all the Judges, "That in their  
"several circuits they discharge all prisoners for Church  
"recusancy; or for refusing the Oath of Supremacy;  
"or for dispersing Popish Books; or hearing or saying  
"Mafs; or for any other point of Recusancy that con-  
"cerned Religion." Accordingly all the Jesuits and Po-  
pish Recusants of all sorts were enlarged, to the number  
(says Mr. Prynne) of four thousand; all prosecutions  
were stayed, and the penal laws suspended. Upon this,  
great numbers of Jesuits, and other Missionaries, flocked  
into England; Mafs was celebrated openly in the Countries;  
and in London their private Assemblies were so crouded, that  
at a meeting in Black Fryars [Nov. 5. 1622. N. S.] the  
floor sunk under them and killed the Preacher and ninety  
three of the hearers.

1622.  
Laws against  
Papists re-  
laxed.  
Fuller,  
B. X.  
p. 191.

King  
James I.  
1622.

Mr.  
Knight's  
Sermon a-  
gainst the  
Prerogative.

Oxford  
Decree.

King's In-  
junctions to  
restrain  
preaching  
the Doc-  
trines of  
Calvin.

While the Papists were countenanced, the Court and the new Bishops bore hard upon the Puritans, filling the Pulpits with Men of arbitrary principles, and punishing those who dared to preach for the Rights of the Subject. The Reverend Mr. Knight of Broadgate Hall, in a Sermon before the University of Oxford on 2 Kings xix. 9. advanced this proposition, "That subordinate Magistrates might lawfully make use of force, and defend themselves, the Commonwealth, and the true Religion in the field, against the chief Magistrate, within the cases and conditions following, 1. When the chief Magistrate turns Tyrant. 2. When he forces his Subjects upon Blasphemy or Idolatry. 3. When any intolerable burthens or pressures are laid upon them. And, 4. When resistance is the only expedient to secure their Lives, their Fortunes, and the Liberty of their Consciences." The Court being informed of this Sermon sent for the Preacher, and asked him, What authority he had for his assertion? He answered, Paræus on Romans xiiiith, but, that his principal authority was King James himself, who was sending assistance to the Rochellers against their natural Prince. Upon this bold Answer Mr. Knight was confined in the Gate-House; Paræus's Commentaries were burnt at Oxford and London; his assertions were condemned as false and seditious; and the University of Oxford in full Convocation passed a Decree, "That it was not lawful for Subjects to appear offensively in arms against their King on the score of Religion, or on any other account, according to the Scripture" How this was reconcilable with the King's assisting the French Hugonots, I must leave with the Reader. But to bind the Nation down for ever in principles of slavery, all Graduates of the University of Oxford were enjoined to subscribe the above-mentioned Decree, and to swear, "That they would always continue of the same opinion." Was there ever such an unreasonable oath? For a Man to swear he will always be of the same mind! But such was the severity of the times!

But to distress the Puritans more effectually, the King sent the following directions to the Archbishop, to be communicated to all the Clergy of his Province. Dated from Windsor, Aug. 10, 1622.

1. "That no Preacher under a Bishop or Dean, shall make a set discourse, or fall into any common-place of  
" Divinity

Divinity in his Sermons, not comprehended in the thirty-nine Articles.

King  
James I.  
1622.

2. " That no Parson, Vicar, Curate or Lecturer, shall preach any Sermon hereafter, on Sundays or Holidays in the afternoon, but expound the Catechism, Creed, or Ten Commandments; and that those be most encouraged who catechise Children only.

3. " That no Preacher under a Bishop or Dean, presume to preach in any popular Auditory on the deep points of Predestination, Election, Reprobation; or of the Universality, Efficacy, Resistibility or Irresistibility of God's Grace.

4. " That no Preacher of any degree soever, shall henceforth presume in any Auditory to declare, limit, or set bounds to the Prerogative, Power, or Jurisdiction of Sovereign Princes, or meddle with matters of State.

5. " That no Preacher shall use railing speeches against Papists or Puritans, but endeavour to free the doctrine and discipline of the Church in a grave manner from the aspersions of both adversaries.

6. " That the Archbishop and Bishops be more wary for the future, in licensing Preachers; and that all Lecturers throughout the Kingdom be licensed in the Court of Faculties, by recommendation from the Bishop of the Diocese, with a Fiat from the Archbishop, and a confirmation under the Great Seal of England.

" Those that offended against any of these Injunctions were to be suspended, " Ab Officio & Beneficio," for a year and a day, till his Majesty should prescribe some further punishment with advice of Convocation."

Here is nothing that could affect Papists or Arminians, but almost every Article points at the Puritans. The King had assisted in maintaining these Doctrines in Holland, but will not have them propagated in England. The Thirty-nine Articles were established by law, and yet none under a Bishop or Dean may preach on the Seventeenth, concerning Predestination. The Ministers of God's Word may not limit the Prerogative, but they may preach concerning its unlimited Extent; and though the second Injunction admits of their expounding the Catechism, Fuller says, Book X, " The Bishops Officials were so active, that in many places they tied up Preachers in the afternoon to the

Remarks.  
P. 111.



King  
James I.  
1622.

“ very letter of the Catechism, allowing them no liberty  
“ to expound or enlarge upon any of the Answers.” The  
Puritans had suffered hitherto only for the neglect of ceremonies, but now their very Doctrine is an offence. From this time, all Calvinists were in a manner excluded from Court Preferments. The way to rise in the Church, was to preach up the absolute power of the King, to declaim against the rigours of Calvinism, and to speak favourably of Popery. Those that scrupled this, were neglected, and distinguished by the name of Doctrinal Puritans; but it was the glory of this people that they stood together, like a wall, against the arbitrary Proceedings of the King, both in Church and State.

Archbishop  
Abbot accidentally kills  
a Man, and  
retires from  
Court.

Archbishop Abbot was at the head of the doctrinal Puritans; and often advised the King to return to the old parliamentary way of raising money: But this cost him his Interest at Court; and an accident happened this year, which quite broke his Spirits, and made him retire from the world. Lord Zouch invited his Grace to a Duck-hunting in Bramshill-Park in Hampshire; and while the Keeper was running among the Deer, to bring them to a fairer mark, the Archbishop sitting on horseback, let fly a barbed Arrow, which shot him under the Arm-pit, and killed him dead upon the spot. His Grace was so distressed in mind with this accident, that he retired to one of his own Alms-houses at Guilford; and though upon examination of the case, it was judged casual Homicide, he kept that day as a Fast as long as he lived; and gave the Keeper's Widow twenty Pounds a year for her maintenance. The King also being moved with compassion, sent to him to Lambeth, and gave him a Royal Pardon and Dispensation, to prevent all exceptions to his Episcopal Character; but he prudently withdrew from the Council Board, where his advice was but little regarded before, as coming from a person of unfashionable principles.

Death and  
Character of  
Mr. Byfield.

The Puritans lost an eminent practical writer and Preacher about this time, Nicholas Byfield, born in Warwickshire and educated in Exeter College, Oxford. After four years, he left the University, and went for Ireland; but preaching at Chester, the Inhabitants gave him an unanimous invitation to St. Peter's Church in that City, where he continued seven years. From thence he removed to Isleworth in Middlesex, where he continued to his Death. He was a Divine of a profound Judgment, a strong Memory, quick Invention, and unwearied Industry, which brought the Stone upon him, of which he died this year, in the forty

fifth Year of his age. His body being opened, a stone was taken out of his Bladder, that weighed thirty three ounces, and was in measure about the edge, fifteen inches and a half; about the length and breadth, thirteen inches, and solid like a flint; an almost incredible relation! But Dr. William Gouge, who writ this account, was an Eye-witness of it, with many others. Mr. Byfield was a Calvinist, a Nonconformist to the Ceremonies, and a strict observer of the Sabbath. He published several practical Books in his life-time; and his Commentaries upon the Colossians and St. Peter, published after his death, shew him to be a Divine of great piety, learning, and capacity.

The Archbishop being in disgrace, the Council were of a piece, and met with no interruption in their proceedings. The Puritans retired to the new Plantations in America, and Popery came in like an armed man. This was occasioned partly by the new promotions at Court, but chiefly by the Spanish match, which was begun about the year 1617, and drawn out to a length of seven years, till the Palatinate was lost, and the Protestant Religion, in a manner, extirpated out of the Kingdom of Bohemia, and other parts of Germany; and then the match itself was broke off.

To trace this affair from its beginning, because it was the source of the remaining calamities of this and the following Reign. Prince Charles being arrived at the state of manhood, the King had thoughts of marrying him, but could not find a Protestant Princess fit for him. He despised the Princes of Germany, and would hear of nothing below a King's Daughter for his Son. This put him upon seeking a Wife for him out of the House of Austria, sworn Enemies to the Protestant Religion; for which purpose he entered into a Treaty with Spain for the Infanta. Under Colour of this Match, Gondamar, the Spanish Ambassador, made the King do whatever he pleased. If he inclined to assist his Son-in-Law in recovering the Palatinate, he was told he must keep fair with the House of Austria, or the match would break off: If he denied any favours to the Papists at home, the Court of Rome, and all the Roman Catholick Powers, were disoblged, and then it could never take place. To obviate these and other objections to the Match, his Majesty promised, upon the Word of a King, that no Roman Catholick should be proceeded against capitally; and though he could not at present repeal the pecuniary Laws, he promised to mitigate them, to the satisfaction of the King

Of the Spanish Match.

King  
James I.  
1622.

King of Spain; and the lengths his Majesty went in favour of Papists on this occasion, will appear by the following Articles, which were inserted both into the Spanish and French Treaty, which afterwards took place.

Articles of  
Marriage.

The Articles of the intended Spanish match relating to religion, were these.

Rushw.  
Vol. I. p. 86.  
Rapin,  
p. 543.

Art. 6. " The Infanta herself, her Men and Maid Servants, her Children and Descendants, and all their Families, of what sort soever, serving her Highness, may freely and publickly profess themselves Catholicks.

Art. 5, 7, and 8. " Provide a Church, a Chapel, and an oratory for her Highness, with all Popish Ornaments, Utensils, and Decorations.

Art. 10 and 11. " Allow her twenty four Priests and assistants, and over them a Bishop, with full authority and spiritual Jurisdiction.

Art. 13. " Admits the Infanta and her Servants to procure from Rome Dispensations, Indulgences, Jubilees, &c. and all Graces, as shall seem meet to them.

Art. 16. " Provides, that the Laws made against Roman Catholicks in England, or in any of the King's Dominions, shall not extend to the Children of this marriage; nor shall they lose their Succession to the Crown, although they be Roman Catholicks.

Art. 17. " Authorizes the Infanta to choose Nurseries for her Children, and to bring them up in her Religion till they are ten years of age." But the Term was afterwards enlarged to twelve; and in the Match with France, to thirteen.

1623.  
Sworn to by  
the King and  
Prince of  
Wales.

King James swore to the observation of these Articles, in the Presence of the two Spanish Ambassadors, and twenty four Privy-Counsellors, who set their hands to the Treaty. Besides which, his Majesty and Prince of Wales swore to four following private ones, " (1.) That no Laws against Papists should hereafter be put in execution. (2.) That no new Laws shall be made against them; but that there shall be a perpetual Toleration of the Roman Catholick Religion in private houses, throughout all his Majesty's Dominions, which his Council shall swear to. (3.) That he will never persuade the Infanta to change her Religion. (4.) That he will use all his authority and influence to have these Conditions ratified by Parliament,



“ ament, that so all penal Laws against Papists may not  
 “ only be suspended, but legally disannulled.”

King  
 James I.  
 1623.

The Words of the Prince of Wales's Oath were these:

“ I Charles Prince of Wales engage myself—that all  
 “ things contained in the foregoing Articles, which concern  
 “ as well the Suspension as Abrogation of all Laws made  
 “ against Roman Catholicks, shall within three years in-  
 “ fallibly take effect, and sooner, if possible; which we  
 “ will have to lie upon our Conscience and Royal Honour:  
 “ And I will intercede with my father that the ten years  
 “ of education of the Children that shall be born of this  
 “ marriage, which the Pope of Rome desires may be  
 “ lengthened to twelve, shall be prolonged to the said  
 “ Term. And I swear, that if the entire power of dispo-  
 “ sing this matter be devolved upon me, I will grant and  
 “ approve of the said Term. Furthermore, as oft as the  
 “ Infanta shall desire that I should give ear to Divines and  
 “ others, whom her Highness shall be pleased to employ  
 “ in matters of the Roman Catholick Religion, I will  
 “ hearken to them willingly, without all Difficulties, and  
 “ laying aside all excuses.”

Rushw.  
 Vol. I. p.89

Under these advantages, the Papists appeared openly,  
 and behaved with an offensive insolence; but the hearts of  
 all true Protestants trembled for themselves and their Po-  
 sterity. And Archbishop Abbot, though under a cloud,  
 ventured to write to the King upon this Subject; beseech-  
 ing him, in his Letter, to consider, “ Whether by the  
 “ Toleration which his Majesty proposes, he is not set-  
 “ ting up that most damnable and heretical Doctrine of  
 “ the Church of Rome, the Whore of Babylon? How  
 “ hateful must this be to God, and grievous to your good  
 “ Subjects, (says he) that your Majesty, who hath learned-  
 “ ly written against these wicked Heresies, should now shew  
 “ yourself a Patron of those Doctrines, which your Pen  
 “ has told the World, and your Conscience tells yourself,  
 “ are superstitious, idolatrous, and detestable——Besides,  
 “ this Toleration which you endeavoured to set up, by  
 “ Proclamation, cannot be done without a Parliament, un-  
 “ less your Majesty will let your Subjects see that you will  
 “ take a liberty to throw down the Laws at your Pleasure.  
 “ And above all, I beseech your Majesty to consider, lest  
 “ by this Toleration your Majesty do not draw upon the  
 “ Kingdom in general, and on yourself in particular, God's  
 “ heavy Wrath and Indignation.”

Archbishop  
 Abbot a-  
 gainst them.

Fuller, B.X.  
 p. 106.

But this wise King, instead of hearkning to the Remon-  
 strances

King  
James I.  
1623.

Prince of  
Wales goes  
to Madrid.

Wilson,  
p. 233.  
Rapin,  
p. 535.

Rapin,  
p. 558.  
Vide Note.

The Match.  
broke off.

frances of his Protestant Subjects, put the Peace of his Kingdom, and the whole Protestant Religion, into the hands of the Spaniard, by sending his Son with the Duke of Buckingham to Madrid, to fetch home the Infanta; a piece of confidence that the Solomon of the age should not have been guilty of. When the Prince was gone, 'tis said, That Archy, the King's Fool, clapp'd his cap upon the King's head. The King asking him the reason, he answer'd, "Because he had sent the Prince into Spain." But says his Majesty, What if he should come back safe? Why then, says Archy, "I will take my Cap off from your head and put it on the King of Spain's." The Spaniards gave out that the design of the Prince's Journey was to reconcile himself to the Church of Rome. 'Tis certain the Pope writ to the Bishop of Conchen, to lay hold of this opportunity to convert him; and directed a most persuasive Letter to the Prince himself to the same purpose, dated April 20, 1623, which the Prince answered June 20, in a very obliging manner, giving the Pope the title of "Most Holy Father," and encouraging him to expect, that when he came to the Crown there should be but one Religion in his Dominions, seeing (says he) that both Catholics and Protestants believe in one Jesus Christ. He was strongly solicited to change his Religion by some of the first Quality, and by the most learned Priests and Jesuits, who carested his Highness with Speeches, dedicated Books to him, invited him to their Processions, and gave him a view of their most magnificent Churches and Reliques; by which artifices, though he was not converted, he was confirmed in his resolution of attempting a Coalition of the two Churches; for the accomplishment of which he afterwards lost both his Crown and Life. It was happy, after all, that the Prince got safe out of the Spanish Territories, which, as Spanheim observes, that politick Court would not have permitted, had they not considered, "That the Queen of Bohemia, next Heir to the Crown, was a greater enemy to Popery than her Brother." But after all, when this memorable Treaty of Marriage had been upon the Carpet seven years, and wanted nothing but Consummation, the Portion being settled, the Pope's Dispensation obtained, the marriage articles sworn to on both sides, and the very day of Consummation by proxy appointed, it was broke off by the influence of the Duke of Buckingham upon the Prince, who ordered the Earl of Bristol not to deliver the Proxy till the time limited by the Dispensation was expired; the King of Spain

Spain suspecting the design, in order to throw all the blame upon the King of England, sign'd a promise with his own hand and deliver'd it to the Ambassador, wherein he obliged himself to cause the Palatinate to be restored to the Elector Palatine, in case the marriage took effect; but his Highness was immoveable, and obliged the King to recal his Ambassador.

King  
James I.  
1623.

From this time the Prince and Duke seemed to turn Puritans, the latter having taken Dr. John Preston, one of their chief Ministers, into his Service, to consult him about alienating the Dean and Chapter lands to the purposes of preaching. They also advised the King to call a Parliament, which his Majesty did, and made such a Speech to them, as one would think impossible to come from the same lips with the former. "I assure you (says he, speaking of "the Spanish match) on the Faith of a Christian King, "that it is "res integra" presented unto you, and that "I stand not bound, nor either way engaged, but remain "free to follow what shall be best advised." His Majesty adds, "I can truly say, and will avouch it before the Seat "of God and Angels, that never King governed with a "purer, sincerer, and more uncorrupt heart than I have "done, far from ill will and meaning of the least error and "imperfection in my Reign.—It has been talked of my re- "missness in maintenance of Religion, and suspicion of a "Toleration [of Popery]; but as God shall judge me, I "never thought nor meant, nor ever in word expressed "any thing that favoured of it—I never in all my treaties agreed to any thing to the overthrow and disannulling of those laws, but had in all a chief regard to the "preservation of that truth which I have ever professed." The Reader will remember how this agrees with the marriage Articles above-mentioned, which the King had sworn to.

1624.  
A new Parliament.

Rapin, p.  
567.

But the Parliament taking things as the King had represented them, advised his Majesty to break off the match, and to declare war for the recovery of the Palatinate; and at the same time petitioned his Majesty, that all Jesuits and Seminary Priests might be commanded to depart the Realm; that the Laws might be put in execution against Popish Recusants; that all such might be removed from Court, and ten miles from London. To which the King made this remarkable answer, which must strike the Reader with Surprise and Wonder. —"What Religion I am of "my Books declare; I wish it may be written in Marble, and

King's answer to their  
Petition.  
Rapin, p.  
529.  
Rush. V. I.  
p. 143.



King  
James I.  
1624.

“ and remain to Posterity as a mark upon me, when I  
“ swerve from my Religion ; for he that dissembles with  
“ God is not to be trusted with Men.—I protest before  
“ God, that my Heart hath bled when I have heard of  
“ the increase of Popery. God is my Judge, it hath been  
“ such a grief to me, that it has been as Thorns in my  
“ Eyes, and pricks in my Sides.—It hath been my de-  
“ fire to hinder the Growth of Popery ; and I could not  
“ be an honest Man, if I had done otherwise.—I will  
“ order the laws to be put in execution against popish Re-  
“ cusants as they were before these Treaties, for the laws  
“ are still in being, and were never dispensed with by me ;  
“ God is my Judge, they were never so intended by me.”

Remarks.

What solemn appeals to Heaven are these, against the clearest and strongest facts ! it requires a good degree of charity, to believe this Prince had either Religion or honesty. For though he told his Parliament, that his heart bled within him when he heard of the increase of Popery, yet this very Parliament presented him with a list of fifty seven popish Lords and Knights who were in publick Offices, none of which were displaced, while the Puritan Ministers were driven out of the Kingdom, and hardly a Gentleman of that Character advanced to the dignity of a Justice of Peace.

French  
Match.  
Rapin, p.  
589.

The Parliament being prorogued, the King, instead of going heartily into the War, or marrying his Son to a Protestant Princess, enter'd into a Treaty with Lewis XIII. King of France, for his Sister Henrietta Maria. Upon this occasion the Archbishop of Ambrun was sent into England, who told the King, the best way to accomplish the Match for his Son, was to grant a full Toleration to the Catholics. The King replied, that he intended to grant it, and was willing to have an assembly of Divines to compromise the difference between Protestants and Papists, and promised to send a Letter to the Pope to bring him into the Project. In this Letter, says Monsieur Deageant in his Memoirs, the King styles the Pope, Christ's Vicar, and head of the Church Universal, and assures him, he would declare himself a Catholick as soon as he could provide against the inconveniencies of such a Declaration ; but whether this was so or not, 'tis certain he immediately relaxed the penal laws against Papists, and permitted Ambrun to administer Confirmation to ten thousand Catholics at the door of the French Ambassador's House, before a great concourse of people.

people. In the mean time, the Treaty of Marriage went forwards, and was at last signed, Nov. 10. in thirty three Articles, and three secret ones, wherein the very same, or greater advantages, were stipulated for the Catholicks than in those of Madrid; but before the dispensation from the Pope could be procured his Majesty fell sick at Theobald's of a Tertian Ague, which put an end to his Life, not without suspicion of Poison, March 27. 1625. in the 59th year of his age.

King  
James I.  
1624.

The King  
dies.

To review the course of this Reign; 'tis evident that both Popery and Puritanism encreased prodigiously, while the friends of the Hierarchy sunk into contempt; this was owing partly to the spiritual promotions, and partly to the arbitrary maxims of State that the King had advanced. In promoting of Bishops the King had a greater regard to such as would yield a servile compliance with his absolute commands, than to such as would fill the Pulpit with Reputation, and be an example to the people of Religion and Virtue; of which number were Bishop Neile, Buckeridge, Harfnet, Laud, &c. The fashionable Doctrines at Court were such as the King had condemned at the Synod of Dort, and which in the opinion of the old English Clergy, were subversive of the Reformation. The new Bishops admitted the Church of Rome to be a true Church, and the Pope the first Bishop of Christendom. They declared for the lawfulness of Images in Churches; for the real Presence; and that the Doctrine of Transubstantiation was a School Nicety. They pleaded for Confession to a Priest; for sacerdotal Absolution, and the proper merit of good Works. They gave up the morality of the Sabbath, and the five distinguishing points of Calvinism which their predecessors had contended for. They claimed an uninterrupted Succession of the Episcopal Character from the Apostles through the Church of Rome, which obliged them to maintain the validity of her Ordinations, when they denied the validity of those of the foreign Protestants. Further, they began to imitate the Church of Rome in her gaudy Ceremonies, in the rich furniture of her Chapels, and the pomp of their Worship. They complimented the Roman Catholick Priests with their Dignitary Titles, and spent all their zeal in studying how to compromise matters with Rome, while they turned their backs upon the old Protestant Doctrines of the Reformation, and were remarkably negligent in preaching, or instructing the people in Christi-

Summary  
State of  
Religion in  
this Reign.

King  
James I.  
1624.

an Knowledge. Things were come to such a pass, that Gondamar the Spanish Ambassador writ to Spain, that there never was more hopes of England's Conversion, for "there are more Prayers (says he) offered to the Mother than to the Son of God." The Priests and Jesuits challenged the established Clergy to publick Disputations; the Duke of Buckingham's Mother being a Papist, a Conference was held in her presence between Fisher a Jesuit on the one part, and Dr. White, Williams, and Laud, on the other. Each of them disputed with the Jesuit a day before a great concourse of people, but not to the Countess's Conversion, which was not at all strange, upon their principles. Amongst other popish Books that were published, one was entitled, "A new Gag for the old Gospel;" which Dr. Montague, Rector of Stamford Rivers answered in such a manner, as gave great offence to the old Clergy, for he yielded up all the points above-mentioned, and not only declared for Arminianism, but made very dangerous advances towards Popery itself. The Book making a great Noise, Mr. Ward and Yates, two Ministers at Ipswich, made a collection of the Popish and Arminian Tenets contained in it, in order to lay them before the next Parliament; but the Author, with the King's leave, took shelter under the Royal Wing, and prepared for the Press, his "Apello Cæsarem," or a just Appeal from two unjust Informers; which White, Bishop of Carlisle, licensed in these words, that "there was nothing contained in the same but what was agreeable to the publick Faith, Doctrine, and Discipline established in the Church of England." But before the Book was published the King died.

Clarke's  
Life of  
Rothwel, p.  
69.

These advances of the Court Divines towards Popery made most of the people fall in with the Puritans, who being constant Preachers, and of exemplary and holy lives, wrought them up by their awakening Sermons to an abhorrence of every thing that looked that way. Many of the Nobility and Gentry favoured them. Lady Bowes, afterwards Lady Darcy, gave a thousand pounds per Annum, to maintain preachers in the North, where there were none, and all her preachers were silenced Non-conformists. Almost all the famous practical Writers of this Reign, except Bishop Andrews, were Puritans, and Sufferers for Non-Conformity, as Doctor Willet, Mr. Jer. Dyke, Doctor Preston, Sibbs, Byfield, Bolton, Hildersham, Dod, Ball, Whately, and others, whose Works have done great Service



service to Religion. The character of these Divines was the reverse of what the learned Selden says of the Clergy of these times in his History of Tithes, where he taxes them with Ignorance and Laziness; and adds, "That they had  
 " nothing to support their credit but Beard, Title and Ha-  
 " bit; and that their learning reached no further than the  
 " Possils and the Polyanthia." Upon the whole, if we may believe Mr. Coke, the Puritan party had gathered such strength, and was in such reputation with the people, that they were more in number than all the other parties in the Kingdom put together.

King  
 James I.  
 1624.

In Pref.

With regard to King James himself, 'tis hard to draw his just Character, for no Prince was ever so much flatter'd that had so little to deserve it. He was of a middle stature, not very corpulent, but stuffed out with clothes, which hung so loose, and being quilted, were so thick, as to resist a dagger. His countenance was homely, and his tongue too big for his mouth, so that he could not speak with decency. While he was in Scotland he appeared sober and chaste, and acquired a good degree of learning, but upon his accession to the English Crown he threw off the mask, and by degrees gave himself up to luxury and ease, and all kinds of licentiousness. His language was obscene, and his actions very often lewd and indecent. He was a profane swearer, and would often be drunk, but when he came to himself would weep like a child, and say, he hoped God would not impute his infirmities to him. He valued himself upon what he called King-Craft, which was nothing else but deep hypocrisy and dissimulation in every character of life, resulting from the excessive timorousness of his nature. If we consider him as a King, he never did a great or generous action throughout the course of his Reign, but prostituted the honour of the English Nation beyond any of his predecessors. He stood still while the Protestant Religion was suppressed in France, in Bohemia, in the Palatinate, and other parts of Germany. He surrendered up the Cautionary Towns to the Dutch for less than a fourth part of the value, and suffered them to dispossess us of our Factories in the East-Indies. At home he committed the direction of all affairs in Church and State to two or three favourites, and cared not what they did if they gave him no trouble. He broke through all the laws of the Land, and was as absolute a Tyrant as his want of courage would admit. He revived the projects of Monopolies, Loans, Benevolences, &c. to supply his Exchequer, which was exhausted by his profuseness

Character of  
 K. James I.

Character of  
 the Court of  
 K. James.

King  
James I.  
1624.

towards his favourites, and laid the foundation of all the calamities of his Son's reign. Upon the whole, though he was flatter'd by hungry courtiers as the Solomon and Phoenix of his age, he was in the opinion of Bishop Burnet, "The scorn of the age, a mere Pedant, without true judgment, courage, or steadiness, his Reign being a continued course of mean practices."

StateTracts.  
Vol. I. p. 1.

'Tis hard to make any judgment of his Religion, for one while he was a Puritan, and then a zealous Churchman; at first a Calvinist and Presbyterian, afterwards a Remonstrant or Arminian, and at last a half, if not an entire Doctrinal Papist; Sir Ralph Winwood, in his Memoirs says, That as long ago as the year 1596. he sent Mr. Ogilby, a Scots Baron, to Spain, to assure his Catholick Majesty he was then ready to turn Papist, and to propose an alliance with that King and the Pope against the Queen of England; but for reasons of State the affair was hush'd. Rapin says, he was neither a sound Protestant, nor a good Catholick, but had formed a Plan of uniting both Churches, which must effectually have ruined the Protestant Interest, for which, indeed, he never express'd any real concern. But I am rather of opinion, that all his Religion was his pretended King-Craft. He was certainly the meanest Prince that ever sat upon the British Throne: England never sunk in its reputation, nor was so much expos'd to the scorn and ridicule of its Neighbours, as in his Reign. How willing his Majesty was to unite with the Papists the foregoing history has discovered; and yet in the presence of many Lords, and in a very remarkable manner, he made a solemn Protestation, "That he would spend the last drop of Blood in his Body before he would do it; and prayed, that before any of his Issue should maintain any other Religion than his own [the Protestant] that God would take them out of the world." How far this Imprecation took place upon himself or any of his Posterity, I leave with Mr. Archdeacon Eachard to the determination of an Omniscient Being.

C H A P. III.

From the death of King James I. to the dissolution of the third Parliament of King Charles I. in the year 1628.

**B**EFORE we enter upon this Reign, it will be proper to take a short view of the Court, and of the most active Ministers under the King for the first fifteen years.

King.  
Charles I.  
1625.

King Charles I. came to the Crown at the age of twenty five years, being born at Dumfermling in Scotland, in the year 1600. and baptized by a Presbyterian Minister of that country. In his youth, he was of a weakly constitution, and stammering speech; his legs were somewhat crooked, and he was suspected (says Mr. Eachard) to be of a perverse nature. When his father [King James] came to the English Crown, he took him from his Scots Tutors, and placed him under those that gave him an early aversion to that Kirk, into which he had been baptized, and to those Doctrines of Christianity, for which they had the greatest veneration. As the Court of King James leaned towards Popery and arbitrary power, so did the Prince, especially after his journey into Spain; where he imbibed not only the pernicious Maxims of that Court, but their reserved and distant Behaviour. He assured the Pope by letter, in order to obtain a Dispensation to marry the Infanta, "That he would not marry any mortal whose Religion he hated: He might therefore depend upon it, that he would always abstain from such actions as might testify an hatred to the Roman Catholick Religion, and would endeavour that all sinister opinions might be taken away; that as we all profess one individual Trinity, we may unanimously grow up into one Faith;" His Majesty began his Reign upon most arbitrary Principles; and though he had good natural abilities, was always under the direction of some favourite, to whose judgment and conduct he absolutely resigned himself. Nor was he ever master of so much judgment in politics, as to discern his own and the nation's true interest, or to take the advice of those that did. With regard to the Church, he was a punctual observer of the Ceremonies, and had the highest dislike and prejudice to that part of his Subjects that were against the Ecclesiastical Constitution: "Looking upon them as a very dangerous and seditious people, who would, under pretence of Conscience, which kept them from submitting to the spiritual jurisdiction,

Character  
of King  
Charles I.

Claren.  
Vol. I. p. 87.



King  
Charles I.  
1625.

“ take the first opportunity they could find or make (says Lord Clarendon) to withdraw themselves from his temporal jurisdiction; and therefore his Majesty caused this People [the Puritans] to be watched and provided against with the utmost vigilance.”

Of his  
Queen.

Upon his Majesty's accession, and before the solemnity of his father's funeral, he married Henrietta Maria, Daughter of Henry IV. and Sister of Lewis XIII. present King of France. The marriage was solemnized by proxy; first at Paris, with all the Ceremonies of the Romish Church, and afterwards at Canterbury, according to the Rites of the Church of England; the Articles being in a manner the same with those already mentioned in the Spanish Match. Her Majesty arrived at Dover June 13. and brought with her a long train of Priests and menial servants of the Romish religion; for whose devotions a Chapel was fitted up in the King's House at St. James's. “ The Queen was an agreeable and beautiful Lady, and by degrees (says Lord Clarendon) obtained a plenitude of power over the King.---- His Majesty had her in perfect adoration, and would do nothing without her, but was inexorable as to every thing that he promised her.” Bishop Burnet says: “ The Queen was a lady of great vivacity, and loved intrigues of all sorts, but was not secret in them, as she ought: She had no manner of judgment, being bad at contrivance, but worse at execution. By the liveliness of her discourse, she made great impressions upon the King; so that to the Queen's little practice, and the King's own temper, the sequel of all his misfortunes were owing.” Bishop Kennet adds: “ That the King's match with this lady, was a greater Judgment to the Nation than the Plague, which then raged in the Land; for considering the Malignity of the Popish Religion, the Imperiousness of the French Government, the Influence of a stately Queen over an affectionate Husband, and the share she must needs have in the education of her children, [till thirteen years of age] it was then easy to foresee it might prove very fatal to our English Prince and People, and lay in a vengeance to future generations.” The Queen was a very great Bigot to her religion; her conscience was directed by her Confessor, assisted by the Pope's Nuncio, and a secret cabal of Priests and Jesuits. These directed the Queen, and she the King; so that in effect the Nation was governed by Popish Councils, till the long Parliament.

Hist. Life  
and Times.

The

The Prime Minister under the King was G. Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, a graceful young gentleman, but very unfit for his high station. He had a full possession of the King's heart, insomuch that his Majesty broke measures with all his Parliaments for his sake. "Most men (says Lord Clarendon) imputed all the calamities of the nation to his arbitrary councils; so that few were displeased at the news of his murder by Felton, in the year 1628, when he was not above thirty four years of age."

King Charles I. 1625.

The Duke of Buckingham. Claren. Vol. I. p. 837.

Upon the Duke's death, Dr. William Laud, then Bishop of London, became the chief Minister, both in church and state. He was born at Reading, and educated in St. John's College, Oxford, upon the charitable donation of Mr. White, founder of Merchant-Taylors School. Here he continued till he was fifty years of age, and behaved in such a manner, that no body knew what to think of him. "I would know (says the pious Bishop Hall, in one of his letters) where to find you; to-day you are with the Romans, to-morrow with us; our adversaries think you ours, and we theirs; your conscience finds you with both and neither: How long will you halt in this indifference?" Dr. Abbot says: "He spent his time in picking quarrels with the Lectures of publick Readers, and giving advice to the then Bishop of Durham, that he might fill the ears of the King [James I.] with prejudices against honest men, whom he called Puritans." Heylin confesses, it was thought dangerous to keep him company. By the interest of Bishop Williams, he was first advanced to a Welch Bishoprick, and from thence by degrees to the highest preferments in Church and State. He was a little man, of a quick and rough temper, impatient of contradiction even at the council table, of arbitrary principles, both in Church and State; always inclined to methods of severity, especially against the Puritans; vastly fond of external pomp and ceremony in divine worship; and though he was not an absolute Papist, he was ambitious of being the sovereign patriarch of three kingdoms.

Archbishop Laud.

Rushw. Vol. I. p. 440.

Claren. Vol. I. p. 97, 98.

Lord Chief Justice Finch was a man of little knowledge in his profession, except it was for making the Statute-laws of the Land give place to Orders of Council. Mr. Attorney-General Noy was a man of affected pride and morosity, who valued himself (says Lord Clarendon) upon making that to be law which all other men believed not to be so. Indeed, all the Judges were of this stamp, who, instead of

L. C. J. Finch, and the rest of the Judges.

Claren. Vol. I. p. 71, 73, 74.

King  
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1625.

upholding the law, as the defence and security of the subjects properties, set it aside upon every little occasion, distinguishing between a Rule of Law, and a Rule of Government : So that those whom they could not convict by Statute Law, were sure to suffer by the Rule of Government, or the general justice of the kingdom. The Judges held their places during the King's pleasure ; and when the prerogative was to be stretched above law, in any particular instances ; Laud would send to them for their opinions before-hand, to give the greater sanction to the proceeding of the Council and Star-chamber, by whom they were often put in mind, that " if they did not do his Majesty's business to satisfaction, they would be removed." Upon the whole, they were mercenary men, and (according to Lord Clarendon) scandalous to their profession.

The Courts of Westminster-Hall had little to do between the King and the Subject ; all business of this kind being transacted at the Council Table, the Star-Chamber, and the Court of High Commission.

Of the  
Council  
Table.

The Council Table was the Legislature of the kingdom ; their proclamations and orders being made the rule of government, and the measure of the subjects obedience. Though there was not one single law made in twelve years, there were no less than two hundred and fifty proclamations ; every one of which had the force of a law, and bound the subject under the severest penalties. The Lord Keeper Finch, upon a demurrer put into a bill, that had no other equity than an Order of Council, declared upon the bench, that while he was keeper, " no man should be so sawcy as " to dispute those orders, but that the wisdom of that " board should always be ground good enough for him to " make a decree in Chancery." Judge Berkeley, upon a like occasion, declared, that " there was a rule of law, " and a rule of government, that many things that might " not be done by the rule of law, might be done by the " rule of government : " His Lordship added, that " no " Act of Parliament could bind the King not to command " away his subjects goods and money.

Claren. Vol.  
I. p. 74.

The Star-  
Chamber,  
Vol. I. p.  
68, 69.

" The Star-Chamber (says Lord Clarendon) was in a " manner the same Court with the Council Table, being " but the same persons in several rooms : they were both " grown into Courts of Law, to determine Right ; and " courts of Revenue to bring Money into the Treasury : " The Council Table, by Proclamations, enjoining to the " peo-



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“ people what was not enjoined by Law, and prohibiting  
“ that which was not prohibited ; and the Star-chamber  
“ censuring the breach and disobedience to those procla-  
“ mations, by very great fines and imprisonment ; so that  
“ any disrespect to any Acts of State, or to the persons of  
“ Statesmen, was in no time more penal, and those foun-  
“ dations of right, by which men valued their security,  
“ were never in more danger of being destroy’d.

“ The High Commission also had very much overflow-  
“ ed the Banks that should have contained it, not only in  
“ meddling with things not within their connuſance, but in  
“ extending their sentences and judgments beyond that de-  
“ gree that was justifiable, and grew to have so great a  
“ contempt of the Common Law, and the professors of it,  
“ that prohibitions from the supreme Courts of Law, which  
“ have and must have the superintendency over all the in-  
“ ferior Courts, were not only neglected, but the Judges  
“ were reprehended for granting them, which, without  
“ perjury, they could not deny.—Besides, from an  
“ Ecclesiastical Court for reformation of manners, it was  
“ grown to a Court of Revenue, and imposed great fines  
“ upon those who were culpable before them ; sometimes  
“ above the degree of the offence, had the jurisdiction of  
“ fining been unquestionable, which it was not ; which  
“ course of fining was much more frequent, and the fines  
“ heavier, after the King had granted all that revenue for  
“ the reparation of St. Paul’s, which made the grievance  
“ greater ;” and gave occasion to an unlucky observation,  
“ That the Church was built with the sins of the people.”

The High  
Commission.

Ib. p. 283.

These Commissioners, not content with the Business that was brought before them, sent their Commissaries over the whole kingdom, to superintend the proceedings of the Bishops Courts in their several Dioceses, which of themselves made sufficient havock among the Puritans, and were under a general dislike for the severe exercise of their power : But if the Bishops, or his Officers, were negligent in their Citations, or shewed any degree of favour to the Puritan Ministers, notice was immediately sent to Lambeth, and the accused persons were cited before the High Commission, to their utter ruin. They also kept men in prison many months, without bringing them to a trial, or so much as acquainting them with the cause of their commitment. Sir Edward Deering says, that “ their proceedings were in  
“ some sense worse than the Romish Inquisition, because

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“ they do not punish men of their own religion, establish’d  
“ by law ; but with us (says he) how many scores of poor  
“ distressed Ministers have, within a few years, been sus-  
“ pended, degraded, and excommunicated, though not  
“ guilty of a breach of any established law ?” All which  
was so much the worse, because they knew that the Court  
had no jurisdiction of fining at all ; for the House of Com-  
mons, in the third and seventh of King James I. resolved,  
“ That the Court of High Commission’s fining and impris-  
“ oning men for Ecclesiastical Offences, was an intolerable  
“ grievance, oppression, and vexation, not warranted  
“ by the Statute 1 Eliz. Chap. 1.” And Sir Edward Coke,  
with the rest of the Judges, at a conference with the Pre-  
lates, in the presence of King James, gave it as their una-  
nymous opinion, “ that the High Commission could fine in  
“ no case, and imprison only in cases of Heresy and Inconti-  
“ nency of a Minister, and that only after conviction, but not  
“ by way of process before it :” So that the jurisdiction of  
the Court to fine was not only questionable, but null and  
void. Notwithstanding which, they hunted after their prey  
with full cry, “ and brought in the greatest and most splen-  
“ did transgressors : Persons of honour and greatest quality  
“ (says the noble historian) were every day cited into the  
“ High Commission, upon the fame of their incontinency,  
“ or scandal of life, and very heavy fines were levied upon  
“ them, and applied to the repairing of St. Paul’s Cathed-  
“ ral.”

State of Ar-  
minianism.

Upon the accession of King Charles to the throne, the  
Duke of Buckingham threw off the mask, and shook hands  
with his old friend Dr. Preston, whom he never loved, any  
further than as a tool to serve his interest with the people.  
Laud was his Confessor and Privy-councillor for the Church,  
whose first care was to have none but Arminian and Anti-pu-  
ritanical Chaplains about the King : For this purpose, he  
drew up a small treatise, and put it into the duke’s hand, prov-  
ing that the Arminian doctrines were orthodox ; and shew-  
ing, in ten particulars, that the Anti-arminian tenets were no  
better than doctrinal Puritanism. Agreeably to this scheme,  
he presented the Duke [April 9.] with a list of divines for his  
Majesty’s Chaplains, distinguishing their characters by the  
two capital letters, O. for orthodox, [that is Arminian] and  
P. for Puritan, [that is Calvinists.] At the same time, he  
received orders to consult Bishop Andrews how to ma-  
nage, with respect to the five distinguishing points of Cal-  
vinism,

vinism, in the ensuing Convocation; but the wise Bishop advised his Brother by all means to be quiet, and keep the controversy out of the House: "For (says he) the truth in  
" this point is not so generally entertained among the Cler-  
" gy; nor is Archbishop Abbot, nor many of the Prelates  
" so inclined to it, as to venture the deciding it in Convoca-  
" tion." It was therefore wisely dropt, because the ma-  
jority of the lower House were zealous Calvinists; and forty  
five of them (according to Dr. Leo, who was one of the  
number) had made a Covenant among themselves to op-  
pose every thing that tended towards Pelagianism, or Semi-  
Pelagianism: But the Controversy was warmly debated  
without doors, till the King put a stop to it, by his Royal  
Declaration.

King  
Charles I.  
1625.

Popery advanced hand in hand with Arminianism, and began the disputes between the King and his first Parlia-  
ment, which met June 16, 1625. His Majesty towards the close of his Speech, having asked their assistance for the recovery of the Palatinate, assured them, that though he had been suspected as to his Religion, he would let the world see, "that none should be more desi-  
" rous to maintain the Religion he professed, than himself. The Houses thanked the King for his most gracious Speech; but before they entered upon other business, joined in a petition against popish Recusants, which his Majesty promised to examine, and give a satisfactory answer to the particulars.

And of Po-  
pery.

The petition sets forth the causes of the encrease of Po-  
pery, with the remedies: The causes are,

Causes of the  
encrease of  
Popery.  
Rushw.  
p. 281:

(1.) The want of the due Execution of the Laws against them.

(2.) The interposing of foreign Powers by their Ambassadors and Agents in their favour.

(3.) The great concourse of Papists to the City, and their frequent Conferences and Conventicles there.

(4.) Their open resort to the Chapels of foreign Ambassadors.

(5.) The Education of their Children in foreign Seminaries.

(6.) The want of sufficient instruction in the Protestant Religion in several places of the Country.

(7.) The licentious printing of Popish Books.

(8.) The employment of Men ill affected to the Protestant Religion in places of Government.

They



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Charles I.  
1625.

Petitions of  
the Com-  
mons with  
the King's  
Answer.

They therefore pray that the Youth of the Kingdom may be carefully educated under Protestant School-masters; which his Majesty, in his answer to their petition, promised: That the ancient discipline of the Universities may be restored; "which his Majesty approved:" That the preaching of the Word of God may be enlarged; and that to this purpose the Bishops be advised to make use of the labours of such able Ministers as have been formerly silenced, advising and beseeching them to behave themselves peaceably; and that Pluralities, Non-residencies, and Commendams, may be moderated. Answer, "This his Majesty approved; so far as the Ministers would conform to Church Government. But he apprehends that Pluralities, &c. are now so moderate, that there is no room for complaint; and recommends it to the Parliament to take care that every Parish allow a competent maintenance for an able Minister." That provision might be made against transporting Children to Popish Seminaries, and for recalling those that were there. Answ. "To this his Majesty agreed." That no Popish Recusant be admitted to come to Court, but upon special occasion, according to Statute 3 Jac. Anf. "This also his Majesty promised." That the laws against Papists be put in execution, and that a day be fixed for the departure of all Jesuits and seminary Priests out of the Kingdom; and that no natural born Subject, nor strange Bishops, nor any other by authority from the See of Rome, confer any Ecclesiastical Orders, or exercise any Ecclesiastical Function upon your Majesty's Subjects. Answ. "It shall be so published by Proclamation." That your Majesty's learned Council may have orders to consider of all former grants of Recusants Lands, that such may be avoided as are avoidable by law. Answ. "It shall be done, according as is desired." That your Majesty give order to your Judges, and all Officers of Justice, to see the laws against Popish Recusants duly executed. Answ. "His Majesty leaves the laws to their course." That your Majesty will remove from places of Authority and Government all Popish Recusants. Answ. "His Majesty will give order accordingly." That order be taken for disarming all Popish Recusants convicted according to law, and that Popish Recusants be commanded to retire to their houses and be confined within five miles of home. Answ. "The laws shall be put in execution." That none of your Majesty's natural born Subjects go to hear Mass at the Houses or Chapels of foreign Ambassadors. Answ. "The King will give order accord-

“ accordingly.” That the Statute of 1 Eliz. for the payment of twelve pence every Sunday by such as absent from divine Service in the Church, without a lawful excuse, be put in execution. Answ. “ The King promises the penalties shall not be dispensed with.” That your Majesty will extend your princely care to Ireland, that the like courses may be taken there for establishing the true Religion. Answ. “ His Majesty will do all that a religious King can do in that affair.”

King  
Charles I.  
1625.

’Tis surprizing that the King should make these promises to his Parliament within six months after he had signed his marriage Articles, in which he had engaged to set all Roman Catholicks at liberty, and to suffer no search or molestation to be given them for their Religion, and had in consequence of it pardoned twenty Romish Priests, and (in imitation of his Royal Father) given orders to his Lord-Keeper to direct the Judges and Justices of the Peace all over England, “ to forbear all manner of proceedings against his Roman Catholick Subjects, by Information, Indictment, or otherwise; it being his Royal Pleasure that there should be a Cessation of all and singular pains and penalties whereunto they are liable by any Laws, Statutes, or Ordinances of this Realm.” But as a judicious Writer observes, it seems to have been a maxim in this and the last Reign, “ That no Faith is to be kept with Parliaments.” The Papists were sensible of the reasons of State that obliged the King to comply outwardly with what he did not really intend; and therefore tho’ his Majesty directed a letter to his Archbishop, [December 15, 1625.] to proceed against popish Recusants, and a Proclamation was published to recal the English Youth from popish Seminaries, little regard was paid to it. The King himself released eleven Romish Priests out of prison, by special warrant the next day: The titular Bishop of Chalcedon, by letters dated June 1, 1625. appointed a popish Vicar-General, and Archdeacons all over England; whose names were afterwards published in the year 1643. And when the next Parliament petitioned for the removal of Papists from offices of Trust, it appeared by a List annexed to their petition, that there were no less than fifty nine of the nobility and gentry of that Religion in the Commission.

Remarks.  
Rushw.  
p. 169.

Rapin.

Rushw.  
p. 391.

But the King not only connived at the Roman Catholicks at home, but unhappily contributed to the ruin of the Protestant Religion abroad. Cardinal Richlieu having formed a design to extirpate the Hugonots out of France, by securing all their

King contributes to the  
lois of  
Rochel.

King  
Charles I.  
1625.

their places of strength, laid siege to Rochel, a Sea Port Town, with a good harbour, and a number of Ships sufficient for its defence. Richlieu, taking advantage of the King's late match with France, sent to borrow seven or eight Ships, to be employed as the King of France should direct, who appointed them to block up the harbour of Rochel; but when the honest Sailors were told where they were going, they declared they would rather be thrown over-board, or hanged up upon the Top of the Masts than fight against their Protestant Brethren. Admiral Pennington and the French Officers used all their rhetorick to persuade them, but they were inflexible. The Admiral therefore acquainted the King, who sent him a Warrant to the following effect: "That he should consign his own Ship immediately into the hands of the French Admiral, with all her Equipage Artillery, &c. and require the other seven to put themselves into the Service of our dear Brother, the French King; and in case of backwardness or refusal, we command you to use all forcible means, even to the sinking." In pursuance of this warrant the Ships were delivered into the hands of the French, but all the English Sailors and Officers abandoned them except two. The French having got the Ships and Artillery, quickly manned them with Sailors of their own Religion, and joining the rest of the French Fleet they blocked up the Harbour, destroyed the little Fleet of the Rochellers, and cut off their Communication by Sea with their Protestant Friends, by which means they were reduced to all the hardships of a most dreadful famine; and after a long blockade both by Sea and Land, were forced to surrender the chief bulwark of the Protestant Interest in France into the hands of the Papists.

Mr. Montague cited before the Commons. Rushw. Vol. I. p. 173.

To return to the Parliament; it has been remembred, that Mr. Richard Montague, a Clergyman, and one of the King's Chaplains, published a Book in the year 1623, entitled, "A new Gag for an old Goose," in answer to a popish Book, entitled, "A Gag for the new Gospel." The Book containing fundry propositions tending to the disturbance of Church and State, was complained of in the House of Commons, who, after having examined the Author at their Bar, referred him to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who dismissed him, with an express prohibition to write no more about such matters. But Montague being encouraged from Court went on, and writ "An Appeal to Cæsar," designing it for King James, but being dead before it was ready, it was dedicated



dedicated to King Charles, and recommended at first by several Court Bishops, who upon better consideration artfully withdrew their Names from before it; and left Dr. Fr. White to appear by himself, as he complained publickly. The Appeal was calculated to promote Arminianism; to attempt a Reconciliation with Rome, and to advance the King's Prerogative above Law. The House appointed a Committee to examine into the errors of it; after which they voted it to be contrary to the Articles of the Church of England, and bound the Author in a Recognizance of two thousand pounds for his appearance.

King  
Charles I.  
1625.

Bishop Laud apprehending this to be an Invasion of the prerogative, and a dangerous precedent, joined with two other Bishops in a Letter to the Duke of Buckingham, to engage his Majesty to take the cause into his own hands: The Letter says, "That the Church of England when it was reformed would not be too busy with School points of Divinity; now the points for which Mr. Montague is brought into trouble, are of this Kind; some are resolved Doctrines of the Church of England, which he is bound to maintain; and others are fit only for Schools, wherein men may abound in their own sense. To make men subscribe School Opinions is hard, and was one great fault of the Council of Trent. Besides, Disputes about Doctrines in Religion ought to be determined in a National Synod or Convocation, with the King's Licence, and not in Parliament; if we submit to any other Judge we shall depart from the Ordinance of Christ, we shall derogate from the honour of the late King, who saw and approved of all the opinions in that book; as well as from his present Majesty's Royal Prerogative, who has power and right to take this matter under his own care, and refer it in a right course to Church Consideration. Some of the opinions which are opposite to Mr. Montague's will prove fatal to the Government if publickly taught and maintained; When they had been concluded upon at Lambeth, Queen Elizabeth caused them to be suppressed, and so they continued, till of late some of them received countenance from the Synod of Dort; a Synod, whose conclusions have no authority in this Country, and 'tis to be hoped never will." Signed, Jo. Roffensis, Jo. Oxon, and Guilielmus Menevensis, Aug. 2d. 1625.

Montague  
censured by  
Parliament.  
Bishops Letter in his  
Favour.  
Cabbala,  
p. 105.  
Rushw.  
p. 176.

This

King  
Charles I.  
1625.  
Parliament  
dissolved.

This Letter had its effect, and procured Montague his Quietus at present. The King declared he would bring the cause before the Council, it being a branch of his Supremacy to determine matters of Religion. He expressed his displeasure against the Commons, for bringing his Chaplain to their bar, and for alarming the Nation with the danger of Popery. But these affairs, together with the King's assisting at the Siege of Rochel, made such a noise at Oxford, where the Parliament were re-assembled, because of the Plague at London, that the King was obliged to dissolve them [Aug. 12.] before they had granted the Supplies necessary for carrying on the war. Nor did his Majesty pass any Act relating to Religion, except one, which was soon after suspended by his Royal Declaration; it was "to prevent unlawful pastimes on the Lord's Day." The Preamble sets forth, That the holy keeping of the Lord's Day is a principal part of the true Service of God — "Therefore it is enacted, That there shall be no assemblies of people out of their own Parishes, for any sports or pastimes whatsoever; nor any bear-beating, bull-beating, interludes, common plays, or other unlawful exercises or pastimes, within their own parishes, on forfeiture of three shillings and six pence for every such offence to the poor." But this Law was never put in execution. Men were reproached and censured for too strict an observation of the Lord's Day, but none that I have met with for the profanation of it.

Arbitrary  
Methods of  
raising Money.  
Rushw.  
p. 195.

His Majesty having dismissed his Parliament before they had given him the necessary supplies for the War with Spain, resolved to try his credit, by borrowing money, by way of loan, of such persons as were best able to lend; for this purpose Gentlemen were taxed at a certain sum, and had promissory letters under the Privy Seal to be repayed in eighteen months. With this money the King fitted out a fleet against Spain, which after it had waited about two months for the Plate-fleet, returned without doing any action worth remembrance.

King's Coronation.  
Rapin,  
p. 35.

The Ceremony of the King's Coronation, which was not performed till the beginning of February, was another expence which his Majesty thought fit to provide for, by issuing out a proclamation, That all such as had forty pounds a year, or more, and were not yet Knights, should come and receive the order of Knighthood, or compound for it. This was a new grievance, loudly complained of in the following

lowing Parliaments. The Coronation was performed by Archbishop Abbot, assisted by Bishop Laud as Dean of Westminster, who, besides the old Regalia, which were in his Custody, that is, the Crown, the Sceptre, the Spurs, &c. of King Edward the Confessor, brought forth an old Crucifix, and placed it upon the Altar. As soon as the Archbishop had put the Crown upon that King's head, and perform'd the other usual Ceremonies, his Majesty being seated on the Throne, ready to receive the Homage of the Lords, Bishop Laud came up to him, and read the following extraordinary passage, which is not to be found in former Coronations. "——Stand, and hold fast, from henceforth, the place to which you have been Heir by the Succession of your Fore-fathers, being now delivered to you by the Authority of Almighty God, and by the hands of us, and all the Bishops and Servants of God. And as you see the Clergy to come nearer to the Altar than others, so remember that in all places convenient you give them greater Honour, that the Mediator of God and Man may establish you in the Kingly Throne, to be a Mediator between the Clergy and the Laiety, and that you may reign for ever with Jesus Christ, the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords." This, and sundry other Alterations were objected to the Archbishop at his Trial, which we shall take notice of hereafter.

King  
Charles I.  
1626.

The King's Treasury being exhausted, and the war with Spain still open, his Majesty was obliged to call a new Parliament; but to avoid the choice of such Members as had exclaimed against the Duke of Buckingham, and insisted upon redress of grievances, the Court pricked them down for Sheriffs, which disqualified them from being chosen Members of Parliament; of this number were Sir Edward Coke, Sir Robert Philips, and Sir Thomas Wentworth, afterwards Lord Strafford. The Houses met Feb. 6. and fell immediately upon Grievances. A Committee for Religion was appointed, of which Mr. Pym was Chairman, who examined Mr. Montague's Writings, (viz.) his Gag, his Appeal, and his Treatise of the Invocation of Saints, out of which they collected several opinions contrary to the book of Homilies and the Thirty nine Articles, which they reported to the House; as,

1. "That he maintained the Church of Rome is, and ever was a true Church, contrary to the sixteenth Homily of the Church of England.

Articles exhibited against Montague.  
Rushw.  
p. 209.

2. "That



King  
Charles I.  
1626.

2. "That the said Church had ever remained firm upon the same foundation of Sacraments and Doctrine instituted by God.

3. "That speaking of the Doctrines of Faith, Hope, and Charity, he affirmed, that none of these are controverted between the Papists and Protestants; but that the controverted Points are of a lesser and inferior Nature, of which a man may be ignorant without any danger of his Soul.

4. "That he maintained the use of Images, for Instruction of the Ignorant, and exciting Devotion.

5. "That in his Treatise of the Invocation of Saints he affirmed, that some Saints have a peculiar Patronage, Custody, Protection and Power, (as Angels have) over certain Persons and Countries.

6. "That in his Appeal he maintained, That men justified may fall away from Grace, and may recover again, but not certainly nor necessarily.

7. "That the said R. Montague has endeavoured to raise Factions among the King's Subjects, by casting the odious scandalous Name of Puritans upon those who conform to the Doctrines and Ceremonies of the Church. That he scoffed at preaching, at Lectures, and all shews of Religion; and that the design of his Book was apparently to reconcile the Church of England with the See of Rome."

In what manner the Commons designed to prosecute this Impeachment is uncertain, for Montague was not brought to his defence, the King having intimated again to the House, that their Proceedings, against him without his leave was displeasing to him; that as to their holding him to bail, he thought his servants might have the same protection as an ordinary Burgesses, and therefore he would take the Cause into his own hands; and soon after he dissolved the Parliament.

Conferences  
between Cal-  
vinists and  
Arminians.  
Prynne's  
Cant. Doom,  
p. 158, 159.  
Fuller,  
B. XI. p. 124.

Though the Arminian Controversy was thus taken out of the hands of the Parliament, it was warmly debated without doors; Montague was attacked in print by Dr. Carleton Bishop of Chichester, Dr. Sutcliffe Dean of Exeter, Dr. Featly, Dr. Goad, Mr. Ward, Burton, Yates, Wotton, Prynne, and Fran. Rouse, Esq; &c. Conferences were appointed to debate the point, "Of the possibility of the Elects falling from Grace." One was at York House, Feb. 11, 1625-6. before the Duke of Buckingham, Earl of Warwick, and other Lords;

Dr.

Dr. Buckeridge Bishop of Rochester, and Dr. White Dean of Carlisle, being on one side ; and Dr. Moreton Bishop of Coventry, and Dr. Preston, on the other. The success of the Dispute is variously related ; but the Earl of Pembroke said, that none went from thence Arminians, save those who came thither with the same opinions. Soon after, Feb. 17th, there was a second Conference in the same place, Dr. White and Mr. Montague on one side, and Dr. Moreton and Preston on the other ; Dr. Preston carried it clear at first, by dividing his Adversaries, who quickly perceiving their error, united their forces (says my Author) in a joint opposition to him ; but upon the whole, these Conferences served rather to encrease the differences than abate them. The King therefore issued out a Proclamation, containing very express Commands not to preach or dispute upon the controverted points of Arminianism. It was dated Jan. 14. 1626, and sets forth, “ That the King will admit  
“ of no Innovations in the Doctrine, Discipline, or Government of the Church, and therefore charges all his  
“ Subjects, and especially the Clergy, not to publish or  
“ maintain in preaching or writing, any new inventions or  
“ opinions, contrary to the said Doctrine and Discipline  
“ established by law, assuring them, that his Majesty will  
“ proceed against all offenders against this Order, with all  
“ that severity their Contempt shall deserve, that by the  
“ exemplary punishment of a few, others may be warned  
“ against falling under the just indignation of their Sovereign.”

King  
Charles I.  
1626.

Ib. p. 125.

King puts  
an end to  
the Controversy.  
Rushw. p.  
412.  
Bib. Regia.

One would have thought this proclamation to be in favour of Calvinism, but the execution of it being in the hands of Laud, and the Bishops of his party, the edge was turned against the Puritans, and it became, (says Rushworth) the stopping of their Mouths, and gave an uncontrouled liberty to the tongues and pens of the Arminian party. Others were of opinion, that Laud and Neile procured this injunction, in order to have an opportunity to oppress the Calvinists who should venture to break it, while the disobedience of the contrary party should be winked at. The Puritans thought they might still write in defence of the received Doctrine of the thirty nine Articles, but the Press being in the hands of their adversaries, some of their Books were stopt, some were castrated, and others that were got abroad were called in, and the authors and publishers questioned in the Star-Chamber and High Commission, for engaging in a Controversy prohibited by the Government. By

Restraint of  
the Press in  
favour of  
Arminianism.  
Rushw. p.  
413.  
Rapin, p.  
107.

Prynne, p.  
158, 159.

King  
Charles I.  
1626.

Complaint  
of the Book-  
sellers.  
Rushw. p.  
655.

Prynne, p.  
166, 167,  
&c.

And in fa-  
vour of Po-  
pery.

these methods effectual care was taken, that the Puritan and Calvinian Writers should do their adversaries no harm. Bishop Laud, with two or three of his Chaplains, undertaking to judge of truth and error, civility and good manners, for all the wise and great Men of the Nation, in doing which they were so shamefully partial, that learning and industry were discouraged, Men of gravity and great experience not being able to persuade themselves to submit their Labours to be mangled and torn in pieces by a few younger Divines, who were both judges and parties in the affair. At length the Booksellers being almost ruined, preferr'd a petition to the next Parliament [1628.] complaining that the Writings of their best Authors were stifled in the Press, while the Books of their Adversaries [Papists and Arminians] were published, and spread over the whole Kingdom. Thus "Cheney's *Collectiones Theologicæ*," an Arminian and popish Performance was licensed; when the learned Dr. Twisse's answer to Arminius, though writ in Latin, was stopt in the Press. Mr. Montague's Book, entitled, "God's Love to Mankind," was licensed and published, when Dr. Twisse's Reply to the same Book was suppressed. Many Affidavits of this kind were made against Laud at his Trial, by the most famous Calvinistical Writers, as will be seen hereafter.

The Case was the same with regard to Books against Popery; the Queen and the Roman Catholicks must not be insulted, and therefore all offensive passages, such as calling the Pope Antichrist; the Church of Rome "no true Church;" and every thing that tended to expose Images in Churches, Crucifixes, Penance, Auricular Confession, and popish Absolution, must be expunged. Sir Edward Deering compares the "Licensers of the Press" to the Managers of the "Index Expurgatorius" among the Papists, "who clip the Tongues of such Witnesses whose Evidences they do not like; in like manner (says he) our Licensers suppress the Truth, while popish Pamphlets fly abroad" *Cum Privilegio*;" nay, they are so bold as to deface the most learned Labours of our ancient and best Divines. But herein the Roman Index is better than ours, that they approve of their own established Doctrines; but our Innovators alter our settled Doctrines, and superinduce points repugnant and contrary. This I do affirm, and can take upon myself to prove."

Terrible



Terrible were the triumphs of Arbitrary Power over the Liberties and Estates of the Subject, in the intervals between this and the next Parliament; Gentlemen of Birth and Character, who refused to lend what Money the Council was pleased to assess them, were taken out of their Houses and imprisoned at a great distance from their habitations; among these were Sir Thomas Wentworth, Sir Walter Earle, Sir John Strangeways, Sir Thomas Grantham, Sir Harbottle Grimstone, John Hampden, Esq; and others; some were confined in the Fleet, the Marshalsea, the Gate-House, and other prisons about London, as Sir John Elliot, Mr. Selden, &c. Upon the whole, there were imprisoned by orders of Council, nineteen Knights, thirteen Esquires, and four Gentlemen, in the County Gaols; three Knights, one Esquire, and four wealthy Citizens in the Fleet, besides great numbers in other places. Those of the lower Sort that refused to lend were pressed for the Army, or had Soldiers quartered upon them, who by their insolent behaviour disturbed the peace of Families, and committed frequent Robberies, Burglaries, Rapines, Murders, and other barbarous Cruelties, insomuch that the Highways were dangerous to travel, and the Markets unfrequented. The King would have borrowed one hundred thousand pounds of the City of London, but they excused themselves. However, his Majesty got a round sum of Money from the Papists, by issuing out a Commission to the Archbishop of York, to compound with them for all their Forfeitures that had been due for Recusancy, since the tenth of King James I. or that should be due hereafter. By this fatal policy, (says the noble Historian) Men well affected to the Hierarchy, but enemies to arbitrary power, were obliged to side with the Puritans to save the Nation, and enable them to oppose the Designs of the Court.

To convince the people that it was their duty to submit to the Loan, the Clergy were employed to preach up the Doctrines of Passive-Obedience and Non-Resistance, and to prove, that the absolute submission of Subjects to the Royal Will and Pleasure of their Sovereign, was the Doctrine of Holy Scripture; among these was Doctor Sibthorp a Man of mean parts, but of sordid ambition, who in his Sermon at the Lent Assizes at Northampton, from Rom. xiii. 7. told the people, "That if Princes commanded any thing which Subjects might not perform, because it is against the Laws of God, or of Nature, or impossible, yet Subjects are bound to undergo the punishment, with-

King  
Charles I.  
1626.

Gentlemen,  
Citizens,  
and others,  
imprisoned,  
on account  
of the Loan.  
Rushw. p.  
418, 420,  
428, 473.

Sibthorp's  
Sermon for  
the Prero-  
gative.  
Rushw. p.  
423.

King  
Charles I.  
1626.

And Dr.  
Manwa-  
ring's.

“ out resisting or railing, or reviling; and so to yield a  
“ Passive Obedience where they cannot yield an active  
“ one.” Dr. Manwaring went further, in two Sermons  
preached before the King at Oatlands, and published under  
the Title of “ Religion and Allegiance,” He says, “ The  
“ King is not bound to observe the Laws of the Realm,  
“ concerning the Subjects Rights and Liberties, but that  
“ his Royal Will and Pleasure, in imposing Taxes without  
“ Consent of Parliament, doth oblige the Subjects Con-  
“ science on pain of Damnation; and, that those who re-  
“ fuse obedience transgress the laws of God, insult the  
“ King's Supreme Authority, and are guilty of Impiety,  
“ Disloyalty, and Rebellion. That the authority of both  
“ Houses of Parliament is not necessary for the raising aids  
“ and subsidies, as not suitable to the Exigencies of the  
“ State.” These were the Doctrines of the Court;  
“ which (says the noble Historian) were very unfit for the  
“ place, and very scandalous for the persons, who presum-  
“ ed often to determine things out of the verge of their  
“ own profession, and in “ ordine ad spiritualia,” gave  
“ unto Cæsar that which did not belong to him.”

Archbishop  
Abbot sus-  
pended for  
refusing to  
license Sib-  
thorp's Ser-  
mon.

Sibthorp dedicated his Sermon to the King, and carried it  
to Archbishop Abbot to be licensed, which the honest old  
Prelate refused, for which he was suspended from all his  
Archiepiscopal Functions, and ordered to retire to Canter-  
bury or Ford, a moorish, unhealthy place, five miles be-  
yond Canterbury. The Sermon was then carried to the  
Bishop of London, who licensed and recommended it “ as  
“ a Sermon learnedly and discreetly preached, agreeable  
“ to the ancient Doctrine of the Primitive Church, both for  
“ Faith and good manners, and to the established Doctrine  
“ of the Church of England.”

1627.  
Other Rea-  
sonsof the  
Abp's Sus-  
pension.  
Rushw. p.  
442.  
Collyer, p.  
742.

Archbishop Abbot had been out of favour for some time,  
because he would not give up the laws and liberties of his  
Country, nor treat the great Duke of Buckingham with  
that servile submission that he expected. Heylin says, the  
King was displeased with him for being too favourable to  
the Puritans, and too remiss in his Government; and that  
for this reason he seized his Jurisdiction, and put it into  
hands more disposed to act with severity. Fuller says,  
that a Commission was granted to five Bishops, where-  
of Laud was one, to suspend him for “ casual Homicide”  
that he had committed seven years before, and of which  
he had been cleared by Commissioners appointed to  
examine into the Fact in the Reign of King James;  
besides,

besides, his Grace had a royal Dispensation to shelter him from the Canons, and had ever since exercised his jurisdiction without interruption, even to the consecrating of Laud himself to a Bishoprick. But the Commission mentions no cause of his suspension, and only takes notice, that the "Archbishop cannot at present, in his own person, attend the services which are otherwise proper for his connuſance and jurisdiction." But why could he not attend them? But because his Majesty had commanded him to retire, for refusing to license Sibthorp's Sermon. The blame of this severity fell upon Laud, as if not having patience to wait for the reverend old Prelate's death, he was desirous to step into the archiepiscopal Chair, while he was alive; for no sooner was Abbot suspended but his Jurisdiction was put into the hands of five Bishops, by commission, of which Laud was the chief.

King  
Charles I.  
1627.

There was another Prelate that gave the Court some uneasiness, (viz.) Dr. Williams Bishop of Lincoln, late Lord Keeper of the Broad Seal, who being in disgrace at Court retired to his Diocese, and became very popular among his Clergy. He declared against the Loan, and fell in with the Puritans and Country Party, insomuch that Sir John Lamb and Dr. Sibthorp informed the Council, that they were grieved to see the Bishop of Lincoln give place to unconformable Ministers, when he turned his back upon those that were conformable. That the Puritans ruled all with him; and, that divers Puritans in Leicestershire being convened before the Commissioners, his Lordship would not admit proceedings to be had against them. That they [the Commissioners for the High Commission] had informed the Bishop then at Bugden, that several of the factious Puritans in his Diocese would not come up to the Table to receive the Communion kneeling; that they kept unlawful Fasts and Meetings; that one Fast held from eight in the morning till nine at night; and that collections for money were made without authority, upon pretence for the Palatinate. That therefore they had desired leave from the Bishop to proceed against them "Ex officio;" but the Bishop replied, That he would not meddle against the Puritans, that for his part he expected not another Bishoprick; they might complain of them if they would to the Council Table, for he was under a cloud already. He had the Duke of Buckingham for his enemy, and therefore would not draw the Puritans upon him, for "He was sure they would carry all things at last." Besides, he said, the King in the first year of

Bp. of Lincoln favourable to the Puritans.

Rushw.  
Vol. I. p.  
420.



King  
Charles I.  
1627.

his Reign, had given answer to a Petition of the lower House at Oxford in favour of the Puritans.

It appeared, by the information of others, that Lamb and Sibthorp press'd the Bishop again to proceed against the Puritans in Leicestershire; that the Bishop then asked them, what sort of People they were, and of what condition? To which Sir John Lamb replied, in the presence of Dr. Sibthorp, "That they seem'd to the World to be such as  
" would not swear, whore, nor be drunk, but yet they  
" would lye, cozen, and deceive; that they would frequently hear two Sermons a day, and repeat the same  
" again too, and afterwards pray, and that sometimes they  
" would fast all day long." Then the Bishop asked, whether the places where those Puritans were did lend money freely upon the collection for the Loan? To which Sir John Lamb and Dr. Sibthorp replied, that they did. Then said the Bishop, no man of discretion can say, that that place is a place of Puritans: For my part (said the Bishop) I am not satisfied to give way to proceedings against them; at which Sibthorp was much discontented, and said, he was troubled to see that the Church was no better regarded. This information being transmitted to the Council, was sealed up for the present, but was afterwards, with some other matters, produced against his Lordship in the Star-chamber, as will be seen hereafter.

War with  
France.

Though the King was at war with Spain, and with the House of Austria, and (if I may be allowed to say it) with his own Subjects, though he had no money in his Exchequer, and was at the greatest loss how to raise any; yet he suffered himself to be prevailed with to enter into a new war with France, under the colour of supporting the Protestant Religion in that country, without so much as thinking of ways and means to support it. But when one considers the character of this King and his Ministry, we can hardly believe that this could be the real motive of the war; for his Majesty and his whole Court had a mortal aversion to the French Hugonots. Buckingham had no Religion at all; Weston and Conway were Catholics; Laud and Neile thought there was no salvation out of the Church of England: How then can it be supposed that they should make war for the support of a Religion, for which they had the utmost contempt? Lord Clarendon says, the war was owing to Buckingham's disappointment in his amours at the French Court; but 'tis more likely he advised it to keep up the misunderstandings between the King and his Parliaments,

Rapin,  
p. 119.

by

by continuing the necessity of raising money by extraordinary methods, upon which his credit and reputation depended. War being declared, the Queen's Domesticks were sent home, and a Fleet was fitted out, which made a fruitless descent upon the Isle of Rhee, under the conduct of the Duke of Buckingham, with the loss of five thousand men. This raised a world of complaints and murmurs against the Duke, and obliged the weak and unhappy King to try the experiment of another Parliament, which was appointed to meet March 17, 1627-8.

King  
Charles I.  
1627.

As soon as this resolution was taken in Council, orders were dispatched to all parts of the Kingdom, to release the gentlemen imprisoned for the Loan, to the number of seventy eight, most of whom were chosen Members for the ensuing Parliament. In the mean time, his Majesty went on with raising money by Excise; and instead of softening the mistakes of his government, put on an air of high sovereignty, and told his Parliament, that if they did not provide for the necessities of the State, he should use those other means that God had put into his hands, to save that which the follies of other men would hazard. "Take not this (says his Majesty) as a threatening, for I scorn to threaten my inferiours, but as an admonition from him, who, by nature and duty, has most care of your preservation and prosperity."

1628.  
A new Parliament.

But the Parliament not being awed with this language, began with grievances; and though they voted five Subsidies, they refused to carry the Bill through the House, till they had obtained the Royal Assent to their Petition of Right, which contained, among others, the following claims, right, contained in Magna Charta.

1. That no Freeman shall be detained in prison by the King and Privy-Council, without the cause of commitment be expressed, for which by law he ought to be detained.
2. That an Habeas Corpus ought not to be denied, where the law allows it.
3. That no Tax, Loan, or Benevolence, shall be imposed without Act of Parliament.
4. That no man shall be fore-judged of life or limb, or be exiled or destroyed, but by the Judgment of his Peers, according to the Laws of the Land, or by Act of Parliament.

The King gave the Royal Assent to this Bill in the most ample manner, which I mention, that the reader may remember

King  
Charles I.  
1628

Manwa-  
ring's severe  
sentence,  
Rushw. p.  
593, 605,  
Fuller,  
p. 129.

He is par-  
doned and  
preferred.

Montague  
consecrated  
Bishop of  
Chichester,

Sibthorp  
preferred.

member what regard his Majesty paid to it in the following twelve years of his Reign.

In the mean time, the House of Lords went upon Manwaring's Sermons, already mentioned, and passed the following Sentence upon the Author; "That he be imprisoned during pleasure, and be fined one thousand pounds; that he make his submission at the Bar of the House, and be suspended from his Ministry for three years; that he be disabled for ever from preaching at Court, be incapable of any ecclesiastical or secular Preferment, and that his sermons be burnt in London and both Universities." According to this sentence, Manwaring appeared upon his knees at the Bar of the House, June 23. and made an ample acknowledgment and submission, craving pardon of God, the King, the Parliament, and the whole Commonwealth, in words drawn up by a Committee: But the Houses were no sooner risen, but his fine was remitted, and himself preferred, first to the Living of Stamford Rivers, with a Dispensation to hold St. Giles's in the Fields, then to the Deanry of Worcester, and after some time to the Bishoprick of St. David's.

Within a month after this, [August 22.] Montague was preferred to the Bishoprick of Chichester. while he lay under the censure of Parliament. At his Consecration at Bow Church, Mr. Jones, a Stationer of London, stood up, and excepted against his qualification for a Bishoprick, because the Parliament had voted him incapable of any preferment in the Church; but his exceptions were over-ruled, because they were not delivered in by a Proctor; tho' Jones averred that he could not prevail with any one to appear for him, though he offered them their fees: So the Consecration proceeded.

Sibthorp, the other Incendiary, was made Prebendary of Peterborough, and Rector of Burton Latimer in Wiltshire; though the Oxford Historian confesses he had nothing to commend him but forwardness and servile flattery.

While the Money Bill was going through the House of Lords, the Commons were busy in drawing up a remonstrance of the Grievances of the Nation, with a petition for redress: But as soon as the King had got his Money, he came to the House June 26. and prorogued the Parliament, first to the 20th of October, and then to the 26th of January. The Commons being disappointed of presenting their Remonstrance, published it to the Nation; but the King called it in, and, after some time, published an answer,  
drawn



drawn up by Bishop Laud, as was proved against him at his trial.

The Remonstrance was dated June 11. and besides the civil grievances of billeting Soldiers, &c. complains with regard to Religion.

1. Of the great encrease of Popery by the Laws not being put in execution ; by conferring honours and places of command upon Papists ; by issuing out commissions to compound for their recusancy, and by permitting Mass to be said openly at Denmark House, and other places.

The Answer denies any noted encrease of Popery, or that there is any cause to fear it. As for Compositions, they are for the encrease of his Majesty's profit, and for returning that into his purse, which the connivance of inferior officers might perhaps divert another way.

2. The Remonstrance complains of the discountenancing orthodox and painful Ministers, though conformable and peaceable in their behaviour, insomuch that they are hardly permitted to lecture where there is no constant Preaching.--- That their books are prohibited, when those of their adversaries are licensed and published--- That the Bishops Neile and Laud are justly suspected of Arminianism and popish Errors ; and that this being the way to Church Preferment, many Scholars bend the course of their studies to maintain them.

The Answer denies the distressing or discountenancing good Preachers, if they be, as they are called, good ; but affirms, that it was necessary to prohibit their books, because some whom the Remonstrance calls Orthodox, had assumed an insufferable license in printing.--- That great wrong was done to the two eminent Prelates mentioned, without any proof : For should they or any others attempt innovation of Religion (says his Majesty) we should quickly take order with them, without staying for the Remonstrance ; and as for Church Preferments, we will always bestow them as the reward of merit ; but as the preferments are ours, we will be Judge, and not be taught by a Remonstrance.

3. The Remonstrance complains of the growth of Arminianism, as a cunning way to bring in Popery.

The Answer says, this is a great wrong to ourself and Government ; for our people must not be taught by a parliamentary Remonstrance, or any other way, that we are so ignorant of truth, or so careless of the profession of it, that any opinion or faction should thrust itself so fast into our Dominions without our knowledge. This is a mere dream, and would make our loyal people believe we are asleep.

But

King  
Charles I.  
1628.

Parliament's  
Remonstrance, and  
the King's  
Answers

King  
Charles I.  
1628.

Jesuit's letter about the growth of Arminianism.

Foxes and  
Firebrands,  
Part II.  
p. 118.  
Rulhw. p.  
474.

But the following Letter, writ at this time by a Jesuit in England, to the Rector of the College at Brussels, will sufficiently support the Parliament's Charge, and shew how Arminianism and Popery, which have no natural connection, came to be united at this time against the Protestant Religion, and the Liberties of England.

" Let not the damp of astonishment seize upon your ardent and zealous soul, (says the Jesuit) in apprehending the unexpected calling of a Parliament ; we [the Papists] have not opposed, but rather furthered it.——

" You must know the Council is engaged to assist the King by way of Prerogative, in case the Parliament fail. You shall see this Parliament will resemble the Pelican, which takes pleasure to dig out with her beak her own bowels.

" The Elections have been in such confusion of apparent faction, as that which we were wont to procure with much art and industry, when the Spanish Match was in treaty.——

" We have now many Strings to our Bow, and have strongly fortified our faction, and have added two Bulwarks more ; for when King James lived, he was very violent against Arminianism, and interrupted our strong designs in Holland.——

" Now we have planted that sovereign drug Arminianism, which we hope will purge the Protestants from their Herefy, and it flourishes and bears fruit in due season.

" The materials that build up our Bulwark, are the projectors and beggars of all ranks and qualities ; however, both these factions co-operate to destroy the Parliament, and to introduce a new species and form of Government, which is Oligarchy.

" These serve as Mediums and instruments to our end, which is the universal Catholick Monarchy ; our foundation must be Mutation, and Mutation will cause a Relaxation.——

" We proceed now by Counsel and mature deliberation, how and when to work upon the Duke's [Buckingham's] jealousy and revenge ; and in this we give the honour to those that merit it, which are the Church Catholics.

" There is another matter of consequence which we must take much into our consideration and tender care, which

“ which is to stave off Puritans, that they hang not in the Duke’s ears : They are an impudent subtle people, and it is to be feared lest they should negotiate a reconciliation between the Duke and the Parliament at Oxford and Westminster ; but now we assure ourselves, that we have so handled the matter, that both the Duke and Parliament are irreconcilable.

King  
Charles I.  
1628.

“ For the better prevention of the Puritans, the Arminians have already lock’d up the Duke’s ears, and we have those of our own Religion that stand continually at the Duke’s Chamber to see who goes in and out. We cannot be too circumspect and careful in this regard. I cannot choose but laugh to see how some of our own Coat have accoutred themselves ; and ’tis admirable how in Speech and Gesture they act the Puritans. The Cambridge Scholars, to their woful experience shall see, we can act the Puritans a little better than they have done the Jesuits. They have abused our sacred Patron in jest, but we will make them smart for it in earnest.

“ But to return to the main fabrick, our Foundation is Arminianism ; the Arminians and Projectors affect mutation ; this we second and enforce by probable arguments. We shew how the King may free himself of his Ward, and raise a vast Revenue without being beholden to his Subjects, which is by way of Excise. Then our Church Catholicks shew the means how to settle the excise, which must be by a mercenary army of foreigners and Germans ; their Horse will eat up the country where they come, though they be well paid, much more if they be not paid. The Army is to consist of twenty thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse ; so that if the Country rise upon settling the Excise, as probably they will, the Army will conquer them, and pay themselves out of the confiscation. Our design is to work the Protestants as well as Catholicks to welcome in a conqueror. We hope to dissolve Trade, to hinder the building of Shipping, and to take away the Merchant Ships, that they may not easily light upon the West-India Fleet, &c.”

It appears from this Letter, that Puritanism was the only bulwark of the Constitution, and of the Protestant Religion, against the inroads of Popery and arbitrary power.

4. To go on with the Parliament’s Remonstrance, which complains further of the miserable condition of Ireland, where the popish Religion is openly professed, and their ecclesiastical

State of Religion in Ireland.



King  
Charles I.  
1628.

ecclesiastical Discipline avowed, Monasteries, Nunneries, and other Religious Houses re-edified, and filled with men and women of several orders, even in the City of Dublin itself.

The Answer says, That the Protestant Religion is not in a worse condition than Queen Elizabeth left it; and adds, that it is a disparagement to the King's Government to report the building of religious Houses in Dublin, and other places, when the King himself had no account of it.

But it seems the Parliament knew more of the affairs of Ireland than Bishop Laud; the Agents for that Kingdom had represented the Protestant Religion in great danger, by the suspending all proceedings against them ever since the King came to the Crown; by this means they were become so bold, that when Lord Falkland summoned their Chiefs to meet at Dublin, 1626. in order to a general contribution for defence of the Kingdom against a foreign Invasion, they declared roundly, That they would contribute nothing without a toleration, and liberty to build religious Houses; upon which the Assembly was dismissed. This awakened the Protestant Bishops, who met together, and signed the following Protestation, Novemb. 26, 1626.

Protestation  
of the Irish  
Bishops a-  
gainst a To-  
leration of  
Popery.

“ **T**HE Religion of Papists is superstitious and idolatrous, and their Church apostatical; to give them therefore a Toleration is a grievous sin, because it makes ourselves accessory to all the abominations of Popery, and to the perdition of those souls that perish thereby; and because granting a toleration in respect of any money to be given, or contribution to be made by them, is to set Religion to sale, and with it the Souls that Christ has redeemed with his Blood. We therefore beseech the God of Truth, to make those who are in authority zealous for God's Glory, and resolute against all Popery, Superstition and Idolatry.”

Signed by Archbishop Usher, and eleven of  
of his Brethren.

But notwithstanding this protestation, the Papists gained their point, and in the fourth year of the King's Reign had a Toleration granted them, in consideration of the sum of one hundred and twenty thousand Pounds to be paid in three years.

With

With regard to the building religious Houses, 'tis wonderful that neither the King nor his prime Minister should know any thing of it, when the Lord Deputy Falkland had this very Summer issued out a Proclamation with this preamble, "Forasmuch as we cannot but take notice, that the late intermission of the legal proceedings against popish pretended, or titular Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Deans, Vicars-General, and others of that sort, that derive their authority and orders from Rome, hath bred such an extraordinary insolence and presumption in them, as that they have dared of late, not only to assemble themselves in publick places, but also " have erected Houses and Buildings, called publick Oratories. Colleges, Mass-Houses, and Convents of Friars, Monks and Nuns, in the Eye and open view of the State, and elsewhere," and do frequently exercise jurisdiction against his Majesty's Subjects, by authority derived from Rome, and by colour of teaching Schools in their pretended Monasteries, to train up youth in their superstitious Religion, contrary to the laws and Ecclesiastical Government of this Kingdom: We therefore will and require them, to forbear to exercise their jurisdiction within this Kingdom, and to relinquish and break up their Convents and religious Houses, &c."——Could such a Proclamation be printed and dispersed over the Kingdom of Ireland, without being known to the English Court?

But further to shew that Bishop Laud himself could not be ignorant of the dangerous increase of Popery in Ireland, the Bishop elect of Kilmore, Dr. Bedell sent him the following account about this time: "The popish Clergy are more numerous than those of the Church of England; they have their Officials and Vicars-General for Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, and are so hardy as to excommunicate those who appear at the Courts of the Protestant Bishops: Almost every parish has a Priest of the Romish Communion; Masses are sometimes said in Churches, and excepting a few British Planters, not amounting to the tenth part of the people, the rest are all declared Recusants. In each Diocese there are about seven or eight of the reformed Clergy well qualified, but these not understanding the language of the Natives, cannot perform divine Service, nor converse with their Parishioners to advantage, and consequently are in no capacity to put a stop to superstition."

King  
Charles I.  
1628.

Proclamation of the Lord Deputy Falkland against them.

Bishop  
Bedell's  
Account of  
their Numbers.  
Prynne's  
Introd. p.  
101, 102.  
Collyer's  
Ecccl. Hist.  
p. 750.

King  
Charles I.  
1628.

Remarks.

Let the Reader now judge, whether the “ Answer to  
“ the Remonstrance” be not very evasive? could this great  
Statesman be ignorant of so many notorious facts? was the  
growth of Arminianism and arbitrary power a dream? was  
any wrong done to himself, or his brother of Winchester,  
by saying, they countenanced these principles? was not the  
increase of Popery both in England and Ireland notorious, by  
suspending the penal Laws, ever since the King came to  
the Crown, and granting the Papists a Toleration for a Sum  
of Money? where then was the policy of lulling the Na-  
tion asleep, while the enemy were encreasing their num-  
bers, and whetting their Swords for a general Massacre of  
the Protestants, which they accomplished in Ireland about  
twelve years afterwards.

Laud made  
Bishop of  
London.

The Bishop observes in his Diary, that this Parliament  
laboured his ruin, because they charged him with “ un-  
“ soundness of opinion;” but his Lordship had such an  
influence over the the King as render’d all their attempts  
fruitless; for the See of London becoming vacant this Sum-  
mer, Laud was translated to it July 15th, and the Duke of  
Buckingham being stabbed at Portsmouth by Felton, Aug.  
23d following, this ambitious Prelate became prime Mini-  
ster in all affairs both of Church and State.

King’s De-  
claration  
before the  
Thirty nine  
Articles.  
Eib. Reg.  
Sect. 3.  
No. IV.

One of the Bishop’s first attempts, after his translation  
to London, was to stifle the “ Predestinarian Controversy,”  
for which purpose he procured the Thirty nine Articles to  
be reprinted, with the following Declaration at the head of  
them.

By the King.

“ **B** E I N G by God’s Ordinance, and our just Title,  
“ Defender of the Faith, &c. within these Domini-  
“ ons, we hold it agreeable to our Kingly Office, for the  
“ preservation of unity, and peace, not to suffer any unne-  
“ cessary disputations which may nourish faction in the  
“ Church or Commonwealth: We therefore, with the  
“ advice of our Bishops declare, that the Articles of  
“ the Church of England, which the Clergy general-  
“ ly have subscribed, do contain the true Doctrine  
“ of the Church of England, agreeable to God’s Word,  
“ which we do therefore ratify and confirm, requiring all  
“ our loving Subjects to continue in the uniform profession  
“ thereof, and prohibiting the least difference from the said  
“ Articles.—We take comfort in this, that all Clergy-  
“ men within our Realm have always most willingly sub-  
“ scribed the Articles, which is an argument, that they all  
“ agree



“ agree in the true, usual, literal meaning of them; and  
 “ that in those curious points, in which the present differences lie, Men of all sorts take the Articles to be for  
 “ them, which is an argument again, that none of them  
 “ intend any desertion of the Articles established: Wherefore we will, that all curious search into these things be  
 “ laid aside, and these disputes be shut up in God’s promises, as they be generally set forth to us in holy Scriptures, and the general meaning of the Articles according  
 “ to them; and that no man hereafter preach or print to  
 “ draw the Article aside any way, but shall submit to it, in the plain and full manner thereof, and shall not put  
 “ his own sense or Comment to the meaning of the Article, but shall take it in the literal and grammatical  
 “ sense: That if any publick Reader in the Universities, or any other person, shall affix any new sense to any Article, or shall publickly read, or hold disputation on either side; or if any Divine in the Universities shall  
 “ preach, or print any thing either way, they shall be liable to censure in the Ecclesiastical Commission, and we  
 “ will see there shall be due Execution upon them.”

King  
 Charles I.  
 1628.

Surely there never was such a confused unintelligible Declaration ever printed; but the Calvinist Divines understood the King’s intention, and complained in a petition of “ the  
 “ restraints they were laid under by his Majesty’s forbidding  
 “ them to preach the saving Doctrines of God’s free Grace  
 “ in Election, and Predestination to eternal Life, according to the seventeenth Article of the Church. That this  
 “ had brought them under a very uncomfortable Dilemma, either of falling under the divine displeasure, if they did  
 “ not execute their Commission in declaring the whole Counsel of God, or of being censured for opposition to  
 “ his Majesty’s authority, in case they preached the received Doctrines of the Church, and attacked the Pelagian and Arminian Heresies boldly published from Pulpit  
 “ and Press, though censured by King James as arrogant and atheistical; and those who avow them to be agreeable to the Church of England are called gross Liars.  
 “ Therefore they humbly intreat, that his Majesty would  
 “ be pleased to take the forementioned Evils and Grievances into his princely consideration, and as a wise Physician, apply such speedy Remedies as may both cure the  
 “ present diltemper, and preserve the Church and State  
 “ from

Petition of  
 the Calvinists against  
 it.  
 Prynne, p.  
 165.

King  
Charles I.  
1628.

“ from those plagues with which their Neighbours had not  
“ been a little distressed.” But this Address was stopt in  
its progress, and never reach’d the King’s Ears.

In pursuance of his Majesty’s Declaration all Books relating to the Arminian Controversy were called in by proclamation and suppressed, and among others Montague’s and Manwaring’s, which was only a feint to cover a more deadly blow to be reached at the Puritans; for at the same time Montague and Manwaring received the Royal Pardon, and were prefer’d to some of the best Livings in the Kingdom (as has been observed) while the answers to their Books, by Dr. Featly, Dr. Goad, Mr. Burton, Ward, Yates and Rouse, were not only suppressed, but the publishers question’d in the Star Chamber.

The King put on the same thin disguise with regard to Papists; a Proclamation was issued out against Priests and Jesuits, and particularly against the Bishop of Chalcedon; orders were also sent to the Lord Mayor of London, to make search after them and commit them to prison, but at the same time his Majesty appointed Commissioners to compound with them for their Recusancy; so that instead of being suppressed, they became a branch of the Revenue, and Sir Richard Weston, a notorious Papist, was created Earl of Portland, and made Lord High Treasurer of England.

Proceed-  
ings of Par-  
liament.

When the Parliament met according to Prorogation, January 20th, they began again with Grievances of Religion: Oliver Cromwell, Esq; being of the Committee, reported to the House the Countenance that was given by Dr. Neile Bishop of Winchester, to Divines that preached Arminian and Popish Doctrine; he mentioned the Favours that had been bestowed upon Montague and Manwaring who had been censured the last Sessions of Parliament; and added, “ If this be the way to Church Preferment, “ what may we expect?” upon debating the King’s late Declaration, the House voted, “ That the main End of “ that Declaration was to suppress the Puritan Party, and “ to give liberty to the contrary side.” Several warm Speeches were made against the new Ceremonies that began now to be introduced into the Church, as Images of Saints and Angels, Crucifixes, Altars, and lighted Candles, &c.

Speech of  
Mr. Rouse.  
Rushw.  
Vol. I. p.  
653.

Mr. Rouse stood up and said,——“ I desire it may be  
“ considered, what new paintings have been laid upon the  
“ old Face of the Whore of Babylon, to make her  
“ shew

“ shew more lovely. I desire it may be considered, how  
 “ the See of Rome doth eat into our Religion, and fret  
 “ into the very Banks and Walls of it, and the laws and  
 “ Statutes of this Realm.—I desire we may consider the  
 “ increase of Arminianism, an error that makes the Grace  
 “ of God lackey after the Will of Man.—I desire we  
 “ may look into the Belly and Bowels of this Trojan Horse,  
 “ to see if there be not Men in it ready to open the Gates  
 “ to Romish Tyranny, for an Arminian is the Spawn of a  
 “ Papist; and if the warmth of favour come upon  
 “ him, you shall see him turn into one of those Frogs  
 “ that rose out of the bottomless pit; these Men ha-  
 “ ving kindled a Fire in our neighbour Country, are now  
 “ endeavouring to set this Kingdom in a flame.”——

King  
 Charles I.  
 1628.

Rushw.  
 Vol. I. p.  
 654.

Mr. Pym said, “ That by the Articles set forth 1562.  
 “ by the Catechism set forth in King Edward VIth’s Days,  
 “ by the writings of Martin Bucer and Peter Martyr; by  
 “ the constant professions sealed with the Blood of many  
 “ Martyrs, as Cranmer, Ridley, and others; by the Thirty  
 “ six Articles of Queen Elizabeth, and by the Articles  
 “ agreed upon at Lambeth as the Doctrine of the Church  
 “ of England, which King James sent to Dort, and to  
 “ Ireland, it appears evidently what is the established Re-  
 “ ligion of the Realm. Let us therefore shew wherein  
 “ these late opinions differ from those Truths; and what  
 “ Men have been since preferr’d who have profess’d the  
 “ contrary Heresies; what pardons they have had for  
 “ false Doctrine; what prohibiting of Books and Writ-  
 “ ings against their Doctrine, and permitting of such  
 “ Books as have been for them. Let us enquire after  
 “ the Abettors, and after the pardons granted to them  
 “ that preach the contrary truth before his Majesty. It be-  
 “ longs to Parliaments to establish true Religion, and to  
 “ punish false. We must know what Parliaments have  
 “ done formerly in Religion. Our Parliaments have con-  
 “ firmed General Councils. In the time of King Henry  
 “ VIII. the Earl of Essex was condemned [by Parliament]  
 “ for countenancing Books of Heresy. The Convocation  
 “ is but a provincial Synod of Canterbury, and cannot bind  
 “ the whole Kingdom. As for York it is distant, and can-  
 “ not bind us or the Laws; and as for the High Com-  
 “ mission it is derived from Parliament.”——

Of Mr. Pym  
 Rushw.  
 Vol. I. p.  
 647.

“ Sir John Elliot said, —— “ If there be any diffe-  
 “ rence in opinion concerning the interpretation of the  
 V O L. II. L “ Thirty

Of Sir J.  
 Elliot.  
 Rushw.  
 Vol. I. p.  
 649.



King  
Charles I.  
1628.

“Thirty nine Articles, it is said, the Bishops and Clergy in Convocation have power to dispute it, and to order which way they please. A slight thing, that the power of Religion should be left to these Men ! I honour their profession ; there are among our Bishops such as are fit to be made examples for all Ages, who shine in virtue, and are firm for Religion ; but the contrary faction I like not. I remember a character I have seen in a Diary of King Edward VI. where he says of the Bishops, that some for Age, some for Ignorance, some for Luxury, and some for Popery, were unfit for Discipline and Government.” We see there are some among our Bishops that are not Orthodox, nor sound in Religion as they should be, witness the two Bishops complained of the last Meeting of this Parliament ; should we be in their power, I fear our Religion would be overthrown. Some of these are Masters of Ceremonies, and labour to introduce new Ceremonies into the Church.— Let us go to the Ground of our Religion, and lay down a Rule on which all others may rest, and then enquire after Offenders.”

Of Mr.  
Sec. Cook.

Mr. Secretary Cook said, “That the Fathers of the Church were asleep ; but a little to awaken their zeal, it is fit (says he) that they take notice of that Hierarchy that is already established, in Competition with their Lordships, for they [the Papists] have a Bishop consecrated by the Pope ; this Bishop has his subaltern Officers of all Kinds, as Vicars-General, Arch-Deacons, Rural Deans, Apparitors, &c. neither are these Nominal or Titular Officers only, but they all execute their jurisdictions, and make their ordinary Visitations throughout the Kingdom, keep Courts, and determine Ecclesiastical Causes ; and which is an argument of more Consequence they keep ordinary Intelligence by their Agents in Rome, and hold Correspondence with the Nuncios and Cardinals both at Brussels and France. Neither are the Seculars alone grown to this Height, but the Regulars are more active and dangerous.—Even at this time they intend to hold a concurrent Assembly with this Parliament.”—— After some other Speeches of this kind, the House of Commons enter’d into the following Vow.

“ WE

“ **W**E the Commons in Parliament assembled do claim, protest, and avow for truth, the Sense of the Articles of Religion which were established by Parliament in the thirteenth year of our late Queen Elizabeth, which by the publick Act of the Church of England, and by the general and current exposition of the Writers of our Church have been delivered unto us. And we reject the Sense of the Jesuits and Arminians, and all others that differ from us.”

King  
Charles I.  
1628.

Protestation  
of the Com-  
mons against  
Arminia-  
nism.

Bishop Laud, in his answer to this Protestation, has several Remarks. “ Is there by this Act (says his Lordship) any interpretation of the Articles or not? if none, to what end is the Act? if a sense or interpretation be declared, what authority have Laymen to make it? for interpretation of an Article belongs to them only that have power to make it.” To which it might be answer’d, that the Commons made no new interpretation of the Articles, but avowed for truth the current sense of Expositors before that time, in opposition to the modern interpretation of Jesuits and Arminians. “ But what authority have Laymen to make it?” Answer, The same that they had in the 13th of Elizabeth, to establish them, as the Doctrine of the Church of England; unless we will say, with Mr. Collyer, that neither the sense of the Articles, nor the Articles themselves, were established in that Parliament, or in any other. If so, they are no part of the legal Constitution, and Men may subscribe the Words without putting any sense upon them at all; an admirable way to prevent diversity of opinions in matters of Faith! but his Lordship adds, “ That it is against the King’s Declaration, which says, we must take the general Meaning of them, and not draw them aside any way, but take them in the literal and grammatical Sense.” Has the King then a power, without Convocation or Parliament, to interpret and determine the sense of the Articles for the whole Body of the Clergy? by the general Meaning of the Articles, the Declaration seems to understand no one determined sense at all. Strange! that so learned and wise a Body of Clergy and Laity, in Convocation and Parliament, should establish a number of Articles with this Title, “ For the avoiding of Diversity of Opinions, and for the establishing of Consent touching true Religion,” without any one determined Sense!

Remarks  
upon Bi-  
shop Laud’s  
Answer.

Eg. Hist. p.  
747.

Prynne  
Cant. Doom.  
p. 164.

King  
Charles I.  
1628.

The Bishop goes on, and “excepts against the current  
“Sense of Expositors, because they may, and perhaps  
“do, go against the literal Sense.” Will his Lordship  
then abide by the literal and grammatical Sense? No,  
but “if an Article bear more senses than one, a Man may  
“choose what Sense his Judgment directs him to, provi-  
“ded it be a Sense, according to the Analogy of Faith,  
“till the Church determine a [particular] Sense; but ’tis  
“the Wisdom of the Church to require Consent to Arti-  
“cles in general as much as may be, and not require Assent  
“to Particulars.” His Lordship had better have spoken  
out, and said, that it would be the Wisdom of the Church  
to require no Subscriptions at all. What shifts are Men  
put to, to comply with the Laws, when their Sentiments  
happen to differ from the literal and grammatical Sense of  
the Articles of the Church? Mr. Collyer says, “they have  
“no established Sense;” King Charles in his Declaration,  
that they are to be understood in a general Sense, but not to  
be drawn aside to a particular determined Sense. Bishop  
Laud thinks, that if the Words will bear more Senses than  
one, a man may choose what Sense his Judgment directs  
him to, provided it be a Sense, according to the Analogy of  
Faith, and all this to avoid diversity of opinions: but I  
am afraid this Reasoning is too wonderful for the Rea-  
der!

Arbitrary  
proceedings  
of the  
Court with  
the Parlia-  
ment.

While the Parliament were expressing their zeal against  
Arminianism and Popery, a new Controversy arose, which  
provoked his Majesty to dissolve them, and to resolve to go-  
vern without Parliaments for the future; for though the  
King had so lately signed the “Petition of Right” in full  
Parliament, he went on with levying Money by his Royal  
Prerogative. A Bill was depending in the House to grant  
his Majesty the duties of Tonnage and Poundage; but be-  
fore it was pass’d, the Custom-House Officers seized the  
Goods of three eminent Merchants, Mr. Rolls, Mr. Cham-  
bers, and Mr. Vassal, for Non-payment. Mr. Chambers  
was fined two thousand Pounds, besides the loss of his  
Goods, and suffered six years imprisonment: Mr. Roll’s  
Warehouses were locked up, and himself taken out of the  
House of Commons and imprisoned. This occasioned  
some warm Speeches against the Custom-House Officers  
and Farmers of the Revenues; but the King took all upon  
himself, and sent the House Word, that what the Officers  
had done, was by his special Direction and Command, that it  
was not so much their Act as his own. This was a new way



King  
Charles I.  
1628.

of covering the unwarrantable proceedings of corrupt Ministers, and was said to be the advice of the Bishops Laud and Neile ; a contrivance that laid the foundation of his Majesty's ruin. It had been a maxim in law, that " The King " can do no wrong," and that all male-administrations were chargeable upon his Ministers ; but now, in order to screen his servants, his Majesty will take all upon himself : So that if the Parliament will defend their rights and properties, they must charge the King, who in his own opinion, " was " above law, and accountable for his actions to none but " God." It was moved in the House, that notwithstanding the King's answer, the Officers of the Customs should be proceeded against, by separating their interests from the King's : But when the Speaker, Sir John Finch, was desir'd to put the Question, he refused, saying, the King had commanded the contrary. Upon which, the House immediately adjourned to January 25. and then were adjourned by the King's order, to March 2. when they met, and requiring the Speaker to put the former question, he refused again, and said he had the King's order to adjourn them to March 16. but they detained him in the Chair, not without some tumult and confusion, till they made the following Protestation.

They keep  
the Speaker  
in the Chair  
till they  
make a Pro-  
testation.

1. " Whosoever shall, by favour or countenance, seem " to extend or introduce Popery or Arminianism, shall be " reputed a capital enemy of the kingdom.
2. " Whosoever shall advise the levying the subsidies of " Tonnage and Poundage, not being granted by Parlia- " ment, shall be reputed a capital enemy.
3. " If any Merchant shall voluntarily pay those duties " he shall be reputed a betrayer of the liberties of Eng- " land, and an enemy of the same.

But the next day warrants were directed to Denzil Hollis, Sir John Elliot, William Coriton, Benjamin Valentine, John Selden, Esqrs. and four more of the principal Members of the House, to appear before the Council on the morrow : Four of them appeared accordingly, (viz.) Mr. Hollis, Elliot, Coriton, and Valentine ; but refusing to answer out of Parliament for what was said in the House, they were committed close prisoners to the Tower. The Studies of the rest were ordered to be sealed up, and a Proclamation was issued out for apprehending them ; though the Parliament not being dissolved, they were actually members of the

Several  
Members  
taken into  
Custody,

King  
Charles I.  
1628.

King's  
Speech at  
the Dissolu-  
tion of the  
Parliament.

Remarks.

Rapin,  
p. 218.

Libels a-  
gainst the  
Ministers.  
Rushw. Vol.  
I. p. 662.

King's de-  
claration of  
his Reasons  
for dis-  
solving the  
last Parlia-  
ment.

House. On the 10th of March, the King came to the House of Lords, and, without sending for the Commons, or passing one single Act, dissolved the Parliament, with a very angry speech against the leading Members of the lower House, whom he called Vipers, that cast a mist of undutifulness over most of their eyes: "And as those Vipers" (says his Majesty) must look for their reward of punishment; so you, my Lords, must justly expect from me "that favour that a good King oweth to his loving and "faithful Nobility."

The undutifulness of the Commons was only their keeping the Speaker in the Chair, after he had notified that the King had adjourned them, which his Majesty had no power to do; for no King before King James I. pretended to adjourn Parliaments, and it was then complained of, as a breach of privilege. It is one thing to prorogue or dissolve a Parliament, and another to adjourn it; the consequences of this last might be very fatal; for if the King may adjourn the House in the midst of their debates, or forbid the Speaker to put the question when required, 'tis easy to foresee the whole business of Parliament must be under his direction. The Members abovementioned were sentenced to be imprison'd during the Kings pleasure; and were accordingly kept under close confinement many years, where Sir John Elliot died a Martyr for the liberties of his country. Mr. Hollis was also fined a thousand marks, Sir John Elliot two thousand pounds, Valentine five hundred pounds, and Long two thousand marks.

Great were the murmurings of the people upon this occasion; Libels were dispersed against the Prime Minister Laud; one of which says, "Laud, look to thy self, be "assured thy life is sought. As thou art the fountain of "wickedness, repent of thy monstrous sins before thou be "taken out of this world; and assure thy self, neither God "nor the world can endure such a vile Counsellor or Whif- "perer to live." But to justify these proceedings to the world, his Majesty published a declaration of the causes of dissolving the last Parliament.

The Declaration vindicates the King's taking the Duties of Tonnage and Poundage, from the examples of some of his predecessors, and as agreeable to his kingly honour. It justifies the silencing the predestinarian controversy, and lays the blame of not executing the laws against Papists upon subordinate Officers and Ministers in the Country: "We profess (says his Majesty) that as it is our duty, so it shall

“ shall be our care to command and direct well ; but it is  
“ the part of others to perform the ministerial office ; and  
“ when we have done our Office, we shall account our-  
“ self, and all charitable men will account us innocent,  
“ both to God and men ; and those that are negligent, we  
“ will esteem culpable both to God and us.” The Decla-  
ration concludes with a profession that “ the King will  
“ maintain the true Religion of the Church of England,  
“ without conniving at Popery or Schism : That he will  
“ maintain the rights and liberties of his subjects, provided  
“ they do not misuse their liberty, by turning it to licenti-  
“ ousness, wantonly and frowardly resisting our lawful and  
“ necessary Authority ; for we do expect our subjects should  
“ yield as much submission to our royal prerogative, and  
“ as ready obedience to our authority and command-  
“ ments, as has been performed to the greatest of our prede-  
“ cessors. We will not have our Ministers terrified by harsh  
“ proceedings against them ; for as we expect our Ministers  
“ should obey us, they shall assure themselves we will pro-  
“ tect them.”

This declaration not quieting the people, was followed by a proclamation, which put an end to all prospects of recovering the constitution for the future. The proclamation declares his Majesty's Royal pleasure, “ That spreaders of  
“ false reports shall be severely punished ; that such as  
“ cheerfully go on with their trades, shall have all good en-  
“ couragement : That he will not overcharge his subjects  
“ with any new burdens, but will satisfy himself with the  
“ duties received by his Royal Father, which he neither  
“ can, nor will dispense with. And whereas, for several ill  
“ ends, the calling of another Parliament is divulged, his  
“ Majesty declares, that the late abuse having for the pre-  
“ sent driven his Majesty unwillingly out of that course, he  
“ shall account it presumption for any to prescribe any  
“ time to his Majesty for Parliaments, the calling, continu-  
“ ing, and dissolving of which, is always in the King's own  
“ power.”—Here was an end of the old English Go-  
vernment by King, Lords and Commons for twelve years. England was now an absolute Monarchy ; the King's Pro-  
clamations and Orders of Council were the Laws of the  
land ; and the Ministers of State sported themselves in the  
most wanton acts of arbitrary power ; and the Religion,  
Laws and Liberties of our Country lay prostrate, being  
swallowed up by an inundation of Popery and Oppression.

A proclama-  
tion against  
prescribing a  
time for  
calling par-  
liaments for  
the future.  
Rushw. Vol  
II. p. 3.



King  
Charles I.  
1628.

Death and  
Character of  
Dr. Preston.

Clark's Life  
of Dr. Preston.

This year died the Reverend Dr. John Preston, descended of the family of the Prestons in Lancashire. He was born at Heyford in Northamptonshire, in the parish of Bughbrook, 1587, and was admitted of King's College, Cambridge, 1604, from whence he was afterwards removed to Queen's College, and admitted Fellow in the year 1609. He was an ambitious and aspiring youth, till having received some religious impressions from Mr. Cotton, in a sermon preached by him at St. Mary's Church, he became remarkably serious, and bent all his Studies to the Service of Christ in the Ministry. When the King came to Cambridge, Mr. Preston was appointed to dispute before him: The question was, "Whether Brutes had Reason, or could make Syllogisms?" Mr. Preston maintained the affirmative; and instanced in a Hound, who coming to a place where three ways meet, smells one way and the other; but not finding the Scent, runs down the third with full Cry, concluding that the Hare not being gone either of the two first ways, must necessarily be gone the third. The Argument had a wonderful effect on the audience, and would have open'd a door for Mr Preston's preferment, had not his inclinations to Puritanism been a bar in the way. He therefore resolved upon an accademical life, and took upon him the care of pupils, for which he was qualified beyond most in the University. Many Gentlemen and others committed their sons to his care, who trained them up in the sentiments of the first Reformers; for he affected the very Style and Language of Calvin. When it came to his turn to be Catechist, he went through a whole Body of Divinity with such a general acceptance, that the outside Chapel was usually crouded with Strangers before the Fellows came in, which created him envy. Complaint was made to the Vice-Chancellor of his unusual way of catechising, and that it was not safe to suffer Dr. Preston to be thus adored, unless they had a mind to set up Puritanism, which would in a short time pull down the Hierarchy; it was therefore agreed in the Convocation House, that no Stranger, neither Townsman nor Scholar, should upon any pretence come to those Lectures which were only for the Members of the College.

There was little preaching in the University at this time, except at St. Mary's, the Lectures at Trinity and St. Andrews being prohibited; Mr. Preston therefore, at the request of the Townsmen and Scholars of other Colleges, attempted to set up an Evening Sermon at St. Buttolph's,  
be-

belonging to Queen's College ; but when Dr. Newcomb, Commissary to the Bishop of Ely heard of it, he came to the Church and forbid the Sermon, and commanded that Evening Prayers only should be read : There was a vast croud, and earnest entreaty, that Mr. Preston might preach, at least for that time, but the Commissary was inexorable, and to prevent further Importunities, went home with his Family ; after he was gone Mr. Preston was prevailed with to preach ; and because much time had been spent in debates, they adventured for that time to omit the service that the Scholars might be present at their College Prayers. Next day the Commissary went to New-market, and complained both to the Bishop and King ; he represented the danger of the Hierarchy, and the progress of Non-conformity among the Scholars, and assured them, that Mr. Preston was in such high esteem, that he would carry all before him if he was not thoroughly dealt with. Being called before his Superiors, he made a plain narrative of the fact ; and added, that he had no design to affront the Bishop or his Commissary. The Bishop said, the King was informed that he was an enemy to "Forms of Prayer," which Mr. Preston denying, he was ordered to declare his Judgment upon that head, in a Sermon at St. Buttolph Church, and so was dismissed.

King  
Charles I.  
1628.

Some time after, King James being at New-market Mr. Preston was appointed to preach before him, which he performed with great applause, having a fluent Speech, a commanding voice, and a strong memory to deliver what he had prepared without the assistance of his Notes. The King spake familiarly to him ; and though his Majesty expressed a dislike to some of his Puritan Notions, he commended his opposing the Arminians. And the Duke of Buckingham not knowing what friends he might want among the populace, persuaded the King to admit him one of the Prince's Chaplains in ordinary, and to wait two months in the year, which he did. Soon after this he was chosen Preacher of Lincoln's-Inn, and upon the resignation of Dr. Chadderton, Master of Emanuel College, in the year 1622, when he took his degree of Doctor of Divinity. The Doctor was a fine Gentleman, a Complete Courtier, and in high esteem with the Duke of Buckingham, who thought by his means to ingratiate himself with the Puritans, whose power was growing very formidable in Parliament. The Duke offered him the Bishoprick of Gloucester, but the Doctor refused, and chose rather the Lectureship of Trinity

King  
Charles I.  
1628.

nity Church, which he kept to his death. By his interest in the Duke and the Prince he did considerable service for many silenced Ministers; he was in waiting when King James died, and came up with the young King and Duke in a close coach to London. But some time after, the Duke having changed measures, and finding that he could neither gain over the Puritans to his arbitrary designs, nor separate the Doctor from their interests, he resolved to shake hands with his Chaplain. The Doctor foresaw the Storm, and was content to retire quietly to his College, where it is thought he would have felt some further effects of the Duke's displeasure, if God in his Providence had not cut him out work of a different nature, which took up all his time and thoughts to his death.

Dr. Preston lived a single life, being never married; nor had he ever a Cure of Souls in the Church. He had a strong constitution, but wore it out in his Study and in the Pulpit. His distemper was a consumption in the Lungs, for which, by the advice of Physicians, he changed the air several times; but the failure of his appetite, with other symptoms of a general decay, prevailed with him, at length, to leave off all Physick, and resign himself to the Will of God. And being desirous of dying in his native Country, and among his old friends, he retired into Northamptonshire, where he departed this life in a most pious and devout manner, in the forty first year of his age, and was buried in Fawsley Church, old Mr. Dod Minister of that place, preaching his Funeral Sermon to a numerous Auditory, July 20th, 1628. Mr. Fuller says, "He was an  
" excellent Preacher, a subtle Disputant, and great Poli-  
" tician; so that his foes must confess, that (if not having  
" too little of the Dove) he had enough of the Serpent. Some  
" will not stick to say, he had parts sufficient to manage the  
" Broad Seal, which was offered him, but the conditions  
" did not please. He might have been the Duke's Right  
" Hand, but his Grace finding that he could not bring him  
" nor his party off to his side, he would use him no longer;" which shews him to be an honest Man. His practical Works and Sermons were printed by his own order after his death.

E. XI.  
P. 131.



## CHAP. IV.

From the Dissolution of the third Parliament of King Charles I. to the Death of Archbishop Abbot.

**T**HE ancient and legal Government of England, by King, Lords, and Commons, being now suspended by the Royal Will and Pleasure, his Majesty resolved to supply the necessities of his Government by such other methods as his Council should advise, who gave a loose to their actions, as being no longer afraid of a Parliamentary Inquisition, and being above the reach of ordinary Justice. Instead of the laws of the land, all publick affairs were directed by Proclamations of the King and Council, which had the force of so many laws, and were bound upon the Subject under the severest penalties. They collected duties of tonnage and poundage without Act of Parliament, and laid what other Imposts they thought proper upon merchandize, which they let out to farm to private persons; the number of monopolies was incredible; there was no branch of the Subjects property that the Government could dispose of, but was bought and sold. They raised above a Million a year by the Imposts on Soap, Salt, Candles, Wine, Cards, Pins, Leather, Coals, &c. even to the sole gathering of Rags. Grants were given out for weighing Hay and Straw within three miles of London; for gageing red Herring Barrels, and Butter Casks; for marking Iron and sealing Lace, with a great many others; which being purchased of the Crown must be paid for by the Subject. His Majesty claimed a right in Cases of Necessity (of which Necessity himself was the sole Judge) to raise money by Ship Writs, or Royal Mandates directed to the Sheriffs of the several Counties, to levy on the Subjects the several Sums of Money therein demanded, for the maintenance and support of the Royal Navy. The like was demanded for the Royal Army, by the name of "Coat and Conduct Money," when they were to march; and when they were in quarters, they were billeted upon private houses. Many were put to death by martial Law, who ought to have been tried by the Laws of the Land; and others by the same martial Law were exempted from the punishment which by Law they deserved. Large Sums of Money were raised by Commissions under the Great Seal, to compound for "Depopulations, for nufances in build-

ing

King  
Charles I.  
1629.

Arbitrary  
methods of  
Govern-  
ment in the  
State,

King  
Charles I.  
1629.

Bishop  
Laud's  
scheme for  
governing  
the Church.

“ ing between high and low Water Mark ; for pretended “ encoachments on the Forests, &c.” beside the exorbitant Fines of the Star-Chamber and High Commission Court ; and the extraordinary methods of raising money by Loans, Benevolences, and Free-Gifts. Such was the calamity of the times, that no Man could call any thing his own any longer than the King pleased ; nor might any Man speak or write against these arbitrary proceedings, without the utmost hazard of his Liberty and Estate.

The Church was governed by the like arbitrary and illegal methods ; Dr. Laud Bishop of London being prime Minister, pursued his imaginary scheme of “ Uniting the two “ Churches of England and Rome,” without the least regard to the rights of Conscience, or the Laws of the Land, and very seldom to the Canons of the Church, but bore down all that opposed him with unrelenting severity and rigor. To make way for the Union, the Churches were not only to be repaired, but beautified with pictures, paintings, images, altar pieces, &c. the “ Forms of publick “ Worship” were to be set off with a number of pompous Rites and Ceremonies, in imitation of the Church of Rome ; and the Puritans, who were the professed enemies of every thing that looked like Popery, were to be suppressed or driven out of the Land. To accomplish the latter his Lordship presented the King with certain considerations for settling the Church, which were soon after published with some little variation, under the title of “ Instructions “ to the two Archbishops, concerning certain orders to be “ observed, and put in execution by several Bishops.”

Here his Majesty commands them to see, that his declaration for silencing the Predestinarian controversy be strictly observed ; and that special care be taken of the Lectures, or Afternoon Sermons in their several Dioceses, concerning which he is pleased to give the following Instructions.

King's Instructions  
about Lecturers.

1. “ That in all Parishes the afternoon Sermons be turned into catechizing by Question and Answer, where there “ is not some great cause to break this ancient and profitable order.

2. “ That every Lecturer read Divine Service before “ Lecture in his Surplice and Hood,

3. “ That where there are Lectures in Market Towns, “ they be read by grave and orthodox Divines ; and that “ they preach in Gowns, and not in Cloaks, as too many “ do use.

4. “ That

4. " That no Lecturer be admitted, that is not ready  
" and willing to take upon him a living with the cure of  
" souls. King  
Charles I.  
1629.

5. " That the Bishops take order, that the Sermons of  
" the Lecturers be observed.

6. " That none under Noblemen, and men qualified by  
" law, keep a private Chaplain.

7. " That care be taken, that the Prayers and Catechi-  
" sings be frequented, as well as Sermons." Of all which  
his Majesty requires an account once a year.

By virtue of these instructions the Bishop of London summoned before him all Ministers and Lecturers in and about the city, and in a solemn speech insisted on their obedience. He also sent letters to his Archdeacons, requiring them to send him lists of the several Lecturers within their Archdeaconry, as well in places exempt as not exempt, with the places where they preached, and their quality or degree; as also, the names of such gentlemen, as being not qualified, kept Chaplains in their houses. His Lordship required them further, to leave a copy of the King's instructions concerning lecturers with the parson of every parish, and to see that they were duly observed.

These Lecturers were chiefly Puritans, who not being satisfied with a full conformity, so as to take upon them a Cure of Souls, only preached in the afternoons, being chosen and maintained by the people. They were strict Calvinists, warm and affectionate preachers, and distinguished themselves by a religious observation of the Lord's Day, by a bold opposition to Popery and the new Ceremonies, and by an uncommon severity of life. Their manner of preaching gave the Bishop a distaste to sermons, who was already of opinion that they did more harm than good, in so much, that on a fast day for the Plague then in London, prayers were ordered to be read in all Churches, but not a sermon to be preached, lest the people should wander from their own parishes. The Lecturers had very popular talents, and drew great numbers of people after them. Bishop Laud would often say, " They were the most dangerous enemies  
" of the State, because by their prayers and sermons they  
" awakened the people's disaffection, and therefore must  
" be suppressed."

Character of  
the Lectur-  
ers.

Good old Archbishop Abbot was of another spirit, but the  
reins were taken out of his hands. He had a good opinion  
of the Lecturers, as men that had the Protestant Religion  
at

Proceedings  
against them  
Prynne's In-  
troduct. p. 94.  
361, 373.



King  
Charles I.  
1629.

at heart, and would fortify their hearers against the return of Popery. When Mr. Palmer, Lecturer of St. Alphage in Canterbury, was commanded to desist from preaching by the Archdeacon, because he drew great numbers of factious people after him, and did not wear the surplice, the Archbishop authorized him to continue: The like he did by Mr. Udnay of Ashford, for which he was complained of, as not enforcing the King's instructions, whereby the Commissioners (as they say) were made a scorn to the factious, and the Archdeacon's jurisdiction inhibited. But in the diocese of London Bishop Laud proceeded with great severity. Many Lecturers were suppressed, and such as preached against Arminianism or the new Ceremonies were suspended and silenced; among these were the Reverend Mr. John Rogers of Dedham, Mr. Daniel Rogers of Wethersfield, Mr. Hooker of Chelmsford, Mr. White of Knightsbridge, Mr. Archer, Mr. William Martin, Mr. Edwards, Mr. Jones, Mr. Dod, Mr. Hildersham, Mr. Ward, Mr. Saunders, Mr. James Gardiner, Mr. Foxley, and many others.

Mr. Bernard's  
Sufferings.  
Rushw.  
p. 32, 34.  
Prynne, p.  
365, 367.

The Reverend Mr. Bernard, Lecturer of St. Sepulchres, London, having used this expression in his prayer before sermon, "Lord open the eyes of the Queen's Majesty, that she may see Jesus Christ, whom she has pierced with her infidelity, superstition and idolatry," was convened before the High Commission, January 28th. and upon his humble submission was dismissed; but some time after, in his sermon at St. Mary's in Cambridge, having spoke some offensive words against Arminianism and the new Ceremonies, Bishop Laud sent for a copy of his sermon, and having cited him before the High Commission, required him to make an open recantation of what he had said, which his conscience not suffering him to do, he was suspended from his Ministry, excommunicated, fined one thousand pounds, condemned in costs of suit, and committed to New Prison, where he lay sundry months, being cruelly used, and almost starved for want of necessaries, of which he complained to the Bishop in sundry letters, but could get no relief unless he would recant. Mr. Bernard offered to confess his sorrow and penitence for any oversights, or unbecoming expressions in his sermons, but that would not be accepted; so that in conclusion he was utterly ruined.

Mr. Chauncey's.

Mr. Charles Chauncey, Minister of Ware, having said in a sermon, "That the preaching of the Gospel would be suppressed, and that there was much Atheism, Popery, Arminianism

“ Arminianism and Heresy, crept into the Church,” was questioned for it in the High Commission, and not dismissed till he had made an open recantation, which we shall meet with hereafter.

King  
Charles I.  
1629.

Mr. Peter Smart, one of the Prebendaries of Durham, and Minister in that city, was imprisoned by the High Commission of York this summer, for a sermon preached from those words, “ I hate all those that love superstitious vanities, but thy Law do I love :” In which he took occasion to speak against images and pictures, and the late pompous innovations. He was confined four months before the Commissioners exhibited any articles against him, and five more before any proctor was allowed him. From York he was carried up to Lambeth, and from thence back again to York, where he was deprived of his Prebendary, degraded, excommunicated, fined five hundred pounds, and committed close prisoner, where he continued eleven years, till he was set at liberty by the Long Parliament in 1640. He was a person of a grave and reverend aspect, but died soon after his release : The severity of a long imprisonment having contributed to the shortning his days.

Mr. Peter  
Smart's

The King's instructions, and the severe principles of the prime Minister in Church affairs, brought a great deal of business into the Spiritual Courts ; one or other of the Puritan Ministers was every week suspended or deprived, and their families sent a begging ; nor was there any prospect of relief, the clouds gathering every day thicker over their heads, and threatening a violent storm. This put them upon projecting a further Settlement in New England, where they might be delivered from the hands of their oppressors, and enjoy the free liberty of their consciences ; which gave birth to the second grand Colony, commonly known by the name of the Massachusetts Bay. Several persons of quality and substance about the City of London engaged in the design, and obtained a Charter, dated March 4. 1628-9. wherein the gentlemen and merchants therein named, and all that should hereafter join with them, were made a body corporate and politick, by the name of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England. They were empowered to elect their own governor, deputy-governor and magistrates, and to make such laws as they should think fit for the good of the Plantation, not repugnant to the Laws of England. Free liberty of Conscience was likewise granted to all that should settle in those parts, to worship God in their own way. The new Planters being

Rise of the  
Massachusetts  
Bay Colony  
in New Eng-  
land.  
Mather's  
History of  
New Eng-  
land.

King  
Charles I.  
1629.

all Puritans made their application to the Reverend Mr. Higginson, a silenced Minister in Leicestershire, and to Mr. Skelton another silenced Minister of Lincolnshire, to be their Chaplains, desiring them to engage as many of their friends as were willing to embark with them. The little Fleet that went upon this Expedition consisted of six sail of transports, from four to twenty guns, with about three hundred and fifty passengers, men, women, and children. They carried with them one hundred and fifteen head of neat cattle, as horses, mares, cows, &c. forty one goats, six pieces of cannon for a fort, with muskets, pikes, drums, colours, and a large quantity of ammunition and provision. The fleet sailed May 11. 1629. and arrived the 24th of June following at a place called by the natives Neumkeak, but by the new planters Salem, which in the Hebrew language signifies Peace.

Religion being the chief motive of their coming into these parts, that was settled in the first place, August the 6th being appointed for the solemnity of forming themselves into a religious Society, the day was spent in fasting and prayer; and thirty persons who desired to be of the Communion, severally, before the whole congregation, declared their consent to a Confession of Faith which Mr. Higginson had drawn up, and signed the following Covenant with their hands.

Their Ch.  
Covenant.  
Hist. New  
England,  
p. 126.

“ We covenant with our Lord, and one with another.  
“ We bind ourselves in the presence of God, to walk together in all his ways, according as he is pleased to reveal himself to us in his blessed word of Truth, and do profess to walk as follows, through the power and grace of our Lord Jesus Christ.

“ We avouch the Lord to be our God, and ourselves to be his People, in the truth and simplicity of our spirits.

“ We give ourselves to the Lord Jesus Christ, and to the Word of his Grace, for the teaching, ruling, and sanctifying us, in matters of worship and conversation, resolving to reject all canons and constitutions of men in worship.

“ We promise to walk with our brethren with all watchfulness and tenderness, avoiding jealousies, suspicions, backbitings, censurings, provokings, secret risings of spirit against them; but in all offences to follow the rule of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to bear and forbear, give and forgive, as he has taught us.

“ In



King  
Charles I.  
1629.

“ In publick or private we will willingly do nothing to the offence of the Church; but will be willing to take advice for ourselves and ours, as occasion shall be presented.

“ We will not in the Congregation be forward, either to shew our own gifts and parts in speaking, or scrupling, or in discovering the weakneses or failings of our brethren, but attend an ordinary call thereunto, knowing how much the Lord may be dishonoured, and his Gospel, and the profession of it, slighted by our distempers, and weakneses in publick.

“ We bind ourselves to study the advancement of the Gospel in all truth and peace, both in regard of those that are within or without, no way slighting our sister Churches, but using their counsel as need shall be; not laying a stumbling block before any, no not the Indians, whose good we desire to promote, and so to converse, as we may avoid the very appearance of evil.

“ We do hereby promise to carry ourselves in all lawful obedience to those that are over us in Church or Commonwealth, knowing how well-pleasing it will be to the Lord, that they should have encouragement in their places by our not grieving their spirits by our irregularities.

“ We resolve to approve ourselves to the Lord in our particular callings, shunning idleness, as the bane of any State; nor will we deal hardly or oppressingly with any, wherein we are the Lord's Stewards.

“ Promising also, to the best of our ability, to teach our children and servants the knowledge of God, and of his Will, that they may serve him also. And all this not by any strength of our own, but by the Lord Jesus Christ, whose blood we desire may sprinkle this our Covenant made in his Name.”

After this they chose Mr. Shelton their Pastor, Mr. Higginson their Teacher, and Mr. Houghton their Ruling Elder, who were separated to their several offices by the imposition of the hands of some of the brethren appointed by the Church to that work. The first Winter proved a fatal one to the infant Colony, for it carried off above one hundred of their company, and among the rest Mr. Houghton their elder, and Mr. Higginson their teacher, who not being capable of undergoing the fatigues of a new settlement, fell into a hecick, and died in the forty third year

The hardships they underwent. Mather's Hist. N. E. B. III. p. 74, 76.

King  
Charles I.  
1629.

of his age. Mr. Higginson had been educated in Emanuel College, Cambridge, where he preceded M. A. he was afterwards Parson of one of the five Churches in Leicester, where he continued for some years, till he was deprived for Non-conformity; but such were his talents for the pulpit, that after his suspension the town obtained liberty from Bishop Williams to have him for their Lecturer, and maintained him by their voluntary contribution, till Laud being at the head of Church affairs, he was articulated against in the High Commission, and expected every Hour a sentence of perpetual imprisonment: This induced him to accept of an invitation to remove to New England, which cost him his life. Mr. Skelton the other Minister was also a Lincolnshire Divine, who being silenced for Non-conformity, accepted of a like invitation, and died of the hardships of the country, Aug. 2. 1634. From this small beginning is the Massachuset Province grown to the figure it now makes in the American World.

Their farewell request  
to the Ch. of  
England.

Next Summer, the Governor went over with a fresh recruit of two hundred Ministers, Gentlemen, and others. who were forced out of their native country by the heat of the Laudæan Persecution. Upon their embarkation they left behind them a paper, which was soon after published, entitled, "The humble request of his Majesty's loyal subjects, the Governor and Company lately gone for New England, to the rest of their brethren in, and of the Church of England, for the obtaining of their prayers, and removal of suspicions and misconstructions of their intentions." Wherein they entreat the reverend Fathers and Brethren of the Church of England, to recommend them to the mercies of God in their constant prayers, as a new Church now springing out of their bowels; "For you are not ignorant (say they) that the Spirit of God stirred up the Apostle Paul to make a continual mention of the Church of Philippi, which was a Colony from Rome. Let the same spirit, we beseech you, put you in mind that are the Lord's Remembrancers, to pray for us without ceasing; and what goodness you shall extend to us in this, or any other christian kindness, we, your brethren in Christ, shall labour to repay in what duty we are, or shall be able to perform, promising, so far as God shall enable us, to give him no rest on your behalf, wishing our heads and hearts may be fountains of tears for your everlasting  
"welfare,

“ welfare, when we shall be in our poor cottages in the  
 “ wilderness, overshadowed with the spirit of supplication,  
 “ through the manifold necessities and tribulations which  
 “ may not altogether unexpectedly, nor, we hope, unpro-  
 “ fitably befall us.”

King  
Charles I.  
1629.

When it appeared that the Planters could subsist in their new Settlement, great numbers of their friends with their families flocked after them every summer. In the following twelve years of Archbishop Laud's government there went over about 4000 Planters, who laid the foundation of several little towns and villages up and down the country, and carried over with them in materials, money, and cattle, &c. not less than to the value of one hundred and ninety two thousand Pounds, besides the merchandize that was sent over with them to traffick with the Indians. Upon the whole, it has been computed, that the four Settlements of New England, viz. Plymouth, the Massachusetts Bay, Connecticut, and New Haven, all which were accomplished before the beginning of the Civil Wars, drained England of four or five hundred thousand pounds in money, a very great sum in those days; and if the persecution of the Puritans had continued twelve years longer, 'tis thought that a fourth part of the riches of the Kingdom would have been carried out of it.

Numbers of  
Planters that  
went over  
the first 12  
years.  
Mather's  
Hist. N. E.  
B. I. p. 17,  
23.

The chief leaders of the people into these parts were the Puritan Ministers, who being silenced, and hunted from one diocese to another, at last chose this wilderness for their retreat, which the wise providence of God has since over-ruled for the great benefit of the trade of this Kingdom. I have before me a list of seventy seven Divines, who became Pastors of sundry little Churches and Congregations in that country before the year 1640. all of whom were in orders in the Church of England. The reader will meet with an account of some of them in the course of this History; and I must say, though they were not all of the first rank and quality for deep and profound learning, yet they had a better share of it than most of their neighbouring Clergy at that time; and which is of greater consequence, they were men of strict sobriety and virtue; plain, serious, and affectionate Preachers, exactly conformable to the doctrinal Articles of the Church of England, and took a great deal of pains to promote christian knowledge, and a reformation of manners in their several parishes.



King  
Charles I.  
1630.

Bp. Davenant censured for preaching upon Predestination. Fuller, B. XI. p. 138.

To return to England; though Dr. Davenant, the learned Bishop of Salisbury, had declared for the doctrine of Universal Redemption at the Synod of Dort, he was this year brought into trouble for touching upon the point of Predestination, in his Lent Sermon before the King on Romans vi. 23. "The gift of God is eternal life, through Jesus Christ our Lord." This was construed as a contempt of the King's Injunctions, for which his Lordship was two days after summoned before the Privy Council, where he presented himself upon his knees, and so had continued, for any favour he received from any of his own function then present; but the temporal Lords bid him rise and stand to his defence. The accusation was managed by Dr. Harfenet, Archbishop of York; Laud, walking by all the while in silence, spoke not a word. Harfenet put him in mind of his obligations to King James; of the piety of his present Majesty's Instructions; and then aggravated his contempt of them with great vehemency and acrimony. Bishop Davenant replied with mildness, that he was sorry that an established doctrine of the Church should be so distasted; that he had preached nothing but what was expressly contained in the seventeenth Article, and was ready to justify the truth of it. It was replied, that the doctrine was not gainsaid, but the King had commanded these questions should not be debated, and therefore his Majesty took it more offensively that any should do it in his own hearing. The Bishop replied, that he never understood that his Majesty had forbid the handling any doctrine comprised in the Articles of the Church, but only the raising new questions, or putting a new sense upon them, which he never should do: That in the King's Declaration all the Thirty nine Articles are confirmed, among which the seventeenth of Predestination is one. All Ministers are obliged to subscribe to the truth of this Article, and to continue in the true profession of that as well as the rest; the Bishop desired it might be shewn wherein he had transgressed his Majesty's commands, when he had kept himself within the bounds of the article, and had moved no new nor curious questions; to which it was replied, that it was the King's pleasure, that for the peace of the Church these high questions might be forborn. The Bishop then said, he was sorry he understood not his Majesty's intention, and that for time to come he would conform to his Majesty's commands. Upon this he was dismissed without further trouble, and was after some time admitted

Prynne, p.  
173, 166.

admitted to kiss the King's Hand, who did not fail to remind him that the Doctrine of Predestination was too big for the People's understanding, and therefore he was resolved not to give leave for discussing that controversy in the Pulpit. Upon this the Bishop retired, but was never afterwards in favour at Court.

King  
Charles I.  
1630.

Soon after Mr. Madye, Lecturer of Christ Church, London, was cited before the High Commission, and [March 10, 1630.] was, by Act of Court, prohibited to preach any more within the Diocese of London, because he had disobeyed the King's Declaration, by preaching on Predestination. Dr. Cornelius Burges, Mr. White, the famous Dr. Prideaux, Mr. Hobbes of Trinity College, and Mr. Cook of Brazen Nose, with others, suffered on the same account.

Mr. Madye  
and others.

But Dr. Alexander Leighton, a Scots Divine, and Father of the famous Prelate of that name, so highly commended by Bishop Burnet, in the History of his life and times, met with severer usage in the Star Chamber, for venturing to write against the Hierarchy of the Church. This Divine had published, during the last Session of Parliament, "An Appeal to the Parliament; or, Zion's Plea against Prelacy," in which he had spoken not only with freedom, but with very great rudeness and indecency against Bishops; calling them "Men of Blood," and saying, that we do not read of a greater persecution and higher indignities done towards God's People in any nation than in this, since the death of Queen Elizabeth. He calls the Prelacy of the Church Antichristian. He speaks vehemently against the Canons and against the Ceremonies; and adds, that the Church has her laws from the Scripture, and that no King may make laws for the House of God. He calls the Queen a Daughter of Heth, and concludes with saying what pity it is that so ingenuous and tractable a King should be so monstrously abused by the Bishops, to the undoing of himself and his Subjects. Now though the warmth of these expressions is not to be justified, yet let the Reader consider whether they bear any proportion to the Sentence of the Court. The cause was tried June 4, 1630. The Defendant, in his Answer, owned the writing of the Book, but with no ill intention; his design being only to lay these things before the next Parliament for their consideration. Nevertheless, the Court decreed unanimously, that for this offence "the Doctor should be committed to the prison of the Fleet for life, and pay a fine of ten thousand Pounds; that

Dr. Leighton writes  
against the  
Bishops.  
Rushw.  
P. 55.

His Sentence.

King  
Charles I.  
1630.

“ the High Commission should degrade him from his Ministry ; and that then he should be brought to the pillory at Westminster, while the Court was sitting, and be whipt ; after whipping, be set upon the pillory a convenient time, and have one of his ears cut off, one side of his nose slit, and be branded in the face with a double S. S. for a Sower of Sedition : That then he should be carried back to prison, and after a few days be pillory’d a second time in Cheapside, and be there likewise whipt, and have the other side of his nose slit, and his other ear cut off, and then be shut up in close prison for the remainder of his Life.” Bishop Laud pulled off his Cap while this merciless Sentence was pronouncing, and gave God Thanks for it.

His Sufferings and Character,

Between passing the Sentence and Execution, the Doctor made his escape out of prison, but was retaken in Bedfordshire, and brought back to the Fleet. On Friday November 6. part of the Sentence was executed upon him (says Bishop Laud in his Diary) after this manner. “ He was severely whipt before he was put in the pillory. 2. Being set in the pillory, he had one of his Ears cut off. 3. One side of his Nose slit. 4. Branded on the Cheek with a red-hot Iron with the Letters S. S. On that day seven-night, his sores upon his Back, Ear, Nose, and Face, being not yet cured, he was whipt again at the pillory in Cheapside, and had the remainder of his Sentence executed upon him, by cutting off the other Ear, flitting the other side of the Nose, and branding the other Cheek.” He was then carried back to prison, where he continued in close confinement for ten years, till he was released by the Long Parliament. The Doctor was between forty and fifty years of age, of a low Stature, a fair complexion, and well known for his learning and other abilities : But his long and close confinement had so impaired his health, that when he was released he could hardly walk, see, or hear. The Sufferings of this learned Man moved the people’s compassion ; and, I believe, the Records of the Inquisition can hardly furnish an example of equal severity.

Peace, p.  
279, 281.

Innovations  
introduced.

To make the Distance between the Church and the Puritans yet wider, and the Terms of Conformity more difficult, Bishop Laud introduced sundry pompous innovations in imitation of Popery, that had no foundation in the Laws of the Realm, or the Canons of the Church. These were enforced both upon Clergy and Laity, with all the terrors of the



the High Commission, to the ruin of many families, and the raising very great disturbances in all parts of the Kingdom.

King  
Charles I.  
1630.

The Church of St. Catherine Creed Church being lately repaired, was suspended from all divine Service till it was consecrated again; the formality of which being very extraordinary, may give us an Idea of the superstition of this Prelate. On Sunday January 16, 1630. Bishop Laud came thither about nine in the morning, attended with several of the High Commission, and some Civilians: At his approach to the west door of the Church, which was shut and guarded by Halberdeers, some that were appointed for that purpose, cried with a loud voice, "Open, open, ye everlasting Doors, that the King of Glory may come in;" and presently the doors being opened, the Bishop, with some Doctors and principal Men, entered. As soon as they were come within the place, his Lordship fell down upon his knees, and, with eyes lifted up, and his arms spread abroad, said; "This place is holy; the ground is holy: In the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, I pronounce it holy." Then walking up the middle Isle towards the Chancel, he took up some of the dust, and threw it into the air several times. When he approached near the rail of the Communion Table, he bowed towards it five or six times, and returning, went round the Church with his attendants in procession, saying first the hundreth, and then the nineteenth Psalm, as prescribed in the Roman Pontificale. He then read several collects, in one of which he "prays God to accept of that beautiful building;" and concludes thus: "We consecrate this Church, and separate it unto thee as holy Ground, not to be prophaned any more to common use." In another he prays, "that all that should hereafter be buried within the circuit of this holy and sacred place, may rest in their Sepulchres in peace, till Christ's coming to Judgment, and may then rise to eternal Life and Happiness." After this, the Bishop setting under a cloth of State in the Isle of the Chancel, near the Communion Table, took a written book in his hand, and pronounced curses upon those that should hereafter profane that holy Place by musters of Soldiers, or keeping profane Lawcourts, or carrying burdens thro' it; and at the end of every curse, he bowed to the East, and said, "Let all the people say, Amen." When the curses were ended, which were about twenty, he pronounced a like number of blessings upon all that had any hand in framing and building of that sacred

Bishop  
Laud's  
Consecration  
of Creed  
Church.  
Rushw.  
p. 77.

Prynne's  
compleat  
History,  
p. 114.

King  
Charles I.  
1630.

and beautiful Church, and on those that had given, or should hereafter give, any Chalice, Plate, Ornaments, or other Utenfils; and at the end of every blessing he bowed to the East, and said, "Let all the people say, "Amen." After this followed the Sermon, and then the Sacrament, which the Bishop consecrated and administered after this manner:

His consecration of the Sacrament.

As he approached the Altar, he made five or six low bows, and coming up to the side of it, where the Bread and Wine were covered, he bowed seven times; then, after reading many prayers, he came near the Bread, and gently lifting up the corner of the Napkin, beheld it, and immediately letting fall the Napkin, he retreated hastily a step or two, and made three low obeysances. His Lordship then advanced, and having uncovered the Bread, bowed three times as before; then he laid his hand upon the Cup, which was full of Wine, with a cover upon it, which having let go, he step'd back, and bowed three times towards it; then he came near again, retired back, and bowed as before: Then the Elements were consecrated, and the Bishop having first received, gave it to some principal Men in their Surplices, Hoods, and Tippetts; after which, many prayers being said, the solemnity of the Consecration ended.

Of St. Giles's Church, and others. Prynne, Cant. Doom. p. 117.

Next day he consecrated St. Giles's Church in the same manner, which had been repaired, and part of it new built in his predecessor Bishop Mountain's time. Divine Service had been performed, and the Sacraments administered in it for three or four years since that time without exception; but as soon as Laud was advanced to the Bishoprick of London, he interdicted the Church, and shut up the Doors, till it should be reconsecrated, which is more than even the Canon Law requires. Sundry other Chapels and Churches, which had been built long since, were, by the Bishop's Direction, shut up till they were consecrated in this manner; as Immanuel Chapel in Cambridge, built 1584. Sidney College Chapel, built 1596. and several others.

Remarks.

This method of consecrating Churches was new to the People of England, and was, in the opinion of the first Reformers, superstitious and absurd; for though it is reasonable that there should be publick Buildings reserved and set apart for publick Worship, and that at the first opening them, Prayers should be offered up for a Divine Blessing on the Ordinances of Christ, that may

that may at any time be administer'd in them; yet have we not the least ground to believe that Bishops, or any other Dignitaries of the Church, can, by their Declaration, or Forms of Prayer, hallow the Building, or make the Ground holy, or introduce a divine Presence or Glory into the place, as was in the Temple of old: Where is their Commission? or what example have they of this kind in the new Testament? the Synagogues of the Jews were not consecrated in this manner; nor was the Temple of Solomon consecrated by a Priest, but by a King. Our Saviour tells his Disciples, that wheresoever two or three of them should be gathered together in his name, he would be in the midst of them; and the Woman of Samaria, that the hour was coming, when neither at that Mountain, nor at Jerusalem, they should worship the Father. Besides, the Revolutions which time and other accidents make in Towns and Cities, render it impossible to prevent the Alienation or Profanation of the holy Ground; for to look no farther than the City of London, would it not be very hard if all the Curses that Bishop Laud pronounced in Creed Church, should rest upon them who live in the Houses that are built by Act of Parliament in places where there were consecrated Churches, or Church-yards, before the Fire of London? Archbishop Parker therefore, in his "*Antiquitates Ecclesiæ Britan.*" p. 85, 86. condemns this practice as superstitious; nor was there any form for it in the publick Offices of the Church. But this being objected to Archbishop Laud at his Trial, as an Evidence of his inclination to Popery; we shall there see his Grace's Defence, with the learned Reply of the House of Commons, concerning the antiquity of consecrating Churches.

King  
Charles I.  
1630.

A Proclamation had been published last year, "com-  
manding the Archbishops and Bishops to take special  
care that the Parish Churches in their several Dioceses,  
being places consecrated to the Worship of God, be kept  
in decent repair, and to make use of the power of the  
Ecclesiastical Court to oblige the Parishioners to this part  
of their Duty." The Judges were also required not to  
interrupt this good Work, by too easily granting Prohibi-  
tions from the Spiritual Courts. It seems, sundry Churches  
since the Reformation were fallen to decay; and some that  
had been defaced by the pulling down of Images, and other  
superstitious Relicks, had not been decently repaired, the  
expence having been too great for the poorer Country Pa-  
rishes;

Proclamation for re-  
pairing  
Churches.  
Rushw. p.  
28.



King  
Charles I.  
1630.

rishes; it was therefore thought necessary to oblige them to their Duty; but, under colour of this Proclamation, Laud introduced almost all the superstitious Decorations of Popery, and punished those Ministers in the High Commission Court that ventured to write or preach against them.

1631.  
Cathedral  
of St. Paul's  
repaired.

His Lordship began with his own Cathedral of St. Paul's, for repairing and beautifying of which a Subscription and Contribution was appointed over the whole Kingdom. Several Houses and Shops adjoining to the Cathedral were, by an injunction of Council, ordered to be pulled down, and the owners to accept of a reasonable Satisfaction: But if they would not comply, the Sheriff of London was required to see them demolished. The Church of St Gregory's was pulled down, and the inhabitants assigned to Christ's Church, where they were to assemble for the future. The Bishop's heart was in this Work, and to support the expence, gave way to many oppressions and unjustifiable methods of raising Money, by Compositions with Recusants, Commutations of Penance, exorbitant fines in the Star-Chamber and High Commission, insomuch that it became a Proverb, "that St. Paul's was repaired with the Sins of the people." Before the year 1640. above one hundred and thirteen thousand Pounds was laid out upon it, with which the body of the Church was finished, and the Steeple scaffolded. There was also a stately Portico built at the West End, supported with Pillars of the Corinthian order, and embellished with the Statues of King James and King Charles; but the rebuilding the Spire, and the inside Decorations, miscarried, by the breaking out of the Civil War.

Collyer,  
Eccl. Hist.  
p. 751.

Decorations  
and Paint-  
ings of Ca-  
thedrals  
and other  
Churches.

What these Decorations and Ornaments of Paintings, Carvings, Altars, Crucifixes, Candlesticks, Images, Vestments, &c. would have been, can only be guessed by the Fashion of the Times, and by the Scheme that was now formed to recover and repair the broken Relicks of Superstition and Idolatry which the Reformation had left, or to set up others in imitation of them; for though the Reformation of Queen Elizabeth had destroy'd a great many Monuments of this kind; yet some were left entire, and others but very little defaced. In the Cathedral of Canterbury, over the Door of the Choir, were left thirteen Images, or Statues of Stone; twelve of them representing the twelve Apostles, and the thirteenth in the middle of them our Saviour Christ. Over these were twelve

Parl. Chron.  
p. 101.

twelve other Images of Popish Saints. In the several Windows of the Cathedral were painted the picture of St. Austin the Monk, the first Bishop of that See, and seven large pictures of the Virgin Mary, with Angels lifting her up to Heaven, with this inscription, "Gaude Maria sponfa Dei." Under the Virgin Mary's Feet were the Sun, Moon, and Stars, and in the bottom of the Window this inscription, "In laudem & honorem beatissimæ Virginis." Besides these, were many pictures of God the Father, and of the Holy Ghost, and of our Saviour lying in a Manger, besides a large Image of Thomas Becket, and others; all which were taken away by the Long Parliament.

King  
Charles I.  
1631.  
Cathedral of  
Cantebury.

In the Cathedral of Durham, there was an Altar of Of Durham. Marble Stone set upon Columns, with many Cherubims, Pictures and Images about it, which cost above two thousand Pounds. There were three Statues of Stone in the Church; one standing in the midst, representing Christ with a golden Beard, a blue Cap and Sun Rays upon his Head, as the Record of Parliament says; (though Dr. Cosins, in his vindication, says, it was mistaken for the top of Bishop Hatfield's Tomb.) There was also an image of "God the Father," and many other carved images, pictures, &c. which the present Dignitaries of the Cathedral had in great admiration; and, to keep up the pomp, they bought copes of Mass Priests, with crucifixes and images of the Trinity embroidered upon them. They had consecrated knives to cut the sacramental Bread, and great numbers of lighted candles upon the Altars on Sundays and Saints Days. On Candlemas-day there were no less than two hundred, whereof sixty upon and about the Altar, all which were reckoned among the "Beauties of the Sanctuary." "But these fopperies (says Bishop Kennet) did not perhaps gain over one Papist, but lost both the King and Bishops the hearts and affections of the Protestant part of the Nation, and were (as his Lordship observes) contrary to Queen Elizabeth's injunctions, 1559. which appoint, that all candlesticks, trentals, rolls of wax, pictures, paintings, &c. be remov'd out of Churches."

However, Bishop Laud was peculiarly fond of them, and, as soon as he was translated to Lambeth, repaired the paintings in the windows of that Chapel; in one pane of which, had been the picture of "Christ crucified, with a Scull and dead Mens Bones under it; a Basket full of Tools and Nails, with the High Priest and his Officers on Horseback, and the two Thieves on Foot. In the  
" next

Of Lambeth  
Chapel.  
Cant. Doom.  
p. 59, 60,  
61.

King  
Charles I.  
1631.

“ next were the two Thieves on Crosses ; — Abraham  
“ offering up his Son Isaac, and the brazen Serpent on a  
“ Pole. — In other Panes were the pictures of Christ ris-  
“ ing out of the Grave, and ascending up into Heaven,  
“ with his Disciples kneeling about him. — The descent of  
“ the Holy Ghost on the Apostles, in the shape of cloven  
“ Tongues. — God’s giving the law upon Mount Sinai ;  
“ his coming down from Heaven at the Prayer of Elisha ;  
“ — Christ and his twelve Apostles sitting in Judgment  
“ on the World.” — In other parts of the Church was  
painted the Virgin Mary, “ with the Babe Christ sucking  
“ at her Breast ; — The wise Men from the East com-  
“ ing to adore him ; — The History of the Annunciation,  
“ with the picture of the Virgin Mary, and of the Holy  
“ Ghost overshadowing her, together with the birth of  
“ Christ ;” all which having been defaced at the Refor-  
mation, were now restored, according to the Roman Mis-  
sale, and beautified at the Archbishop’s cost. The like re-  
parations of paintings, pictures, and crucifixes, were made  
in the King’s Chapel at Whitehall, Westminster-Abbey,  
and both the Universities, as was objected to the Arch-  
bishop at his trial, where the reader will meet with his  
Grace’s defence of the lawfulness and antiquity of Church  
paintings. The Puritans apprehended these paintings and  
decorations of Churches tended to Image Worship, and  
were directly contrary to the Homily, “ Of the peril of  
“ Idolatry ;” their Ministers therefore preached and writ  
against them, and in some places removed them ; for which  
they were severely handled in the High Commission.

Puritan  
Preachers  
expell’d the  
University,  
for preaching  
against Ar-  
minianism.  
Book XI. p.  
141.

Bishop Laud had been chosen Chancellor of Oxford last  
year, [April the 12th,] where the Puritans soon gave him  
some disturbance. Mr. Hill of Hart Hall, Mr. Ford of  
Magdalene Hall, Mr. Giles Thorne of Baliol College, and  
Mr. Giles Hodges of Exeter College, were charged with  
preaching against Arminianism and the new Ceremonies in  
their Sermons at St. Mary’s. Hill made a publick Recanta-  
tion, and was quickly released ; but the very Texts of the  
others (says Mr. Fuller) gave offence : One preached on  
Numbers xiv. 4. “ Let us make a Captain, and let us re-  
“ turn into Egypt : And another on 1 Kings xiii. 2. “ And  
“ he cried against the Altar in the Word of the Lord, and  
“ said, O Altar, Altar, &c.” These Divines being convened  
before the Vice-Chancellor Dr. Smith, as offenders against  
the King’s instructions, appealed from the Vice-Chancellor  
to the Proctors, who received their appeal. Upon this, the  
Chancellor

Rushw.  
Part II. p.  
110.



King  
Charles I.  
1631.



Chancellor complained to the King, and procured the cause to be heard before his Majesty at Woodstock, August 23d. when the following sentence was passed upon them: "That Mr. Ford, Thorn, and Hodges, be expelled the University; that both the Proctors be deprived of their places for accepting the appeal; and that Dr. Prideaux, Rector of Exeter College, and Dr. Wilkinfon, Principal of Magdalen Hall, receive a sharp admonition for their misbehaviour in this business." Mr. Thorn and Hodges, after a year's deprivation, desiring to be restored, preached a Recantation Sermon, and read a written submission in the Convocation House on their bended knees, before the Doctors and Regents; but Mr. Ford making no address to be restored, returned to his Friends in Devonshire; and being like to be chose Lecturer or Vicar of Plymouth, the inhabitants were required not to choose him, upon pain of his Majesty's high displeasure; and in case he was chosen, the Bishop of Exeter was commanded not to admit him.

Prynne,  
Cant. Doom.  
p. 175.

Mr. Crowder, Vicar of Vell near Nonsuch, was about this time, committed close prisoner to Newgate for sixteen weeks, and then deprived by the High Commission, without any Articles exhibited against him, or proof of any crime. It was pretended that matters against him were so foul, that they were not fit to be read in Court; but then they ought to have been notified to him, that he might have had an opportunity to disprove or confess them, which could not be obtained. Mr. Crowder was a pious Man, and preached twice a day, which was an unpardonable crime so near the Court.

Hardships  
of Mr.  
Crowder.

Sundry eminent Divines removed to New England this year; and among others the famous Mr. Elliot, the Apostle of the Indians, who not being allowed to teach school in his native Country, retired to America, and spent a long and useful Life in converting the Natives, whose language he learn'd, and with indefatigable pains translated the Bible into it.

Mr. Elliot  
removes to  
New Eng-  
land.

Two very considerable Puritan Divines were also removed into the other World by Death, (viz.) Mr. Arthur Hildersham, born at Stetchworth, Cambridgeshire, October the 6th, 1563. and educated in Christ's College, Cambridge, of an ancient and honourable Family; his Mother Anne Poole being Niece to the Cardinal of that Name. His Father educated him in the popish Religion; and because he would not go to Rome at fourteen or fifteen years of age, he disinherited him: But the Earl of Huntingdon,

Death of  
Mr. Arthur  
Hildersham.

King  
Charles I.  
1631.

Clark's Life  
of Hilder-  
sham.

his near Kinsman, provided for him, and sent him to Cambridge, where he proceeded M. A. and enter'd into holy Orders. In the year 1587. he was placed, by his honourable Kinsman above-mentioned, at Ashby de la Zouch in Leicestershire, and inducted into the living some time after. But here he was silenced several times for Non-conformity, as in the year 1590. in the year 1605. and again in the year 1611. under which last suspension he continued many years. In the year 1613. he was enjoined by the High Commission not to preach, or exercise any part of the ministerial function, till he should be restored. In the year 1615. he was committed to the Fleet by the High Commission, for refusing the oath *Ex Officio*, where he continued three Months, and was then released upon bond. In November 1616. the High Commission proceeded against him, and pronounced him refractory and disobedient to the Orders, Rites, and Ceremonies of the Church; and because he refused to conform, they pronounced him a Schismatick, fined him two thousand Pounds, excommunicated him, and ordered him to be attached and committed to prison, that he might be degraded of his Ministry: But Mr. Hildersham wisely absconded, and kept out of the way. In the year 1625. he was restored to his Living; but when Laud had the ascendant, he was silenced again for not reading divine Service in the Surplice and Hood, and was not restored till a few Months before his Death. Though he was a Non-conformist to his Death, as appears by his last Will and Testament; yet was he a person of great temper and moderation: He loved and respected all good Men, and opposed the separation of the Brownists, and the Semi-separation of Mr. Jacob. His Lectures on the 51st Psalm, and his other printed Works, as well as the encomiums of Dr. Willet and Dr. Preston, shew him to have been a most excellent Divine: What pity was it, that his usefulness in the Church should be so long interrupted! he died March 4, 1631. in the sixty ninth year of his age, having been Minister of Ashby de la Zouch (as the times would suffer him) above forty three years.

And of Mr.  
Robert Bolton.

Mr. Robert Bolton, born at Blackbourn in Lancashire, 1572. educated first in Lincoln College, and afterwards in Brazen Nose College, Oxford, of which he was Fellow. Here he became famous for his Lectures in moral and natural Philosophy, being an excellent Grecian, and well versed in School Divinity, though at present a profane wicked Man. While he was at College, he contracted an acquaintance

King  
Charles I.  
1631.

tance with one Anderton, a Popish Priest, who taking advantage of his mean circumstances, would have persuaded him to reconcile himself to the Church of Rome, and go over to one of the English Seminaries in Flanders. Mr. Bolton accepted the motion, and appointed a place of meeting to conclude the affair: But Anderton disappointing him, he returned to the College, and fell under strong troubles for his former mispent life; so that he could neither eat nor sleep, nor enjoy any peace of mind for several months; but at length, by prayer and humiliation, he received comfort. Upon this, he resolved to enter into the Ministry, in the thirty fifth year of his age. About two years after, he was presented to the living of Broughton in Northamptonshire, where he continued till his death. He was a most awakening and authoritative Preacher, having the most strong masculine and oratorical Stile of any of the Age in which he lived. He preached twice every Lord's Day, besides catechizing. Upon every Holy Day, and every Friday before the Sacrament, he expounded a Chapter: His constant course was to pray six times a Day, twice in private, twice with his Family, and twice with his Wife, besides many days of private humiliation that he kept for the Protestant Churches in Germany. He was of a comely grave presence, that commanded respect in all companies; zealous in the cause of Religion, and yet so prudent as to escape being called in Question all the while he lived in Northamptonshire. At length he was seized with a Tertian Ague, which, after fifteen Weeks, put a period to his valuable and useful Life, December 17th, 1631. in the sixtieth year of his age. He made a most devout and Christian End, praying heartily for all his Friends that came to see him; bidding them make sure of Heaven, and bear in mind what he had formerly told them in his Ministry, protesting that what he had preached to them for twenty years, was the truth of God, as he should answer it at the tribunal of Christ. He then retired within himself, and said, "Hold out Faith and Patience, your Work will speedily be at an End." The Oxford Historian calls him a most religious and learned Puritan, a painful and constant Preacher, a person of great zeal towards God, charitable and bountiful; but above all, an excellent Casuist for afflicted consciences: His eloquent and useful works will recommend his memory to latest posterity.

About



King  
Charles I.  
1632.

Feoffees cen-  
sured in the  
Star-cham-  
ber, and  
their impro-  
priations  
confiscated.

About the year 1627. there was a scheme formed by several Gentlemen and Ministers, to promote preaching in the Country, by setting up Lectures in the several Market Towns of England; and to support the expence a sum of money was raised by voluntary contibution, for the purchasing such impropriations as were in the hands of the Laity, the profits of which were to be parcel'd out into Salaries of forty or fifty Pounds per Annum, for the subsistence of their Lecturers; the Money was lodged in the hands of the following Ministers, and Gentlemen, in trust for the abovesaid purposes, under the name and character of Feoffees, viz. Dr. William Gouge, Dr. Sibbs, Dr. Offspring, and Mr. Davenport, of the Clergy; Ralph Eyre and Simon Brown, Esqs. of Lincoln's Inn, C. Sherman of Gray's Inn, and John White, of the Middle Temple, Lawyers; Mr. John Gearing, Mr. Richard Davis, Mr. G. Harwood, and Mr. Francis Bridges, Citizens of London. There were at this time three thousand eight hundred and forty five Parish Churches appropriated to Cathedrals, or to Colleges, or impropriated as Lay Fees to private persons, having formerly belonged to Abbies. The Gentlemen above-mentioned dealt only in the latter, and had already bought in thirteen impropriations, which cost between five and six thousand Pounds. Most people thought this a very commendable design, and wished the Feoffees good success; but Bishop Laud looked upon them with an evile eye, and represented them to the King as in a conspiracy against the Church, because they did not restore the impropriations they purchased to the several Livings, but kept them in their own hands for the encouragement of factious and seditious Lecturers, who were to depend upon their patrons, as being liable to be turned out if they neglected their duty. He added further, that the Feoffees prefer'd chiefly Non-Conformist Ministers, and placed them in the most popular market Towns, where they did a great deal of mischief to the Hierarchy of the Church. For these reasons an information was brought against them in the Exchequer by Mr. Attorney General Noy, as an unlawful Society, formed into a body corporate without a grant from the King for the purchasing Rectories, Tithes, Prebendaries, &c. which were register'd in a Book, and the profits not employed as by law they ought.

The defendants appeared, and in their answer declared, that they apprehended impropriations in the hands of Laymen, and not employed for the maintenance of Preachers, were a damage to the Church; that the purchasing of them

for

Fuller,  
B. XI.  
p. 136.  
Appeal, p.  
13.  
Prynne, p.  
379, 385.  
Rushw.  
Part II. p.  
150.

King  
Charles I.  
1632.

for the purposes of Religion, was a pious work, and not contrary to Law, it being notorious, that Impropropriations are frequently bought and sold by private persons ; that the donors of this money, gave it for this and such other good uses as the defendants should think meet, and not for the endowment of perpetual Vicars, that they had not converted any of the money to their own use, nor erected themselves into a body corporate ; and that to their knowledge they had never presented any to a Church, or place in their disposal, who was not conformable to the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England, and approved of by the Ordinary of the place. But notwithstanding all they could say, the Court was of opinion, that their proceedings were contrary to Law, and decreed, That their Feoffments should be cancell'd ; that the Impropropriations they had purchased should be confiscated to the King, and the Feoffees themselves fined in the Star-Chamber ; but the prosecution was dropt as too invidious, it appearing in Court by the receipts and disbursements, that the Feoffees were out of pocket already above one thousand pounds. The odium of this prosecution fell upon Laud, whose Chancellor told him upon this occasion, that he was miserably censured by the Separatists ; upon which he made this reflection in his Diary, " Pray God give me patience and forgive them."

But his Lordship had very little patience with those that opposed his proceedings. We have seen his Zeal for Pictures and paintings in Churches, which some of the Puritans venturing to censure in their Sermons and Writings, were exposed to the severest punishments : Among these were the Reverend Mr. John Hayden of Devonshire, who being forced to abscond, was apprehended in the Diocese of Norwich by Bishop Harlnet, who after he had taken from him his horse and money, and all his papers, caused him to be shut up in close prison for thirteen weeks ; after which, when the Justices would have bailed him at the Quarter Sessions, his Lordship sent him up to the High Commission, who deprived him of his Ministry and Orders, and set a fine upon him for preaching against Decorations and Images in Churches. In the year 1634, Mr. Hayden venturing to preach occasionally, without being restored, was apprehended again and sent to the Gate-House by Archbishop Laud, and from thence to Bridewell, where he was whipt and kept to hard labour ; here he was confined in a cold dark dungeon for a whole winter, being chained to a post in the middle of a room, with Irons on his hands and feet, having

Sufferings  
of divers  
Ministers  
for preach-  
ing against  
Ch. Orna-  
ments, &c.  
Mr. Hay-  
den's suf-  
ferings.

Ufurp. Prel.  
p. 161.

King  
Charles I.  
1632.

Fuller  
B. XI.  
P. 141.

no other food but bread and water, and a pad of straw to lie upon. Before his release he was obliged to take an oath, and give bond, that he would preach no more, but depart the kingdom in a month and not return. But Bishop Harsenet did not live to see the execution of this part of the sentence, tho' for his zeal against the Puritans he was promoted to the Archbishoprick of York, and made a Privy Counsellor. Some time before his death this prelate not only persecuted the Non-Conformists, but complained of the Conformable Puritans, as he called them, because they complied out of policy, but not in judgment. How hard is the case, when men shall be punished for not conforming, and be complained of if they conform! Queen Elizabeth used to say, she would never trouble herself about the Consciences of her subjects, if they did but outwardly comply with the laws; but this prelate would ransack the very heart.

Henry  
Sherfield  
Esq; Rusbw.  
Part. 2d. P.  
155.

Prynnes's  
Cant.  
Doom, p.  
102.

Henry Sherfield, Esq; a Bencher of Lincoln's Inn, and Recorder of the city of Sarum, was tried in the Star-Chamber, May 20th, 1632, for taking down some painted Glass out of one of the windows of St. Edmund's Church in Salisbury, in which were seven Pictures of God the Father, in form of a little old Man in a blue and red coat, with a pouch by his side: One represents him creating the Sun and Moon with a pair of Compasses, others as working on the business of the six days Creation, and at last he sits in an elbow chair at rest. Many simple people, at their going in and out of Church, did reverence to this window (as they said) because the Lord their God was there. This gave such offence to the Recorder, who was also a Justice of Peace, that he moved the Parish at a Vestry for leave to take it down, and set up a new Window of white Glass in the place, which was accordingly granted, six Justices of the Peace being present. Some time after Mr. Sherfield broke with his staff the pictures of God the Father, in order to new glaze the Window; an account of which being sent to London, an information was exhibited against him in the Star-Chamber, Feb. 8. 1632-3. The information sets forth, "That being evil affected to the discipline of the Church, he, with certain confederates, without consent of the Bishops, had defaced and pulled down a fair and costly window in the Church, containing the History of the Creation, which had stood there some hundred years, and was a great ornament to it; which profane

"act



“ act might give encouragement to other schismatical Persons to commit the like Outrages.”

King  
Charles I.  
1632.

Mr. Sherfield in his Defence says, That the Church of St. Edmund's was a Lay Fee, and exempted from the jurisdiction of the Bishop of the diocese; that the Defendant, with the rest of the Parishioners, had lawful power to take down the glass; and that it was agreed by a Vestry that the glass should be changed, and the window made new; and that accordingly he took down a quarry or two in a quiet and peaceable manner; but he avers. that the true History of the Creation was not contained in that window, but a false and impious one: God the Father was painted like an old Man with a blue Coat, and a pair of Compasses, to signify his compassing the Heavens and the Earth. In the fourth day's work there were Fowls of the Air, flying up from God their Maker, which should have been the fifth day. In the fifth day's Work a naked Man is lying upon the Earth asleep, with so much as from the knees upward growing out of his Side, which should have been the sixth Day; so that the History is false.

His De-  
fence.

Further, this Defendant holds it to be impious, to make an Image or Picture of God the Father, which he undertakes to prove from Scripture, from Canons and Councils, from the mandates and decrees of sundry Emperors, from the opinions of ancient Doctors of the Church, and of our most judicious Divines since the Reformation. He adds, That his Belief is agreeable to the doctrine of the Church of England, and to the Homilies, which say, That Pictures of God are monuments of superstition, and ought to be destroyed; and to Queen Elizabeth's Injunctions, which command, “ That all Pictures and Monuments of Idolatry should be removed out of Churches, that no memory of them might remain in Walls, Glass Windows, or elsewhere: ” Which injunction is, confirmed by the Canons of the 13th of Elizabeth. Mr. Sherfield concludes his defence with denying, that he was disaffected to the discipline of the Church of England, or had encouraged any to oppose the Government of it under the Reverend Bishops.

Though it is hard to make a tolerable Reply to this Defence, yet Bishop Laud stood up and spake in excuse of the Painter, saying God the Father was called in Scripture the “ Ancient of Days; ” but added, that for his own part, he did not so well approve of pictures of things invisible; but be the Paintings better or worse, he insisted strongly, That Mr. Sherfield had taken them down in contempt of the Epis-

Sentence of  
the Court.

King  
Charles I.  
1632.

copal authority, for which he moved, that he might be fined a thousand Pounds, and removed from his Recorderſhip of the City of Sarum, that he be committed cloſe Priſoner to the Fleet, till he pay his fine, and then be bound to his good behaviour. To all which the Court agreed, except to the fine, which the Court reduced to five hundred Pounds.

Mr. Work-  
man's Suf-  
ferings.  
Prynne, p.  
107, 109.

The Reverend Mr. John Workman, Lecturer of St. Stephen's Church, Glouceſter, in one of his Sermons ſaid, That Pictures or Images were no ornaments to Churches; "that it was unlawful to ſet up images of Chriſt or Saints, "in our Houſes, becauſe it tended to Idolatry, according to "the homily." For which he was ſuſpended by the High Commiſſion, excommunicated, and obliged to an open Recantation in the Court at Lambeth, in the Cathedral of Glouceſter, and in the Church of St. Michael's; he was alſo condemned in coſts of ſuit and impriſoned. Mr. Workman was a Divine of great piety, wiſdom and moderation, and had ſerved the Church of St. Stephen's fifteen years; in conſideration whereof, and of his numerous family, the City of Glouceſter had given him an annuity of 20l. per Annum, under their common Seal, a little before his troubles; but for this act of charity the Mayor, Town Clerk, and ſeveral of the Aldermen were cited before the High Commiſſion, and put to one hundred pounds charges, and the annuity was cancell'd. After this Mr. Workman ſet up a little School, of which Archbiſhop Laud being informed, inhibited him, as he would answer the contrary at his peril. He then fell upon the practice of Phyſick, which the Archbiſhop likewiſe abſolutely forbid; ſo that being deprived of all methods of ſubſiſtence he fell into a melancholy diſorder and died.

Bp. Laud's  
care of the  
Preſb.

Our Biſhop was no leſs watchful over the Preſs than the Pulpit, commanding his Chaplains to expunge out of all books that came to be liſenſed, ſuch paſſages as diſallowed of "Paintings, Carvings, Drawings, Gildings; erecting, bow-  
"ing, or praying before Images and Pictures;" as appeared by the evidence of Dr. Featly, and others, at his Trial.

Regulations  
of the Eng-  
liſh factories  
in Hol-land.  
Collyer's  
Eccl. Hiſt.  
p. 752.  
Prynne's  
Cant.  
Doom,  
p. 389.

The length of this great Prelate's Arm would have reached not only the Puritans in England, but the factories beyond Sea, if it had been in his power. The Engliſh Church at Hamburgh managed their affairs according to the Geneva Diſcipline, by Elders and Deacons. In Hol-land they conformed to the diſcipline of the States, and met them in their ſynods and aſſemblies, with the conſent of King James, and of his preſent Maſteſty, till Secretary Windebank,

King  
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1632.

Windebank, at the instance of this Prelate, offered some proposalls to the Privy Council for their better regulation : The Proposals consisted of ten Articles, “ 1. That all Chap-  
“ lains of English regiments in the Low Countries shall be  
“ exactly conformable to the Church of England. 2. That  
“ the merchants residing there shall admit of no Minister to  
“ preach among them, but one qualified as before. 3. That  
“ if any one after his settlement among them proves a  
“ Non-conformist, he shall be discharged in three months.  
“ 4. That the Scots factories shall be obliged to the same con-  
“ formity. 5. That no Minister abroad shall speak, preach,  
“ or print any thing to the disadvantage of the English dis-  
“ cipline and ceremonies. 6. That no conformist Minister  
“ shall substitute a non-conformist to preach for him in the  
“ factories. 7. That the King’s agents shall see the ser-  
“ vice of the Church of England exactly performed in the  
“ factories. The last Articles forbid the English Ministers  
“ in Holland to hold any classical assemblies, and especially,  
“ not to ordain Ministers, because by so doing they would  
“ maintain a standing nursery for Non-conformity and  
“ Schism.” These proposals were sent over to the fac-  
tories, and the Bishops writ in particular to Delf, That it  
was his Majesty’s express command that their Ministers  
should conform themselves in all things to the Doctrine and  
Discipline of the Church of England, and to all the orders  
prescribed in the Canons, Rubrick and Liturgy ; and that  
the names of such as were refractory should be sent over to  
him. But it was not possible to succeed in the attempt,  
because most of the English congregations being supported  
by the States, must have run the hazard of losing their  
maintenance, and of being dissolved, as was represented to  
the King by a petition in the name of all the English Mini-  
sters in the Low Countries. However, though the Bishop  
could not accomplish his designs abroad, we shall find him  
hereafter retaliating his disappointment upon the French  
and Dutch Churches at home.

His Lordship met with better success in Scotland for the  
present, as being a part of his Majesty’s own dominions.  
He had possessed the King with vast notions of glory in  
bringing the Kirk of Scotland to an exact conformity with  
England ; a work which his father had attempted but left  
imperfect. The King readily fell in with the Bishop’s mo-  
tion, and determined to run all hazards for the accom-  
plishing it, as having no less a veneration for the ceremonies

1633.  
King’s pro-  
gress into  
Scotland.



King  
Charles I.  
1633.

Claren. Vol.  
I. p. 81.

Rushw.  
Part 2d. p.  
182.

His usage of  
the Scots  
Parliament.

Ib. p. 183.

the Church of England than the Bishop himself. There had been Bishops in Scotland for some years, but they had little more than the name, being upon the matter subject to an Assembly that was purely Presbyterian. To advance their jurisdiction the King had already renewed the High Commission, and abolished all general assemblies of the Kirk, not one having been held in his reign; but still (says the noble Historian) there was no form of Religion, no Liturgy, nor the least appearance of any Beauty of Holiness. To redress those grievances, as well as to shew the Scots Nation the pomp and grandeur of the English Hierarchy, his Majesty resolves upon a progress into his native country to be crowned, and accordingly set out from London May 13th, attended by several noblemen and persons of quality; and among others by Bishop Laud. June 18th. his Majesty was crowned at Edinburgh, the ceremony being managed by the direction of the Bishop of London, who thrust away the Bishop of Glasgow from his place, because he appeared without the coat of his order, which being an embroidered one, he scrupled to wear, being a moderate churchman.

On the 20th of June the Parliament met, and gave the King a large sum of money. After which his Majesty proposed to them two Acts relating to Religion; one was "Concerning his Royal Prerogative, and the Apparel of Kirkmen." The other, a Bill for "the Ratification of former Acts touching Religion." It being the custom in Scotland for King, Lords and Commons, to sit in one house, when the question was put for the first Bill his Majesty took a paper out of his pocket, and said, "Gentlemen, I have all your names here, and I'll know who will do me service, and who will not, this day." Nevertheless, it was carried in the negative; thirteen Lords, and the majority of the Commons voting against it. The Lords said, they agreed to the Act so far as related to his Majesty's Prerogative, but dissented from that part of it which referred to the Apparel of Kirkmen, fearing, that under that cover the Surplice might be introduced. But his Majesty said, he would have no distinction, but commanded them to say, Yes, or No, to the whole Bill. The King marked every man's vote, and upon casting them up, the clerk declared it was carried in the affirmative: which some of the members denying, his Majesty said, the Clerk's declaration must stand, unless any one would go to the bar and accuse him of falsifying the Record of Parliament, at the peril of his life.

This

This manner of treating the whole representative body of the Nation disgusted all ranks and orders of people. A writing was immediately dispersed abroad, setting forth, How grievous it was for a King to overawe and threaten his Parliament in that manner; and, that the same was a breach of privilege; that Parliaments were but a meer pageantry, if the clerk might declare the votes as he pleased, and no scrutiny be allowed. Lord Balmerino, in whose custody this Libel was found, was condemned to lose his head for it, but was afterwards pardoned.

King  
Charles I.  
1633.

After eight days the Parliament was dissolved, but the King would not look upon the dissenting Lords, nor admit them to kiss his hand. The Act concerning the Apparel of Ministers says, that "Whereas it was agreed in the Parliament of 1606. that what order soever his Majesty's Father, of blessed memory, should prescribe for the apparel of Kirkmen, and send in Writ to his Clerk of Register, should be a sufficient warrant for inserting the same in the books of Parliament, to have the strength of any act thereof; the present Parliament agrees, that the same power shall remain with our Sovereign Lord that now is, and his Successors." The bill touching Religion ratifies and approves all Acts and Statutes made before, about the liberty and freedom of the true Kirk of God, and the Religion at present professed within this Kingdom, and ordains the same to stand in full force as if they were particularly mentioned and set down.

Acts passed.

The King left his native country July 16th. but lost a great deal of ground in the affections of his people, by the contempt he poured upon the Scots Clergy, and his high behaviour in favour of the English Ceremonies. His Majesty was attended throughout his whole progress by Laud, Bishop of London, which service his Lordship was not obliged to, and no doubt would have been excused from, if the design of introducing the English Liturgy into Scotland had not been in view. He preached before the King in the Royal Chapel at Edinburgh, which scarce any English-man had ever done before, and principally upon the benefit of the Ceremonies of the Church, which he himself observed to the height. It went against him to own the Scots Presbyters for Ministers of Christ; and he took all occasions to affront their character, which created a high disgust in that Nation, and laid the foundation of those resentments that they expressed against the Bishop under his sufferings.

Bp. Laud's  
behaviour in  
Scotland.

Clarendon,  
Vol. I. p.  
81, 82.

King  
Charles I.  
1633.

His regula-  
tion of the  
King's cha-  
pel in Edin-  
burgh.  
Rushw.  
Part 2d.

p. 205, 206,

When the King left Scotland, he erected a new Bishoprick at Edinburgh; and, about two months after, Laud being then newly advanced to the Archbishoprick of Canterbury, framed Articles for the reformation of his Majesty's Royal Chapel in that city, which were sent into Scotland under his Majesty's own hand, with a Declaration, that they were intended as a pattern for all Cathedrals, Chapels, and Parish Churches in that Kingdom. The Articles appoint, "That Prayers be read twice a day in the Choir, according to the English Liturgy, till some course be taken to make one that may fit the custom and constitution of that Church. That all that receive the Sacrament in the chapel do it Kneeling. That the Dean of the chapel always come to church in his Whites, and preach in them. That the Copes which are consecrated to our Use be carefully kept, and used at the celebration of the Sacrament; and that all his Majesty's officers and Ministers of State be obliged, at least once a year, to receive the Sacrament at the Royal Chapel kneeling, for an example to the rest of the people." Thus the liberties of the Kirk of Scotland began to be invaded by an English Bishop, under the wings of the Supremacy, without consent of Parliament or general Assembly. The Scots Ministers in the pulpits preached against the English Hierarchy, and warned the people against surrendering up the liberties of their Kirk into the hands of a neighbouring Nation that was undermining their Discipline; so that when the new Liturgy came to be introduced about four years after, all the people as one man rose up against it.

Death and  
character of  
Archbishop  
Abbot.

The King was no sooner returned from Scotland, but Dr. Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury died. He was born at Guildford in Surry, 1562. and educated in Baliol College, Oxford, where he was a celebrated Preacher. In the year 1597. he proceeded Doctor in Divinity, and was elected Master of University College: Two years after he was made Dean of Winchester, and was one of those Divines appointed by King James to translate the New Testament into English. In the year 1609. he was consecrated Bishop of Litchfield and Coventry, from thence he was translated to London, and upon the death of Archbishop Bancroft to Canterbury, April 9th. 1611. having never been rector, vicar, or incumbent, in any parish church in England. Lord Clarendon has lessened the character of this excellent Prelate, contrary to almost all other historians, by saying,

that



that “ He was a Man of very morose manners, and of a  
 “ very fowr aspect, which in that time was called gravi-  
 “ ty ; that he neither understood nor regarded the Consti-  
 “ tution of the Church ; that he knew very little of an-  
 “ cient Divinity, but adhered stiffly to the Doctrine of Cal-  
 “ vin, and did not think so ill of his Discipline as he ought  
 “ to have done ; but if Men prudently forbore a publick re-  
 “ viling and railing at the Hierarchy, let their private  
 “ practice be as it would, he would give them no distur-  
 “ bance ; that his house was a Sanctuary to disaffected per-  
 “ sons, and that he licensed their writings, by which means  
 “ his Successor [Laud] had a very difficult task to reduce  
 “ things to order.” The Oxford Historian, who was no  
 friend to our Archbishop’s principles, confesses that he  
 was a pious, grave person, exemplary in his Life and con-  
 versation, a plausible Preacher, and that the many things  
 that he has written shew him to be a Man of parts, learn-  
 ing, and vigilance ; an able Statesman, and of unwearied  
 Study, though overwhelmed with business. Fuller says,  
 he was an excellent Preacher, and that his severity towards  
 the Clergy was only to prevent their being punished by  
 Lay-Judges, to their greater shame. Mr. Coke and Dr.  
 Welwood add, That he was a Prelate of primitive sancti-  
 ty, who followed the true intrests of his Country, and of  
 the reformed Churches at home and abroad ; that he was a  
 Divine of good Learning, great Hospitality, and wonder-  
 ful moderation, shewing upon all occasions an unwilling-  
 ness to stretch the King’s Prerogative, or the Act of Uni-  
 formity, beyond what was consistent with law, or necessary  
 for the peace of the Church : This brought him into  
 all his troubles, and has provoked the writers for the Pre-  
 rogative to leave a blot upon his memory ; but for this all  
 true lovers of the Protestant Religion, and the Liberties of  
 their Country, will reverence it ; and if the Court had  
 followed his wise and prudent Counsels, the mischiefs that  
 beset the Crown and Church some years after his death,  
 would have been prevented. We have mentioned his ca-  
 sual Homicide in the year 1621. for which he kept an  
 annual Fast as long as he lived, and maintained the wi-  
 dow ; notwithstanding which, if he would have betrayed  
 the Protestant Religion, and the Liberties of his Country,  
 he might have continued in high favour to his death ;  
 but for his steady opposition to the arbitrary measures of  
 Buckingham and Laud, and for not licensing Sibthrop’s  
 Sermon,

King  
Charles I.  
1633.

Claren.  
Vol. I. p. 88.

Ath. Ox.  
p. 584.

Rushw.  
p. 450.

Sermon, he was suspended from his Archiepiscopal Jurisdiction [1628.] after which he retired to Croydon, having no more interest at Court, nor influence in the Government of the Church; here he died, in his Archiepiscopal Palace, August 4th, 1633. aged seventy one, and was buried in Trinity Church in Guilford, the place of his Nativity, where he had erected and endowed an hospital for Men and Women. There is a fine Monument over his grave, with his Effigies in full proportion, supported by six pillars of the Dorick Order of black marble, standing on six Pedestals of piled Books, with a large Inscription thereon to his Memory.

## C H A P. V.

From the Death of Archbishop Abbot to the beginning of the Commotions in Scotland, in the year 1637.

King  
Charles I.  
1633.

Laud Arch-  
bishop of  
Canterbury.

**D**R. Laud was now at the height of his Preferment, being advanced to the See of Canterbury two days after Archbishop Abbot's death. His Grace was also Chancellor of the Universities of Oxford and Dublin, Privy Counsellor for England and Scotland, first Commissioner of the Exchequer, and one of the Committee for trade, and for the King's Revenues: He was also offered a Cardinal's Cap, [Aug. 17.] but declined it, (as he says) because "There was something dwelt within him which would not suffer it, till Rome was otherwise than it was." We are now to see how he moved in this high sphere. Lord Clarendon admits, "That the Archbishop had all his Life eminently opposed Calvin's Doctrine, for which reason he was called a Papist; and it may be (says his Lordship) the Puritans found the more severe and rigorous usage for propagating the calumny. He also intended, that the Discipline of the Church should be felt as well as spoken of." The truth of which observation had appeared in part already, and will receive stronger evidence from the following seven years of his Government.

The Archbishop's antipathy to Calvinism, and zeal for the external beauty of the Church, carried him to some very imprudent and unjustifiable extremes; for if the Puritans were too strict in "keeping Holy the Sabbath," his Grace was too large in his indulgence, by encouraging Revels, May-games and Sports, on that sacred day.

Com-

Complaint having been made to the Lord Chief Justice Richardson, and Baron Denham, in their Western Circuit, of great Inconveniencies arising from Revels, Church Ales, and Clerk Ales on the Lord's Days, the two Judges made an order at the Assizes for suppressing them, and appointed the Clerk to leave copies of the Order with every Parish Minister, who was to give a Note under his hand, to publish it in his Church yearly, the first Sunday in February, and the two Sundays before Easter. Upon the return of the Circuit of the Judges required an account of the execution of their order, and punished some persons for the breach of it; upon which the Archbishop complained to the King of their invading the Episcopal Jurisdiction, and prevailed with his Majesty to summons them before the Council. When they appeared, Richardson pleaded that the Order was made at the request of the Justices of the Peace, and with the unanimous consent of the whole Bench, and justified it from the following precedents: Sept. 10. Eliz. 38th, the Justices assembled at Bridgewater ordered, That no Church Ale, Clerk Ale, or Bid Ale, be suffered; signed by Popham, Lord Chief Justice, and ten others. The same order was repeated 1599. and 41st of Eliz. and again at Exeter, 1615. and 13th of Jac. and even in the present King's Reign, 1627. with an order for the Minister of every Parish Church to publish it yearly. But notwithstanding all the Chief Justice could say, he received a sharp reprimand, and a preremptory Injunction to revoke his order at the next Assizes; which he did in such manner as lost him his credit at Court for the future; for he then declared to the Justices, "That he thought he had done God, the King, and his Country good Service, by that good Order that he and his Brother Denham had made, for suppressing unruly Wakes and Revels, but that it had been misreported to his Majesty, who expressly charged him to reverse it; accordingly (says he) I do, as much as in me lies, reverse it, declaring the same to be null and void, and that all persons may use their recreations at such meetings as before." This reprimand and injunction almost broke the Judge's Heart, for when he came out of the Council Chamber, he told the Earl of Dorset with tears in his eyes, that he had been miserably shaken by the Archbishop, and was like to be choaked with his Lawn Sleeves.

Laud having thus humbled the Judge, and recovered the Episcopal Authority from neglect, took the affair into his

King  
Charles I.  
1633.

Wakes and  
Revels on  
the Lord's  
Day coun-  
tenanced.  
Prynne's  
Cant.  
Doom.  
p. 153.

Archbishop  
Laud's let-  
ter about  
his  
them.



King  
Charles I.  
1633.

his own hand, and writ to the Bishop of Bath and Wells, Oct. 4th, for a fuller information. In his letter he takes notice, That there had been of late some noise in Somersetshire about the Wakes; that the Judges had prohibited them under pretence of some disorders, by which argument (says he) any thing that is abused may be quite taken away; but that his Majesty was displeased with Richardson's Behaviour at the two last Assizes, and especially the last; being of opinion, that the Feasts ought to be kept for the recreation of the people, of which he would not have them debarred under any frivolous pretences, to the gratifying of the Humourists, which were very numerous in those parts, and united in crying down the Feasts; his Grace therefore requires the Bishop to give him a speedy account how these Feasts had been ordered.

Bishop of  
Bath and  
Wells's An-  
swer.  
Cant.  
Doom,  
P. 142.

Pierce, Bishop of Bath and Wells, in answer to this letter acquaints the Archbishop, " That the late suppression of the Revels was very unacceptable, and that the restitution of them would be very grateful to the Gentry, Clergy and Common People; for proof of which he had procured the hands of seventy two of his Clergy, in whose Parishes these Feasts are kept; and he believes, that if he had sent for one hundred more, he should have had the same answer from them all; but these seventy two (says his Lordship) are like the seventy two Interpreters, that agreed so soon in the Translation of the Old Testament into the Greek." He then proceeds to explain the nature of these Feasts. " There are (says he) in Somersetshire, not only Feasts of Dedication [or Revel Days] but also Church Ales, Clerk Ales, and Bid Ales.

Their Original and use.

Feasts of  
Dedication.

" The Feasts of Dedication are in the Memory of the Dedication of their several Churches; those Churches which are dedicated to the Holy Trinity have their Feasts on Trinity Sunday; and so all the Feasts are kept upon the Sunday before or after the Saint's Day to whom the Churches are dedicated, because the people have not leisure to observe them on the week days; this, says his Lordship, is acceptable to the people, who otherwise go into Tipling-houses, or else to Conventicles.

Church Ales.

" Church Ales are when the People go from afternoon Prayers on Sundays to their lawful Sports and Pastimes in the Church Yard, or in the Neighbourhood, in some publick House, where they drink and make merr-  
ry.

“ ry. By the Benevolence of the People at these Pas-  
 “ times many poor Parishes have cast their Bells, and beau-  
 “ tified their Churches, and raised stocks for the poor; and  
 “ there has not been observed so much disorder at them as  
 “ commonly at Fairs or Markets.

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“ Clerk Ales [or lesser Church Ales] are so called, because Clerk Ales.  
 “ they were for the better maintenance of the Parish  
 “ Clerk; and there is great reason for them (says his Lord-  
 “ ship) for in poor Country Parishes, where the wages of  
 “ the Clerk are but small, the people thinking it unfit that  
 “ the Clerk should duly attended at Church and not gain  
 “ by his office; send him in Provision, and then come on  
 “ Sundays and feast with him, by which means he sells  
 “ more Ale, and tastes more of the Liberality of the peo-  
 “ ple, than their Quarterly Payments would amount to in  
 “ many years; and since these have been put down  
 “ many Ministers have complained to me (says his Lord-  
 “ ship) that they are afraid they shall have no Parish  
 “ Clerks.

“ A Bid Ale is, when a poor Man decayed in his sub- Bid Ale.  
 “ stance, is set up again by the liberal Benevolence and Con-  
 “ tribution of his friends at a Sunday's Feast.”

The people were fond of these recreations, and the Bi-  
 shop recommends them, as bringing the people more wil-  
 lingly to Church; as tending to civilize them, and to com-  
 pose differences among them; and as serving to encrease  
 love and unity, for as much as they were in the nature of  
 Feasts of Charity, the richer sort keeping in a manner open  
 house; for which, and some other reasons, his Lordship  
 thinks them fit to be retained.

But the Justices of the Peace were of another mind, and  
 signed an humble Petition to the King, in which they de-  
 clare, that these Revels had not only introduced a great  
 profanation of the Lord's Day, but riotous tipling, con-  
 tempt of Authority, Quarrels, Murders, &c. and were  
 very prejudicial to the Peace, Plenty, and good Govern-  
 ment of the Country, and therefore they pray, that they  
 may be suppressed. Here is the Laity petitioning for the re-  
 ligious observation of the Lord's Day, and the Bishop with  
 his Clergy pleading for the profanation of it.

To support these disorderly Assemblies more effectually, Declaration  
 Archbishop Laud put the King upon republishing his Fa- for Sports on  
 ther's Declaration of the year 1618. “ Concerning lawful the Lord's  
 “ Sports to be used on Sundays after Divine Service;” Day.  
 which

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which was done accordingly, Oct. 18th. with this remarkable addition. After a recital of the Words of King James's Declaration his Majesty adds,

“ Out of a like pious care for the Service of God,  
“ and for suppressing of those Humours that oppose truth,  
“ and for the ease, comfort, and recreation of his Ma-  
“ jesty's well deserving people, he doth ratify his blessed  
“ Father's Declaration, the rather, because of late in  
“ some Counties of this Kingdom his Majesty finds, that  
“ under pretence of taking away an Abuse, there hath  
“ been a general forbidding, not only of ordinary meet-  
“ ings, but of the Feasts of the Dedication of Church-  
“ es, commonly called Wakes ; it is therefore his Ma-  
“ jesty's expresse Will and Pleasure, that these Feasts with  
“ others shall be observed, and that all Neighbourhood  
“ and Freedom, with Man-like and lawful Exercises be  
“ used ; and the Justices of Peace are commanded not  
“ to molest any in their Recreations, having first done their  
“ Duty to God, and continuing in obedience to his Ma-  
“ jesty's Laws. And he does further will, that publication  
“ of this his command be made by order from the Bi-  
“ shops, through all the Parish Churches of their several  
“ Dioceſes respectively.”

Of the Mo-  
rality of the  
Sabbath.

B. XI.  
P. 144.

This Declaration revived the Controversy of the morality of the Sabbath, which had slept for many years ; Mr. Theophilus Bradbourne, a Suffolk Minister, had published in the year 1628. “ A Defence of the most ancient  
“ and sacred Ordinance of God, the Sabbath Day,” and dedicated it to the King. But Fuller observes, “ That  
“ the poor Man fell into the ambush of the High Com-  
“ mission, whose well tempered severity so prevailed with  
“ him, that he became a Convert, and conformed quiet-  
“ ly to the Church of England.” Francis White, Bi-  
shop of Ely, was commanded by the King to confute Bradbourne ; after him appeared Dr. Pocklington, with his Sunday no Sabbath ; and after him Heylin the Archbishop's Chaplain, and others. These Divines instead of softening some Excesses in Bradbourne's Sabbatarian strictness, ran into the contrary extreme, denying all manner of Divine Right or moral Obligation to the observance of the whole, or any part of the Lord's Day, making it depend entirely upon Ecclesiastical Authority, and to oblige no further than to the few Hours of publick Service ; and that in the Intervals, not only walking  
(which



(which the Sabbatarians admitted) but mixed dancing, masques, interludes, revels, &c. were lawful and expedient.

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Remarks.

But instead of convincing the sober part of the Nation, it struck them with a kind of horror, to see themselves invited by the authority of the King and Church, to that which looked so like a contradiction to the command of God. It was certainly out of character, for Bishops and Clergymen, who should be the support of Religion, to draw men off from the practice of it in their families and closets, by enticing them to publick recreations. People are forward enough of themselves to go into these liberties, and need a check rather than a spur; but the wisdom of these times was different. The Court had their balls, masquerades, and plays on the Sunday evenings, while the youth of the Country were at their revels, morrice dances, may-games, church and clerk ales, and all kinds of recreations.

The revival of this declaration was charged upon Archbishop Laud at his trial, but his Grace would not take it upon himself, though he confessed his judgment was for it. It was to be published in all Parish Churches, but whether by the Minister, or any other person, was left to the direction of the Bishop, and therefore the putting this hardship on the Clergy was their Act and Deed; but Laud knew it would distress the Puritans, and purge the Church of a set of Men, for whom he had a perfect aversion. The reason given for putting it upon them was, because the two Judges had enjoined the Ministers to read their order against revels in the Churches; and therefore it was proper to have it reversed by the same persons and in the same place.

Fuller,  
p. 148.

The severe pressing this declaration made sad havoc among the Puritans for seven years. Many poor Clergymen strained their consciences to read it. Some when they had read it immediately read the fourth Commandment to the people, "Remember the Sabbath Day to keep it holy; adding, This is the Law of God; the other, the injunction of Man." Some put it upon their Curates, but great numbers refused to comply upon any terms. Fuller says, "That the Archbishop's moderation in his own Diocese was remarkable, silencing but three, in whom also was a concurrence of other Non-conformities; but that his adversaries imputed it not to his charity but policy. Fox like, preying farthest from his own Den, and instigating other Bishops to do more than he would appear in him-

Hardships  
of the Puritans with  
relation to the  
Declaration.

B. XI. p. 148.

"self."

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Prynne's  
Cant.  
Doom,  
p. 149.

"self." Sir Nath. Brent, his Grace's Vicar-General, attested upon oath, at the Archbishop's Trial, that he gave him a special charge to convene all Ministers before him who would not read the Book of Sports on the Lord's Day, and to suspend them for it; and that he gave particular order to suspend the three following Kentish Ministers by name, (viz.) Mr. Player, Mr. Hieron, and Mr. Culmur. Whereupon he did, against his Judgment, suspend them all, "Ab Officio & Beneficio," though the King's Declaration (as has been observed) does not oblige the Minister to read it, nor authorize the Bishops to inflict any punishment on the refusers. When the suspended Ministers repaired to Lambeth, and petitioned to be restored, the Archbishop told them, "If they did not know how to obey, he did not know how to grant their Petition." So their suspension continued till the beginning of the commotions in Scotland, to the ruin of their poor Families; Mr. Culmer having a Wife and seven Children to provide for.

Sufferings of  
Mr. Willon  
and others  
for not  
reading it.

Ib. p. 151.

Several Clergymen of other Dioceses were also silenced, and deprived on the same account; as, Mr. Thomas Willon of Otham, who being sent for to Lambeth, and asked, whether he had read the Book of Sports in his Church, answered no; whereupon the Archbishop replied immediately, "I suspend you for ever from your Office and Benefice till you read it;" and so he continued four years, being cited into the High Commission, and articulated against for the same crime. Mr. Wrath and Mr. Erbery were brought up from Wales, Mr. William Jones from Gloucestershire, with divers others, and censured by the High Commission (of which the Archbishop was chief) for not reading the Declaration. To these may be added Mr. Whitfield of Ockly, Mr. Grath of Woversh, Mr. Ward of Pepper Harrow, Mr. Farrol of Purbright, and Mr. Pegges of Wexford, to whom the Archbishop said, that he suspended him "Ex nunc prout ex tunc," in case he did not read the King's Declaration for Sports, on the Sunday seven-night following.

Sufferings  
of Mr.  
Snelling, and  
his Reasons  
for not  
reading the  
Book of  
Sports.

The Reverend and learned Mr. Lawrence Snelling, Rector of Paul's Cray, was not only suspended by the High Commission at Lambeth for four years, but deprived and excommunicated for not reading the Declaration. He pleaded in his own defence, the laws of God and of the Realm, and the authority of Councils and Fathers; he added, that the King's Declaration did not enjoin Ministers to read it, nor authorize the Bishops or High Commissioners

to suspend or punish Ministers for not reading it ; that it being a meer Civil, not an Ecclesiastical Declaration enjoined by any Canons or Authority of the Church, no Ecclesiastical Court could take cognizance of it. All which Mr. Snelling offered to the Commissioners in writing, but the Archbishop would not admit it, but said in open Court, that " whosoever should make such a defence, " it should be burnt before his Face, and he laid by the " Heels." Upon this he was personally and judicially admonished to read the Declaration within three weeks, which he refusing, was suspended " Ab Officio & Beneficio. About four Months after he was judicially admonished again, and refusing to comply, was excommunicated, and told, that unless he conformed before the second Day of next Term, he should be deprived ; which was accordingly done, and he continued under the sentence many years, to his unspeakable damage.

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" It were endless to go into more particulars ; how many " hundred godly Ministers, in this and other Dioceses (says " Mr. Prynne) have been suspended from their Ministry, " sequester'd, driven from their Livings, excommunicated, " prosecuted in the High Commission, and forced to leave " the Kingdom for not publishing this Declaration, is experimentally known to all Men." Dr. Wren, Bishop of Norwich, says, that great numbers in his Diocese had declined it, and were suspended ; that some had since complied, but that still there were thirty that peremptorily refused and were excommunicated. This the Bishop thinks a small number, but if there were as many in other Dioceses, the whole would amount to near eight hundred.

Ib. p. 153.

To render the Common Prayer Book more unexceptionable to the Papists, and more distant from Puritanism, the Archbishop made sundry Alterations in the later Editions, without the Sanction of Convocation or Parliament. In the Collect for the Royal Family, " the Princess Elizabeth, and " her children were left out," and these words were expunged, " O God, who art the Father of thine Elect, and " of their seed ;" as tending towards particular Election or Predestination. In the prayer for the 5th of November were these words, " Root out that Antichristian and Babylonish Sect, which say of Jerusalem, down with it even " to the Ground. Cut off those workers of iniquity, whose " religion is rebellion, whose faith is faction, whose practice " is murdering both soul and body ;" which in the last Edition

Alterations  
in the Service Book.  
Cant.  
Doom,  
p. 111, 112



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tion are thus changed, "Root out the Antichristian and  
" Babylonish Sect of Them, which say of Jerusalem,  
" Down with it—Cut off those workers of iniquity, who  
turn Religion into rebellion, &c." The design of which  
alteration was to relieve the Papists, and to turn the Prayer  
against the Puritans, upon whom the Popish Plot was to  
have been father'd. In the Epistle for Palm Sunday, instead  
of " In the Name of Jesus," as it was heretofore, 'tis now,  
according to the last Translation, " At the Name of Jesus  
" every Knece shall bow. But it was certainly very high  
presumption, for a single Clergyman, or any number of  
them, to alter a Service Book established by Act of Parlia-  
ment, and impose those alterations upon the whole body of  
the Clergy.

Bowing at  
the Name  
of Jesus.

The Puritans always excepted against bowing at the  
Name of Jesus; it appeared to them very superstitious,  
as if Worship was to be paid to a Name, or to the Name of  
Jesus, more than to that of Christ or Immanuel. Never-  
theless it was enjoined by the eighteenth Canon, and in com-  
pliance with that injunction, our last Translators inserted it  
into their text, by rendring *ἐν τῷ ὀνοματί*, " In the Name of  
" Jesus," as it was before, both in the Bible and Common  
Prayer Book, " At the Name of Jesus," as it now stands;  
but no penalty was annexed to the neglect of this Ceremo-  
ny, nor did any suffer for it, till Bishop Laud was at the  
Head of the Church, who pressed it equally with the rest,  
and caused above twenty Ministers to be fined, censured, and  
put by their Livings, " for not bowing at the Name of  
" Jesus, or for preaching against it."

Usurp. of  
Prelates.

Communion  
Tables turn-  
ed into Al-  
tars.

On the third of November was debated before his Majes-  
ty in Council, the question about removing the Communion  
Table in St. Gregory's Church near St. Paul's, from the  
middle of the Chancel to the upper end of it, and placing  
it there in form of an Altar. This being enjoined upon the  
Church-Wardens by the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's,  
without consent of the Parishioners, they opposed it, and  
appealed to the Court of Arches, alledging, that the Book  
of Common Prayer, and eighty second Canon, gave liber-  
ty to place the Communion Table where it might stand with  
most convenience. His Majesty being informed of the ap-  
peal, and acquainted by the Archbishop, that it would be a  
leading case all over England, was pleased to order it to be  
debated before himself in Council, and after hearing the  
arguments on both sides, declared, that the liberty given by  
the eighty second Canon was not to be understood so, as if  
it

it were to be left to the discretion of the parish, much less to the fancies of a few humorous persons, but the judgment of the ordinary [or Bishop] to whose place it properly belong'd to determine these points; he therefore confirm'd the Act of the ordinary, and gave commandment, that if the Parishioners went on with their appeal, the Dean of the Arches, who was then attending at the hearing of the cause, should confirm the order of the Dean and Chapter. This was a sovereign manner of putting an end to a Controversy, but very agreeable to the Archbishop.

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Rushw.  
Part 2d, p.  
207.

When the Sacrament was administer'd in Parish Churches, the Communion Table was usually placed in the middle of the Chancel, and the people received round it, or in their several places there about; but now all Communion Tables were ordered to be fixed under the East Wall of the Chancel with the ends North and South in form of an Altar; they were to be raised two or three steps above the floor, and encompassed with rails. Archbishop Laud ordered his Vicar General to see this alteration made in all the Churches and Chapels of his Province; to accomplish which, it was necessary to take down the galleries in some Churches, and to remove ancient Monuments. This was resented by some considerable families, and complained of as an injury to the Dead, and such an expence to the living, as some Country Parishes could not bear; but yet those who refused to pay the rates directed by the Archbishop for this purpose, were fined in the Spiritual Courts, contrary to law. It is incredible to imagine, what a ferment the making this alteration at once raised among the common people all over England. Many Ministers and Church Wardens were excommunicated, fined, and obliged to do penance, for neglecting the Bishops injunctions. Great numbers refused to come up to the rails and receive the Sacrament, for which some were fined, and others excommunicated, to the number of some hundreds, says the Committee of the House of Commons at the Archbishop's Trial.

Mischiefs  
that attend-  
ed it.

Prynne's  
Cant.  
Doom.  
p. 100, 101.

Books were writ for and against this new practice, with the same earnestness and contention for victory as if the life of Religion was at Stake. Dr. Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, published two treatises against it, one intituled, "A letter to the Vicar of Grantham; the other, The "Holy Table, Name and thing;" filled with so much learning, and that learning so closely and solidly applied, (says Lord Clarendon) as shewed he had spent his time

Agreements  
for and  
against it.

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" in his retirement with his Books very profitably. Dr. Heylin, who answered the Bishop, argued from the words of Queen Elizabeth's injunctions, 1559 ; from the orders and Advertisements of 1562, and 1565. from the practice of the King's Chapels and Cathedrals ; and finally, from the present King's Declaration, recommending a conformity of the Parish Churches to their Cathedrals. The Bishop, and with him all the Puritans, insisted upon the practice of primitive antiquity, and upon the 82d Canon of 1603. which says, " We appoint, that the Table for the Celebration of " the holy Communion shall be covered with a fair " linen cloth at the time of Administration, and shall then " be placed in so good sort within the Church or Chancel, " as thereby the Minister may more conveniently be heard " of the communicants in his prayer, and the communi- " cants may more conveniently, and in more numbers " communicate." They urged the Rubrick in the Common-prayer-book ; that Altars in Churches were a popish invention, of no greater antiquity in the christian Church than the sacrifice of the Mass ; and insisted strenuously on the discontinuance of them since the Reformation. But the Archbishop being determined to carry his point, prosecuted the affair with unjustifiable rigor all over the Kingdom, punishing those that opposed him with great severity, and without regard to the laws of the Land. This occasioned a sort of Schism among the Bishops, and a great deal of uncharitableness among the inferior Clergy ; for those Bishops who had not been beholden to Laud for their preferments, nor had any farther expectations, were very cool in this affair, while the Archbishop's creatures, in many places, took upon them to make these alterations by their own authority, without the injunctions or directions of their Diocesans, which occasioned many Law-suits. Those that opposed the alterations were called Doctrinal Puritans, and the promoters of them Doctrinal Papists.

Of bowing  
towards the  
Altar.

The Court Clergy were of the latter sort, and were vehemently suspected of an inclination to Popery, because of their superstitious bowing to the altar, not only in time of divine service, but at their going in and out of Church. This was a practice unknown to the laity of the Church of England before this time, but Archbishop Laud introduced it into the Royal Chapel at Whitehall, and recommended it to all the Clergy by his example, for when he went in and out of Chapel, a lane was always made for him to see the Altar, and do reverence towards it. All his Ma-  
jesty's



Jeſty's Chaplains, and even the common people, were enjoined the ſame practice. In the new body of Statutes for the Cathedral of Canterbury, drawn up by his Grace, and confirmed under the Great Seal, the Dean and Prebendaries are obliged by oath, to bow to the Altar at coming in and going out of Church; which could ariſe from nothing but a belief of the real preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament, or Altar; or from a ſuperſtitious imitation of the Pagans worſhipping towards the Eaſt.

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Collyer's  
Eccle. Hiſt.  
p. 762.

To make the adoration more ſignificant, the Altars in Cathedrals were adorned with the moſt pompous furniture, and all the veſſels had a ſolemn conſecration. The Cathedral of Canterbury was furniſhed, according to Biſhop Andrews's model, who took it from the Roman Miſſal, with two Candleſticks, Tapers, a Baſin for oblations, a Cuſhion for the ſervice-book, a Silver gilt Caniſter for the waſers, like a wicker basket, lined with cambrick lace, the Tonne on a cradle; a Chalice with the image of Chriſt and the loſt ſheep, and of the wiſe men and ſtar, engraved on the ſides and on the cover. The Chalice was covered with a linen napkin, called the Aire, embroidered with coloured Silk; two Patins, the Tricanale being a round ball with a ſcrew cover, out of which iſſued three pipes, for the water of mixture; a Credentia, or ſide table, with a baſin and ewer on napkins, and a towel, to waſh before the conſecration; three kneeling Stools covered and ſtuffed, the Foot Pace with three Aſcents, covered with a Turkey carpet; three Chairs uſed at ordinations, and the Septum or Rail with two aſcents. Upon ſome Altars there was a pot, called the Incenſe pot, and a Knife, to cut the ſacramental bread.

Furniture of  
the Altar of  
the Cathedral of Can-  
terbury.

The conſecration of this furniture was after this manner; the Archbiſhop in his cope, with two Chaplains in their ſurplices, having bowed ſeveral times towards the altar, read a portion of Scripture; then the veſſels to be conſecrated were delivered into the hands of the Archbiſhop, who after he had placed them upon the altar, read a form of prayer, deſiring God to bleſs and accept of theſe veſſels, which he ſeverally touched and elevated, offering them up to God, after which they were not to be put to common uſe. We have ſeen already the manner of his Grace's conſecrating the ſacramental elements at Creed Church; there was a little more ceremony in Cathedrals, where the waſers and wine being firſt placed with great ſolemnity on the Credentia, or ſide Table, were to be removed from thence by one of the Archbiſhop's Chaplains, who, as ſoon as he turns

Conſecration  
of the Fur-  
niture.

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his face about to the Altar with the elements in his hands, bows three times, and again when he comes to the foot of it, where he presents them upon his knees, and lays them upon the Altar for consecration. How far the bringing these inventions of men into the worship of God, is chargeable with superstition, and with a departing from the simplicity of the christian Institution, I leave with the reader; but surely, the imposing them upon others under severe penalties, without the sanction of Convocation, Parliament, or Royal Injunction, was not to be justified.

Injunctions  
against Lec-  
turers.  
Rushw.  
Part 2d.  
p. 214.

The Lecturers, or afternoon Preachers, giving his Grace some disturbance, notwithstanding the attempts already made to suppress them, the King sent the following injunctions to the Bishops of his Province; "1. That they ordain no Clergyman without a presentation to some living. Or, 2. Without a Certificate that he is provided of some void Church. Or, 3. Without some place in a cathedral or collegiate Church. Or, 4. Unless he be a Fellow of some College. Or, 5. A Master of Arts of five years standing, living at his own charge, Or, 6. Without the intention of the Bishop to provide for him." By virtue of these injunctions no chaplainship to a nobleman's family, nor any invitation to a lecture, could qualify a person for ordination, without a living.

King's ac-  
count of the  
state of his  
Province.

In the annual account the Archbishop gave the King of the State of his Province this year, we may observe, how much the suppressing of these popular Preachers lay upon his mind. "The Bishop of Bath and Wells (says his Grace) has taken a great deal of pains in his late visitation, to have all the King's Instructions observed, and particularly he has put down several Lecturers in market towns who were beneficed in other dioceses, because he found, when they had preached factious sermons, they retired without the reach of his jurisdiction."

"And whereas his Majesty's Instructions require, That Lecturers should turn their afternoon sermons into catechisms, some Parsons or Vicars object against their being included, because Lecturers are only mentioned; but the Bishops will take care to clear their doubts, and settle their practice."

"The Bishop of Peterborough had suppressed a seditious Lecture at Repon, and put down several Monthly Lectures,

“ Lectures, kept with a fast, and managed by a moderator. He had also suppressed a meeting called the Running Lecture, because the lecture went from village to village.

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“ The Bishop of St. Asaph says, That his Diocese is without exception, abating the increase of Romish Recusants in some places, by their superstitious concourse to St. Winifred’s Well.

“ The Bishop of Landaff certifies, That he has not one stubborn Non-conformist, or schismatical Minister within his Diocese, and but two Lecturers.

“ All the Bishops declare, that they take special care of that branch of his Majesty’s Instructions relating to Calvinism, or preaching upon the predestinarian points; and the Archbishop prays his Majesty, that no layman whatsoever, and least of all the Companies of the city of London, or Corporations, should under any pretence have power to put in, or turn out any Lecturer, or other Minister.”

In this account the reader will observe but little complaint of the growth of Popery, which we shall see presently was at prodigious height; but all the Archbishop’s artillery is pointed against the Puritan Clergy, who were the most determined and resolved Protestants in the Nation.

Towards the close of this year came on the famous trial of William Prynne, Esq; Barrister of Lincoln’s Inn, for his *Histriomastix*, a book written against Plays, Masques, Dancing, &c. The information says, That though the author knew, that the Queen and Lords of the Council were frequently present at those diversions, yet he had railed against these and several others, as May-poles, Christmas-keeping, dressing Houses with Ivy, Festivals, &c. that he had aspersed the Queen, and commended factious persons; which things are of dangerous consequence to the Realm and State. The cause was heard in the Star Chamber, Feb. 7th. The Council for Mr. Prynne were Mr. Atkins, afterwards Judge of the Common Pleas, Mr. Jenkins, Holbourne, Herne, and Lightfoot. For the King was Mr. Attorney General Noy. The Council for the Defendant pleaded, that he had handled the argument of Stage-Plays in a learned manner, without designing to reflect on his superiors; that the book had been licensed according to law; and, that if any passages may be con-

Mr. Prynne’s  
sentence in  
the Star  
Chamber.  
Rushw.  
Part 2d.  
p. 221.



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Charles I.  
1633.

strued to reflect on his Majesty, or any branch of his government, he humbly begs pardon. But Mr. Attorney aggravated the charge in very severe language, and pronounced it a malicious and dangerous libel. After a full hearing he was sentenced "To have his Book burnt by the hands of the common hangman, to be put from the Bar, and to be for ever incapable of his profession, to be turned out of the Society of Lincoln's Inn, to be degraded at Oxford, to stand in the pillory, at Westminster and Cheapside, to lose both his ears, one in each place, to pay a fine of five thousand Pounds, and to suffer perpetual imprisonment." Remarkable was the Speech of the Earl of Dorset on this occasion; Mr. "Prynne" (says he) I declare you to be a Schism-Maker in the Church, a Sedition-Sower in the Commonwealth, a wolf in sheeps clothing; in a word, *Omnium malorum nequissimus*. I shall fine him ten thousand Pounds, which is more than he is worth, yet less than he deserves. I will not set him at liberty no more than a plagued man, or a mad dog, who, though he can't bite will foam: He is so far from being a social Soul, that he is not a rational Soul. He is fit to live in dens with such beasts of prey, as wolves, and tygers, like himself! therefore I condemn him to perpetual imprisonment; and for corporal punishment I would have him branded in the forehead, slit in the nose, and have his ears chopt off." A Speech more fit for an American Savage than an English Nobleman!

Rushw.  
P. 233,  
240.

Dr. Bastwick's.

A few months after Dr. Bastwick, a Physician at Colchester, having writ a Book, intitled, "*Elenchus Religionis Papisticæ*," with an Appendix, called "*Flagellum Pontificis & Episcoporum Latialium*," which gave offence to the English Bishops, because it denied the divine right of the order of Bishops above Presbyters, was cited before the High Commission, who discarded him from his Profession [1634] excommunicated him, fined him one thousand pounds, and imprisonment till he recanted.

Mr. Burton's

Mr. Burton, B. D. Minister of Friday Street, having published two exceptionable Sermons from Prov. xxiv. 21, 22. intitled, "For God and the King," against the late Innovations, had his house and study broke open by a Serjeant at Arms, and himself committed close prisoner to the Gate-House, where he was confined several years.

These terrible proceedings of the Commissioners made many conscientious Non-Conformists retire with their families to Holland and New England, for fear of falling into the hands of men, "whose tender mercies were cruelty."

Among

Among others that went over this Year was the Reverend and Learned Mr. John Cotton, B. D. Fellow of Emanuel College, Cambridge, and Minister of Boston in Lincolnshire, where he was in such repute, that Dr. Preston and others from Cambridge frequently visited him; he was an admired Preacher, and of a most meek and gentle disposition: He became a Non-Conformist upon this principle, "That no Church had power to impose indifferently ceremonies, not commanded by Christ, on the consciences of men." He therefore omitted some of the ceremonies, and administer'd the Sacrament to such as desired it, without kneeling; for which he was informed against in the High Commission; and Laud being now at the Head of affairs, the Bishop of Lincoln his diocesan, could not protect him. Mr. Cotton applied to the Earl of Dorset for his interest with the Archbishop, but the Earl sent him word, "that if he had been guilty of drunkenness, uncleanness, or any such lesser fault, he could have got his pardon, but the sin of Puritanism and Non-Conformity" (says his Lordship) is unpardonable, and therefore you must fly for your safety." Upon this he travell'd to London in disguise, and took passage for new England, where he arrived Sept. 3. 1633. and spent the remainder of his days, to the Year 1652.

King Charles I.  
1633.  
Rev. Mr. Cotton removes to New England.  
Mather's Hist. N. E. B. III. p. 18 &c.

Mr. John Davenport, B. D. and Vicar of Coleman Street, London, resigned his living, and retired to Holland this summer. He fell under the resentments of his Diocesan, Bishop Laud, for being concerned in the Feoffments, which, together with some notices he received of being prosecuted for non-conformity, induced him to embark for Amsterdam, where he continued about three years, and then returning to England, he shipped himself with some other families for New England, where he began the settlement of New Haven in the year 1637. He was a good Scholar, and an admired Preacher, but underwent great hardships in the infant colony, with whom he continued till about the year 1670. when he died.

And Mr. Davenport. Ib. B. III. p. 52.

The Reverend Mr. Thomas Hooker, Fellow of Emanuel College, Cambridge, and Lecturer of Chelmsford in Essex, after four years exercise of his Ministry was obliged to lay it down for non-conformity, though forty seven conformable Ministers in the neighbourhood subscribed a petition to the Bishop [Laud] in which they declare, that Mr. "Hooker was for Doctrine Orthodox, for life and conversation honest, for disposition peaceable, and in no wise turbulent or factious.

And Mr. Hooker. Mather's Hist. N. E. B. III. p. 60.

King  
Charles I.  
1633.

factious. Notwithstanding which he was silenced by the Spiritual Court, 1630. and bound in a recognizance of fifty pounds to appear before the High Commission; but by the advice of his friends he forfeited his recognizance and fled to Holland; here he continued about two years fellow-labourer with old Mr. Forbes, a Scots Man at Delf, from whence he was called to assist Dr. Ames at Rotterdam, but upon his death he returned to England, and being pursued by the Bishop's Officers from place to place, he embarked this Summer for New England, and settled with his friends upon the Banks of Connecticut River, where he died in the Year 1647. He was an awakening Preacher, and a considerable practical Writer, as appears by his Books of "Preparation for Christ, Contrition, Humiliation, &c."

Dr. Ames's  
Death and  
Character.

The Reverend and Learned Dr. William Ames, educated at Cambridge, under the famous Mr. Perkins, fled from the persecution of Archbishop Bancroft, and became Minister of the English Church at the Hague, from whence he was invited by the States of Friesland to the divinity chair in the University of Franeker, which he filled with universal reputation for twelve years. He was in the Synod of Dort, and informed King James's Ambassadors at the Hague, from time to time, of the Debates of that venerable Assembly. He writ several Treatises in Latin, against the Arminians, which for their conciseness and perspicuity, were not equalled by any of his time. His other Works are, "Manuductio Logica, Medulla Theologiæ, Cases of Conscience, Analysis on the Book of Psalms, Notes on the first and second Epistles of Peter, and upon the Catechistical heads." After twelve Years Dr. Ames resigned his Professorship, and accepted of an invitation to the English Congregation at Rotterdam, the air of Franeker being too sharp for him, who was troubled with such a difficulty of breathing, that he concluded every Winter would be his last; besides, he had a desire to be employed in the delightful work of preaching to his own Countrymen, which he had refused for many Years. Upon his removal to Rotterdam he writ his "Fresh suit against Ceremonies;" but his constitution was so shatter'd, that the air of Holland did him no service; upon which he determin'd to remove to New England, but his Asthma returning at the beginning of the Winter put an end to his Life at Rotterdam, where he was buried, Nov. 14. N. S. 1633. Next Spring his Wife and Children embarked for New England, and carried with them his valuable Library of Books,



Books, which was a rich treasure to the Country at that time. The Doctor was a very learned Divine, a strict Calvinist in Doctrine, and of the Persuasion of the Independants, with regard to the subordination and power of Classes and Synods.

King  
Charles I.  
1633.

Archbishop Laud being now Chancellor of the University of Dublin, and having a new Deputy [Wentworth] disposed to serve the purposes of the Prerogative, turned his thoughts against the Calvinists of that Kingdom, resolving to bring the Church of Ireland to adopt the Articles of the Church of England. Archbishop Usher, and some of his brethren, being informed of the design, moved in convocation, that their own Articles ratified by King James in the Year 1615. might be confirmed, but the motion was set aside, because it was said, they were already fortified with all the authority the Church could give them; and that a further confirmation would imply a defect. It was then moved on the other side, that for silencing the popish Objections of a disagreement among Protestants, a Canon should be passed for approving the Articles of the Church of England, which was done with but one dissenting voice; one Calvinist (says Mr. Coilyer) having look'd deeper into the matter than the rest.

1634.  
Thirty nine  
Articles re-  
ceived in  
Ireland.

The Canon was in these words; "For the Manifestation of our agreement with the Church of England, in the Confession of the same Christian Faith and Doctrine of the Sacraments, we do receive and approve the Book of Articles of Religion, agreed upon by the Archbishops and Bishops, &c. in the Year 1562. for the avoiding diversity of opinions, and for establishing consent touching true Religion; and therefore if any hereafter shall affirm, that any of these Articles are in any part superstitious or erroneous, or such as he may not with a good Conscience subscribe unto, let him be excommunicated."

Bi. b. Reg.  
Sect. 13.  
No. XIII.

The Irish Bishops thought they had lost nothing by this Canon, because "they had saved their own Articles," but Laud took advantage of it during the time of his Chancellorship; for hereby the Church of Ireland denounced the Sentence of Excommunication against all that affirmed any of the thirty-nine Articles to be superstitious or erroneous, that is, against the whole Body of the Puritans; B. XI. and Fuller adds, That their own Articles which condemned Arminianism, and maintained the morality of the Sabbath, were utterly excluded.

Remarks

P. 149.

This

King  
Charles I.  
1634.

Mr. Shep-  
pard re-  
moves to  
New Eng-  
land.

This Summer the Reverend Mr. Thomas Sheppard, M. A. fled to New England. He had been Lecturer at Earls Coln, in Essex, several years, but when Laud became Bishop of London, his Lecture was put down, and himself silenced; he then retired into the family of a private Gentleman, but the Bishop's Officers following him thither, he travelled into Yorkshire, where Neile Bishop of the Diocese commanded him to subscribe or depart the Country; upon this he went to Heddon in Northumberland where his labours were prospered to the conversion of some Souls; but the Bishop of Durham, by the direction of Archbishop Laud, forbid his preaching in any part of his Diocese, which obliged him to take shipping at Yarmouth for New England; here he continued Pastor of the Church at Cambridge till his death, which happened Aug. 25, 1649. in the forty fourth year of his age. He was a hard Student, an exemplary Christian, and an eminent Practical Writer, as appears by his Sincere Convert, and other Practical Works that go under his name.

And Mr.  
Norton.

The Reverend Mr. John Norton went over in the same Ship with Mr. Sheppard, being driven out of Hertfordshire, by the severity of the times. He settled at Ipsworth in New England, and was afterwards removed to Boston where he died in the year 1665. Mr. Fuller says, he was a Divine of no less learning than modesty, as appears sufficiently by his numerous writings.

French and  
Dutch  
Churches  
obliged to  
Conformity.

His Grace of Canterbury having made some powerful efforts to bring the Churches of Scotland and Ireland to an uniformity with England, resolved in his metropolitcal Visitation this Summer to reduce the Dutch and French Churches (which were ten in number, having between five and six thousand Communicants) to the same Conformity; for this purpose he tendered them these three articles of enquiry.

1. "Whether, do you use the Dutch or French Liturgy?"
2. "Of how many Descents are you since you came in to England?"
5. "Do such as are born here in England conform to the English Ceremonies?"

The Ministers and Elders demurred upon the Questions, and insisted upon the Charter of Privileges granted by King Edward VI. and confirmed no less than five times in the reign of King James, and twice by King Charles himself, by virtue of which they had been exempt from all

Arch-

Archiepiscopal and Episcopal Jurisdiction till this time ; but Laud, without any regard to their Charter, sent them the two following Injunctions by his Vicar-General.

King  
Charles I.  
1634.

1. " That all that were born in England of the Dutch and Walloon Congregations, should repair to their Parish Churches. Laud's Injunctions to them.

2. " That those who were not natives, but came from abroad, while they remained strangers, might use their own Discipline, as formerly."

In this emergency the Dutch and Walloon Churches petitioned for a toleration, and shewed the inconveniencies that would arise from the Archbishop's Injunctions ; as, that if all their Children born in England were taken from their Communion, their Churches must break up and return home, for as they came into England for the liberty of their Consciences, they would not continue after it was taken from them. They desired therefore it might be considered, what damages would arise to the Kingdom by driving away the Foreigners with their Manufactures, and discouraging others from settling in their room. The Mayor and Corporation of Canterbury assured his Grace, that above twelve hundred of their poor were maintained by the Foreigners, and others interceded with the King in their favour ; but his Majesty answered, " We must believe our Archbishop of Canterbury," who used their Deputies very roughly, calling them a nest of Schismatics, and telling them it were better to have no foreign Churches, than to indulge their Non-conformity. In conclusion he assured them by a letter dated Aug. 19, 1635. that his Majesty was resolved his Injunctions should be observed, viz. " That all their children of the second descent born in England should resort to their Parish Churches," and (says his Grace) I do expect all obedience and conformity from you, and if you refuse, I shall proceed against the natives according to the Laws and Canons Ecclesiastical. Accordingly some of their Churches were interdicted, others shut up, and the Assemblies dissolved ; their Ministers were suspended, many of their people left the Kingdom, especially in the Diocese of Norwich, where Bishop Wren drove away three thousand Manufacturers in wool, cloth, &c. some of whom employed a hundred poor People at work ; to the unspeakable damage of the Kingdom.

Rushw.  
p. 249.

They are  
broken up.

As a farther mark of disregard to the foreign Protestants, the King's Ambassador in France was forbid to frequent their religious Assemblies. " It had been customary Foreign Protestant Churches disowned, (says



King  
Charles I.  
1634.

“(says Lord Clarendon) for the Ambassadors employed  
“ in any parts where the reformed Religion was exerci-  
“ sed, to frequent their Churches, and to hold correspon-  
“ dence with the most powerful persons of that Religion,  
“ particularly the English Ambassador at Paris constantly  
“ frequented the Church at Charenton; but the contrary  
“ to this was now practised, and some Advertisements, if  
“ not instructions, given to the Ambassador, to forbear any  
“ commerce with the Men of that Religion. Lord Scu-  
“ damore, who was the last Ambassador before the begin-  
“ ning of the Long Parliament, instead of going to Cha-  
“ renton, furnished his Chapel after the new fashion, with  
“ Candles upon the Altar, &c. and took care to publish  
“ upon all occasions, “ that the Church of England look-  
“ ed not on the Hugonots as a part of their Communion;”  
“ which was likewise industriously discoursed at home. This  
“ made a great many foreign Protestants leave the Kingdom,  
“ and transport themselves into foreign parts.” The  
Church of England by this means lost the esteem of the  
Reformed Churches abroad, who could hardly pity her  
when a few years after she sunk down into the deepest dis-  
tress.

Brief for the  
Palatine  
Ministers.

To give another instance of the Archbishop's disaffection to the foreign Protestants, the Queen of Bohemia, the King's Sister, solicited the King in the most pressing manner, to admit of a publick collection over England for the poor persecuted Ministers of the Palatinate, who were banished their Country for their Religion. Accordingly the King granted them a Brief to go through the Kingdom; but when it was brought to the Archbishop, he excepted against the following clause;—“ Whose cases are the more  
“ to be deplored, because this extremity is fallen upon  
“ them for their sincerity and constancy in the true Reli-  
“ gion; which we together with them professed, and which  
“ we are all bound in Conscience to maintain to the utmost  
“ of our Powers. Whereas these religious and godly Per-  
“ sons, being involved among others their Countrymen,  
“ might have enjoyed their Estates and Fortunes, if with  
“ other backsliders in the time of trial, they would have  
“ submitted themselves to the Antichristian Yoke, and  
“ have renounced or dissembled the profession of their  
“ Religion.” His Grace had two exceptions to this pas-  
sage. 1. The Religion of the Palatine Churches is affirm-  
ed to be the same with ours, which he denied, because  
they were Calvinists, and because their Ministers had not

Cyp. Angl.  
Collyer,  
P. 765.

Laud's Ex-  
ceptions to  
it.

Episcopal.

Episcopal Ordination. 2. He objected to the Church of Rome's being called an Antichristian Yoke, because it would then follow, that she was in no capacity to convey sacerdotal Power in Ordinations, and consequently the benefit of the Priesthood, and the force of Holy Ministrations would be lost in the English Church, for as much as she has no orders but what she derives from the Church of Rome. Laud having acquainted the King with his exceptions, they were expunged in another draught. But the collection not succeeding in this way, Dr. Sibbes, Gouge, and other Divines of the Puritan party, signed a private commendatory letter, desiring their friends to enlarge their charity, "as to Men of the same Faith and Profession with themselves," and promising to see to the right distribution of the Money; but as soon as Laud heard of it he cited the Divines before the High Commission, and put a stop to the collection.

King  
Charles I.  
1634.

This year put an end to the Life of the Reverend Mr. Hugh Clarke, born at Burton upon Trent, 1563. and educated partly at Cambridge, and partly at Oxford. He was first Minister of Oundle in Northamptonshire, and then of Woolston in Warwickshire, from whence he was suspended, and afterwards excommunicated, for expounding upon the Catechism. At length he was indicted for High Treason, because he prayed, "That God would forgive the Queen [Elizabeth] her Sins, but was acquitted." He was an awakening Preacher, of a warm Spirit, and a robust body, which he wore out with preaching twice every Lord's Day, and frequently on the Week-days. His Ministry met with great success, even to his death, which happened Nov. 6th, 1634. in the seventy second year of his age.

Mr. Hugh  
Clarke's  
Death and  
Character.

About the same time died the Reverend and pious Mr. John Carter, a Man that feared God from his youth, and was always employed in acts of Devotion and Charity. He was born in Kent, 1554. and educated in Clare Hall, Cambridge. He was first Minister of Bramford in Suffolk for thirty four years, and then Rector of Belstead in the same County. He was often in trouble for his Non-conformity, but made a shift by the assistance of friends, to maintain his liberty without any sinful compliance. He was mighty in Prayer, frequent and fervent in preaching, and a resolute champion against Popery, Arminianism, and the new Ceremonies. He lived to a good old age, and died suddenly, as he was laying down to sleep, in the eightieth

And Mr.  
John Car-  
ter's.

year

King  
Charles I.  
1635.

year of his age, greatly lamented by all that had a taste of practical Religion and undissembled piety. His funeral Sermon was preached before a vast concourse of people, from those words, "My Father, my Father, the Chariots of Israel, and the Horsemen thereof!"

Sufferers for  
Non-conformity.

Conformity to the new Ceremonies and the King's Injunctions, was now pressed with the utmost rigor. The Reverend Mr. Crooke, of Brazen Nose College, and Mr. Hobbes of Trinity College Oxford, were enjoined a publick recantation, for reflecting upon the Arminians.

Rushw.  
p. 283.  
Prynne,  
p. 261.

Mr. Samuel Ward, of Ipswich, having preached against the Book of Sports, and bowing at the Name of Jesus, added, "That the Church of England was ready to ring changes in Religion; and, that the Gospel stood a tip-toe, ready to be gone to America." For which he was suspended, and enjoined a publick recantation. Another underwent the same censure, for saying, "It was suspicious that the night was approaching, because the shadows were so much longer than the body, and ceremonies more in force than the power of Godliness."

The Reverend Mr. Chauncey, late Minister of Ware, but now of Marston Lawrence, in the Diocese of Peterborough, was imprisoned, condemned in costs of Suit, and obliged to read the following recantation, for opposing the railing in the Communion Table.

Mr. Chauncey's Recantation.  
Prynne,  
p. 95, 97.  
100.  
Rushw. p.  
301, 316.

"**W**Hereas I Charles Chauncey, Clerk, late Vicar of Ware, stand convicted for opposing the setting up a rail about the Communion Table, and for saying, it was an innovation, a snare to Men's Consciences, a breach of the second Commandment, an addition to God's Worship, and that which drove me from the place; I do now, before this honourable Court, acknowledge my great offence, and protest I am ready to declare upon oath, that I am now persuaded in my Conscience, that kneeling at the Communion is a lawful and commendable gesture; that the rail is a decent and convenient ornament, and that I was much to blame for opposing it; and do promise from henceforth, never by word or deed, to oppose that, or any other laudable rites and ceremonies used in the Church of England.

After this he was judicially admonished, and discharged; but the recantation went so much against his Conscience, that he could enjoy no peace till he had quitted the Church



Church of England, and retired to New England, where he made an open acknowledgment of his sin.

King  
Charles I.  
1635.

The Church-wardens of Beckington in Somersetshire were excommunicated by the Bishop of Bath and Wells, for refusing to remove the Communion Table from the middle of the Chancel to the East end, and not pulling down the seats to make room for it. They produced a certificate, that their Communion Table had stood time out of mind in the midst of the Chancel; that the ground on which it was placed, was raised a foot, and enclosed with a decent wainscot border, and that none went within it but the Minister, and such as he required. This not availing, they appealed to the Arches, and at last to the King; but their appeal was rejected. After they had remained excommunicate for a year, they were cast into the common jail, where they continued till the year 1637. and were then obliged to do publick penance in the parish Church of Beckington, and two others, the shame of which broke their hearts: one of them declaring upon his death-bed soon after, that the Penance and Submission, so much against his conscience, had sunk his spirits, and was one principal cause of his death.

Sufferings of  
the Church-  
wardens of  
Beckington.

Rushw.  
p. 300.

In the Archbishop's metropolitical visitation this summer, Mr. Lee, one of the Prebendaries of Lichfield, was suspended, for churching refractory women in private, for being averse to the good orders of the Church, and for ordering the bell-man to give notice in open market of a sermon. Mr. Randal of Tuddington near Hampton-Court, Middlesex, was suspended for preaching a sermon above an hour long on Sunday in the afternoon, though it was a farewell sermon to the exercise of catechising. His Grace's account of his Diocese this year, gives a farther relation of the sufferings of the Puritans: He acquaints his Majesty, that the French and Dutch Churches had not as yet thoroughly complied with his injunctions.— That in the Diocese of London, Dr. Houghton, Rector of Aldermanbury, Mr. Simpson, Curate and Lecturer of St. Margaret Fish-street, Mr. John Goodwin, Vicar of Coleman-street, and Mr. Viner of St. Lawrence Old-Jury, had been convened for breach of Canons, and had submitted; to whom his Grace might have added Dr. Sibbes, Dr. Taylor, Dr. Gouge, Mr. White of Dorchester, and about twenty more; some of whom fled into Holland, and others retired into New England.— The Bishop of Bath and Wells certified, that he had not one single lecture in any corporation town, and that all afternoon sermons were

Laud's ac-  
count of his  
metropoliti-  
cal Visita-  
tion.  
Prvnce,  
p. 381.

Collyer,  
p. 765.

King  
Charles I.  
1635.

turned into catechizings in all Parishes—In the Diocese of Norwich were many Puritans, but that Mr. Ward of Yarmouth was in the High Commission.— From the Diocese of Llandaff, Mr. Wroth and Mr. Earbury, noted Schismatics, were brought before the High Commission.— And that in the Diocese of Gloucester were several popular and factious Ministers.

Indiscreet  
zeal of the  
Puritans.  
Rapin,  
p. 204.

It must be confessed, that the zeal of the Puritans was not always well regulated; nor were their Ministers so much on their guard in the pulpit, or conversation, as they ought; considering the number of Informers that entered all their Churches, that insinuated themselves into all publick conversation, and, like so many locusts, covered the Land. These were so numerous and corrupt, that the King was obliged to bring them under certain regulations; for no man was safe in publick company, nor even in conversing with his friends and neighbours. Many broke up house-keeping, that they might breathe in a freer air; which the Council being informed of, a proclamation was published, [July 21.] forbidding all persons, except soldiers, mariners, merchants, and their factors, to depart the Kingdom without his Majesty's license.

Mr. Bulkley  
removed to  
New Eng-  
land.

But notwithstanding this prohibition, many got over to New England this summer; and among others the Reverend Mr. Peter Bulkley, B. D. and Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. He was son of Dr. Edward Bulkley, of Bedfordshire, and succeeded him at Woodhil or Odel in that County. Here he continued above twenty years, the Bishop of Lincoln conniving at his non-conformity: But when Dr. Laud was at the helm of the Church, and the Bishop of Lincoln in disgrace, Bulkley was silenced by the Vicar-General, Sir Nathaniel Brent; upon which he sold a very plentiful estate, and transported himself and his effects to New England, where he died in the year 1658-9. and the seventy seventh of his age. He was a thundering Preacher, and a judicious Divine, as appears by his Treatise of the Covenant, which past through several editions, and was one of the first books published in that country.

And Mr.  
Richard Ma-  
ther.

Mr. Richard Mather, educated in in Brazen Nose College, Oxon, and Minister of Toxteth near Liverpool for about fifteen years, a diligent and successful preacher, was suspended for non-conformity in the year 1633. but by the intercession of friends, after six months, he was restored. Next summer the Archbishop of York sending his

his visitors into Lancashire, this good man was again suspended by Dr. Cofins, upon an information that he had not worn the Surplice for fifteen years. After this, no intercessions could obtain the liberty of his ministry; upon which he took shipping at Bristol, and arrived at Boston in New England, Aug. 17, 1635. He settled at Dorchester, and continued with his people, a plain and profitable preacher to the year 1669. when he died. This was the grandfather of the famous Dr. Cotton Mather.

King  
Charles I.  
1635.

In Scotland the fire was kindling apace, which in three years time set both Kingdoms in a flame. The restoring Episcopacy by the violent methods already mentioned, did not set easy upon the people; the new Scots Bishops were of Bishop Laud's principles; they spoke favourably of Popery in their Sermons, and cast some invidious reflections on the Reformers: They declared openly for the doctrines of Arminius; for Sports on the Sabbath; and, for the Liturgy of the English Church; which was imagined to be little better than the Mass. This lost them their esteem with the people, who had been trained up in the doctrines and discipline of Calvin, and in the strict observation of the Lord's Day. But the King, to support them, cherished them with expressions of the greatest respect and confidence; he made eleven of them Privy-Counsellors; the Archbishop of St. Andrews was Lord Chancellor, and the Bishop of Ross was in nomination to be Lord High Treasurer; divers of them were of the Exchequer, and had engrossed the best preferments in the Kingdom, which made them the envy of the nobility and gentry of the Nation. The Bishops were so sensible of this, that they advised the King not to trust the intended alterations in religion to Parliaments or general Assemblies, but to introduce them by his regal Authority.

Affairs of  
Scotland.  
Burnet's  
memoirs of  
D Hamilton.

When the King was last in Scotland it was taken notice of as a great blemish in the Kirk, that it had no Liturgy nor Book of Canons; to supply this defect the King gave orders to the new Bishops to prepare draughts of both, and remit them to London, to be revised by the Bishops Laud, Juxon, and Wren. The book of Canons being first finished, was presented to the King, and by him delivered to Laud and Juxon to examine, alter, and reform at pleasure, and to bring it as near as possible to a conformity with the English Canons. The Bishops having executed their Commission, and prepared it for the press, the King confirmed it under the Great Seal by letters Patents dated

Book of  
Canons for  
Scotland.



King  
Charles I.  
1635.

at Greenwich, May 23d. 1635. The instrument sets forth,  
 “ That his Majesty, by his royal and supreme Authority  
 “ in causes ecclesiastical, ratifies and confirms the said Can-  
 “ ons, Orders and Constitutions, and all and every thing  
 “ in them contained, and strictly commands all Archbi-  
 “ shops, Bishops, and others exercising ecclesiastical Ju-  
 “ risdiction, to see them punctually observed.”

To give the reader a specimen of these Canons, which  
 were subversive of the whole Scots Constitution both in  
 Kirk and State ;

1. “ The first Canon excommunicates all those who  
 “ affirm, the power and prerogative of the King not to  
 “ be equal with the Jewish Kings, that is, absolute and  
 “ unlimited.

2. “ The second excommunicates those who shall affirm,  
 “ the worship contained in the book of Common-prayer,  
 “ [which was not yet published] or the government of  
 “ the Kirk, by Archbishops, Bishops, &c. to be corrupt,  
 “ superstitious, or unlawful.

3. “ The third restrains ordinations to the Quatuor  
 “ tempora ; that is, the first weeks of March, June, Sep-  
 “ tember and December.

5. “ The fifth obliges all Presbyters to read, or cause  
 “ to be read, Divine Service, according to the form of the  
 “ Book of Scottish Common-prayer, and to conform to all  
 “ the Offices, Parts, and Rubricks of it [though not yet  
 “ published.]

The book decrees further, “ That no assembly of the  
 “ Clergy shall be called but by the King.

“ That none shall receive the Sacrament but upon their  
 “ Knees.

“ That every ecclesiastical person dying without Chil-  
 “ dren, shall give part of his estate to the Church.

“ That the Clergy shall have no private meetings for  
 “ expounding Scripture.

“ That no Clergyman shall conceive Prayer, but pray  
 “ only by the printed Form, to be prescribed in the book  
 “ of Common-prayer.

“ That no man shall teach School without a license  
 “ from the Bishop ; nor no censures of the Church be pro-  
 “ nounced but by the approbation of the Bishop.

“ That no Presbyter shall reveal any thing in Confes-  
 “ sion, except his own Life should by the concealment be  
 “ forfeited.”

After

After fundry other Canons of this nature, as appointing Fonts for Baptism, Church Ornaments, Communion Tables or Altars, &c. the Book decrees, That no person shall be admitted to Holy Orders, or to preach or administer the Sacraments, without first subscribing the forementioned Canons.

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This Book was no sooner published, but the Scots Presbyters declared peremptorily against it; their objections were of two sorts; they disliked the Matter of the Canons, as inconsistent with their Kirk Government, and severer in some particulars than those of the Church of England. They protested also against the Manner of imposing them, without consent of Parliament or General Assembly. It was thought intolerable vassalage by a People, that had asserted the independent power of the Church to convene Assemblies of the Clergy; and had maintained that their Decrees were binding, without the Confirmation of the Crown, to have the King, and a few foreign Bishops, dictate Canons to them, without so much as asking their advice and consent. Such an high display of the Supremacy could not but be highly resented by a Church, that had never yielded it to the King in the sense it was claimed in England. Besides, it was very preposterous to publish the Book of Canons before the Book of Common Prayer, and to require submission and subscription to things that had no Being; for who could fortel what might be inserted in the Common Prayer Book? Or what kind of Service might be imposed upon the Kirk? This looked too much like pinning the Faith of a whole Nation on the Lawn Sleeves.

Remarks.  
Collyer's  
Eccl. Hist.  
p. 764.

To return to England: Towards the end of this Year it pleased God to remove out of this World the Reverend Dr. Richard Sibbes, one of the most celebrated Preachers of his time. He was born at Sudbury, 1579, and educated in St. John's College, Cambridge, where he went through all the Degrees. Having enter'd into the Ministry, he was first chosen Lecturer of Trinity Church in Cambridge, where his Ministry was very successful, to the Conversion and Reformation of his Hearers. About the Year 1618. he was appointed Preacher to the Honourable Society of Gray's Inn, London, where he became so famous, that besides the Lawyers of the house, many of the Nobility and Gentry frequented his Sermons. In the Year 1625, he was chosen Master of Katharine Hall in the University of Cambridge, the government of which he made a shift to continue to his death, though he was

Death and  
Character  
of Dr.  
Sibbes.

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turned out of his Fellowship and Lecture in the University for non-conformity, and often cited before the High Commission. He was a Divine of good learning, thoroughly acquainted with the Scriptures, a burning and shining light, and of a most humble, charitable disposition; but all these talents could not screen him from the fury of the times. His works discover him to have been of an heavenly, evangelical Spirit, the comforts of which he enjoyed at his death, which happen'd the latter end of this Summer, in the fifty ninth Year of his Age.

The Abp.  
promotes  
the Business of the  
Ecclesiastical Courts.

To aggrandize the Church yet further, the Archbishop resolved to bring part of the business of Westminster Hall into the ecclesiastical Courts. The Civilians had boldly and unwarrantably opposed, and protested against Prohibitions, and other proceedings at Law, on the behalf of their Spiritual Courts, and had procured some privileges and orders from the King on the behalf of the Civil Law, even with an exclusion of the other, which made the Gentlemen of that faculty enemies to the Bishops Courts. But the Archbishop now went a step further, and prevailed with the King to direct, that half the Masters in Chancery should be always Civil Lawyers; and to declare, that no others, of what condition soever, should serve him as Masters of Request: These were more akin to the Church than the common Lawyers, their places being in the Bishops disposal (as Chancellors, Commissaries, &c.) and therefore it was supposed their Persons would be so too; but this was false policy (says the noble Historian) because it disgusted a whole learned Profession, who were more capable of diserving the Church in their Estates, Inheritances and Stewardships, than the Church could hurt them in their practice. Besides, it was wrong in it self, for I have never yet spoken with one Clergyman (says his Lordship) who hath had experience of both Litigations, that has not ingenuously confessed, that he had rather, in respect of his Trouble, Charge, and Satisfaction to his Understanding, have three Suits depending in Westminster Hall, than one in the Arches, or any Ecclesiastical Court.

Claren.  
Vol. II.  
p. 30.

And holds  
them in  
his own  
Name  
contrary to  
Law.  
Rushw.  
p. 450.

As a farther step towards the Sovereign Power of the Church, his Grace prevailed with the King to allow the Bishops to hold their Ecclesiastical Courts in their own names, and by their own seals, without the King's Letters Patents under the Great Seal; the Judges having given it as their opinion, that a Patent under the Great Seal was

not



not necessary for examinations, suspensions, and other Church censures. This was undoubtedly contrary to Law, for by the Statute 1 Edw. VI. cap. 2. it is declared, "That all ecclesiastical jurisdiction is immediately from the Crown; and that all Persons exercising such jurisdiction shall have in their Seals the King's Arms, and shall use no other Seal of jurisdiction on pain of imprisonment." This Statute was repealed 1 Mariæ, cap. 2. but was again revived by 1 Jacobi, cap. 25. as has been observed. Hereupon in the Parliaments of the 3d and 7th of King James I. the Bishops were proceeded against, and two of them in a manner attainted in a Præmunire by the House of Commons, for making citations, and processses in their own names, and using their own Seals contrary to this Statute, and to the common Law, and in derogation of the prerogative. So that by this grant the King dispensed with the laws, and yielded away the ancient and undoubted rights of his Crown; and the Bishops were brought under a Præmunire, for exercising spiritual jurisdiction without any special Commission, Patent or Grant, from, by, or under, his Majesty, whereas all jurisdiction of this kind ought to be exercised in the King's Name, right, and authority only, signified by Letters Patents under his Majesty's Seal.

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Usurp.  
Prel.  
P. 92, 115.

The Archbishop was no less intent upon enlarging his own jurisdiction, claiming a right to visit the two Universities, Jure Metropolitico, which being referr'd to the King and Council, his Majesty was pleased to give judgment against himself. As Chancellor of Oxford his Grace caused a new body of Statutes to be drawn up for that University, with a Preface, in which are some severe reflections on good King Edward and his Government; it says, That "the discipline of the University was discomposed, and troubled by that King's injunctions, and the flattering novelty of the Age." It then commends the reign of his Sister the bloody Queen Mary, and says, "That the discipline of the Church revived and flourished again in her days, under Cardinal Pool, when by the much desired felicity of those times an inbred candor supplied the defect of Statutes." Was this spoken like a Protestant Prelate, whose predecessors in the Sees of London and Canterbury were burnt at Oxford by Queen Mary, in a most barbarous manner! Or rather like one, who was aiming at the return of those happy Times!

New Sta-  
tutes for  
Oxford.

Bishops  
Articles of  
Visitation  
illegal.  
Usurp.  
Prel.  
P. 229.  
240.

The last, and most extravagant stretch of episcopal power that I shall mention, was, "the Bishops framing new Arti-

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“ Articles of visitation in their own names, without the  
“ King’s Seal and Authority ; and administering an Oath of  
“ inquiry to the Church-Wardens concerning them. This  
was an outrage upon the Laws, contrary to the Act of sub-  
mission, 25 Hen. VIII. cap. 25. and even to the twelfth can-  
non of 1603. which says, “ That whosoever shall affirm it  
“ lawful, for any sort of Ministers, or Lay-Persons, to assem-  
“ ble together and make rules, orders, and constitutions, in  
“ causes Ecclesiastical,” “ without the King’s Authority,”  
“ and shall submit themselves to be ruled and govern’d by  
“ them, let him be excommunicated.” Which includes  
both the Framers of the Orders as well as those that act by  
them. The administering an oath to Church-Wardens,  
without a royal Commission, had no foundation in Law ; for  
by the common Law, no ecclesiastical Judge can administer  
an oath (except in cases of matrimony and testaments) with-  
out letters, patents, or a special commission under his Ma-  
jesty’s Seal. It was also declared contrary to the Laws and  
Statutes of the land by Sir Edward Coke and the rest of the  
Judges, tertio Jacobi, in the case of Mr. Wharton, who be-  
ing Church-Warden of Black Friars, London, was excom-  
municated and imprisoned on a *Capias Excommunicatum*,  
for refusing to take an Oath, to present upon Visitation Ar-  
ticles ; but bringing his Habeas Corpus, he was discharged  
by the whole Court, both from his imprisonment and ex-  
communication, for this reason, “ because the oath and arti-  
“ cles were against the Laws and Statutes of this realm,  
“ and so might and ought to be refused.” Upon the whole,  
the making the Mitre thus independent upon the Crown,  
without a prohibition from the Courts of Westminster-Hall,  
was setting up Imperium in Imperio, and going a great way  
towards re-establishing one of the heaviest grievances of the  
papacy ; but the Bishops presumed upon the felicity of the  
times, and the indulgence of the Crown, which at another  
time might have involved them in a *Præmunire*.

Though the Articles of visitation differed in the several dio-  
ceses, the church-wardens oath was generally the same, (viz.)

Church-  
Wardens  
Oath.

“ **Y**OU shall swear, that you, and every of you, shall  
“ duly consider, and diligently enquire of all and  
“ every of these Articles given you in charge ; and  
“ that, all affection, favour, hope of reward and gain,  
“ or fear of displeasure or malice, set aside, you shall  
“ present all and every such person that now is, or  
“ of late was within your Parish, or hath committed  
“ any

“ any offence, or made any default mentioned in any of  
 “ these articles, or which are vehemently suspected, or  
 “ defamed of any such offence or default, wherein you shall  
 “ deal uprightly and fully, neither presenting nor daring to  
 “ present any contrary to truth, having in this action God  
 “ before your Eyes, with an earnest zeal to maintain  
 “ truth, and to suppress vice. So help you God, and the  
 “ holy Contents of this Book.”

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By virtue of this oath, some out of conscience thought themselves obliged to present their Ministers, their Neighbours, and their near Relations, not for immorality, or neglect of the worship of God, but for omitting some superstitious injunction. Others acted from revenge, having an opportunity put into their hands to ruin their conscientious Neighbours. Many Church-wardens refused to take the oath, and were imprison'd, and forced to do penance. But to prevent this for the future, it was declared, “ That  
 “ if any Man affirmed, it was not lawful to take the oath  
 “ of a Church-Warden ; or that it was not lawfully ad-  
 “ minister'd ; or that the oath did not bind ; or that the  
 “ Church-Wardens need not enquire ; or after inquiry need  
 “ not answer ; or might leave out part of their answers ;”  
 such persons should be presented and punished.

Visit. Art.  
 Chap. VI.  
 Sect. IX.

Several of the Bishops published their primary articles of visitation about this time ; as the Archbishop of York, the Bishops of Winchester and Bath and Wells ; but the most remarkable and curious were Dr. Wren's, Bishop of Norwich, entitled, “ Articles to be enquired of within the  
 “ Diocese of Norwich, in the first Visitation of Mathew  
 “ Lord Bishop of Norwich.” The Book contains one hundred and thirty nine Articles, in which are eight hundred and ninety seven questions, some very insignificant, others highly superstitious, and several impossible to be answered. To give the Reader a specimen of them :——Have you the Book of Constitutions or Canons Ecclesiastical, and a Parchment Register Book, Book of Common Prayer, and Book of Homilies ? --Is your Communion Table so placed within the Chancel as the Canon directs ?--Doth your Minister read the Canons once every year ?—Doth he pray for the King with his whole Title ? —Doth he pray for the Archbishops and Bishops ?—Doth he observe all the Orders, Rites, and Ceremonies, prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer, and administering the Sacrament ?——Doth he receive the

Abstract of  
 Bishop  
 Wren's Ar-  
 ticles.  
 Rushw.  
 Part 2d.  
 P. 333.  
 Prynne, p.  
 374.  
 Rapin, p.  
 270.

Sacra-



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Sacrament kneeling himself, and administer to none but such as kneel?—Doth he admit to the Sacrament any notorious Offenders or Schismatics?—Do the strangers of other Parishes come often, or frequently to your Church?—Doth your Minister baptize with the sign of the Cross?—Is your Minister licensed, and by whom?—Doth he wear the Surplice while he is reading Prayers and administering the Sacraments?—Doth he catechize and instruct the youth in the Ten Commandments?—Doth he solemnize marriage without the Bans?—Doth he in Rogation-days use the Perambulation round the Parish?—Doth he every six Months denounce in the Parish, [or publickly declare the names of] all such as persevere in the sentence of Excommunication, not seeking to be absolved?—Doth he admit any excommunicate persons into the Church without a certificate of Absolution?—Is your Minister a favourer of Recusants?—Is he noted to be an incontinent person; a frequenter of Taverns, Ale-houses; a common Gamester, or player at Dice?—Hath your Minister read the Book of Sports in his Church or Chapel?—Doth he read the second Service at the Communion Table?—Doth he use conceived Prayers before or after Sermon?—With regard to Church-yards, are they consecrated?—Are the Graves dug East and West, and the Bodies buried with their heads to the West?—Do your Parishioners, at going in and out of the Church, do reverence towards the Chancel?—Do they kneel at confession, stand up at the Creed, and bow at the glorious name of Jesus? &c. with divers Articles of the like nature.

Cant. Doom,  
P. 96.

Mischief of  
them.

The weight of these inquiries fell chiefly upon the Puritans, for within the compass of two years and four months, no less than fifty able and pious Ministers were suspended, silenced, and otherwise censured, to the ruin of their poor families, for not obeying one or other of these Articles; among whom were the Reverend Mr. John Allen, Mr. John Ward, Mr. William Powell, Mr. John Carter, Mr. Ashe, Mr. William Bridges, Mr. Jeremiah Burroughs, Mr. Greenhill, Mr. Edmund Calamy, Mr. Hudson, Peck, Raymond, Green, Mott, Kent, Allen, Scott, Beard, Moth, Manning, Warren, Kirtington, and others, in the Diocese of Norwich. In other Dioceses were Mr. Jonathan Burre, Mr. William Leigh, Mr. Matthew Brownrigge, Mr. G. Huntley, Vicars, Proud, Workman, Crowder, Snelling, &c. some of whom spent their days in silence; others departed

parted their Country into the parts beyond Sea ; but none were released without a promise to conform to the Bishops injunctions “ *Editis & edendis*, i. e. already published, or “ hereafter to be published.”

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Bishop Montague, who succeeded Wren in the Diocese of Norwich, 1638. imitated his successor in his visitation Articles; for it was now fashionable for every new Bishop to frame separate Articles of inquiry, for the Visitation of his own Diocese. Montague pointed his inquiries against the Puritan Lecturers, of which he observes three sorts.

Bp. Montague's  
Articles of  
Inquiry concerning  
several Sorts  
of Lecturers.

1. Such as were “ superinducted in another Man's Cure ;” concerning which he enjoins his visitors to inquire, whether the Lecturer's Sermons in the afternoons are popular or catechistical ? whether he be admitted with consent of the Incumbent and Bishop ? whether he read prayers in his Surplice and Hood ? of what length his Sermons are, and upon what subject ? whether he bids prayer, according to the fifty fifth Canon ?

Prynne,  
P. 376.

2. The second sort of Lectures are those of Combination, when the neighbouring Ministers agreed to preach by turns at an adjoining Market-town on Market-days ; inquire who the combiners are, and whether they conform as above ?

3. A third sort are Running Lectures, when neighbouring Christians agree upon such a day to meet at a certain Church in some Country Town or Village, and after Sermon and Dinner to meet at the House of one of their Disciples, to repeat, censure, and explain the Sermon ; then to discourse of some points proposed at a foregoing meeting by the Moderator of the Assembly, derogatory to the doctrine or discipline of the Church ; and in conclusion to appoint another place for their next meeting. If you have any such Lectures present them.

Dr. Pierse, Bishop of Bath and Wells, suppressed all Lectures in Market-towns, and elsewhere, throughout his Diocese, alledging, “ That he saw no such need of preaching now, as was in the Apostles Days.” He suspended Mr. Devenish, Minister of Bridgewater, for preaching a Lecture in his own Church on a Market-day, which had continued ever since the days of Queen Elizabeth ; and afterwards, when he absolved him, upon his promise to preach it no more, he said to him, “ Go thy way, sin no more, lest a worse thing befall thee.” His Lordship put down all afternoon Sermons on Lord's Days ; and suspended Mr. Cornish for preaching a Funeral Sermon on the evening.

Bo. Pierse  
of Bath and  
Wells, his  
Usage of the  
Lecturers.  
Prynne,  
P. 377.

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ing. And whereas some Ministers used to explain the questions and answers in the catechism, and make a short prayer before and after, the Bishop reprov'd them sharply for it, saying, "That was as bad as preaching," and charged them to ask no questions, nor receive any answers but such as were in the Book of Common Prayer: And for not complying with this injunction, Mr. Barret, Rector of Barwick, and some others, were enjoined publick penance. The Bishop of Peterborough, and all the new Bishops, went in the same tract; and some of them upon this sad principle, "That afternoon Sermons on Sundays, were an impediment to the Revels in the evening."

The Grandeur of the Church.

The Church was now in the height of its splendor, and grasped not only at all spiritual jurisdiction, but at the highest preferments of State; for this year Dr. Juxon, Bishop of London, was declared Lord High Treasurer of England, which is the greatest office of benefit in the Kingdom, and next in precedence to the Archbishop. Juxon's name had hardly been known at Court above two years, for till then he was no more than a private Chaplain to the King, and head of a poor College in Oxford. Besides, no Churchman had held this post since the darkest times of Popery, in the Reign of King Henry the seventh; but Laud valued himself upon this nomination; "Now [says he, in his Diary] if the Church will not hold up themselves, under God, I can do no more." But when the Staff of Treasurer was put into the hands of Juxon, Lord Clarendon observes, "That the nobility were enflamed, and began to look upon the Church as a gulph ready to swallow all the great Offices of State, there being other Churchmen in view who were ambitious enough to expect the rest. The inferior Clergy took advantage of this situation of their affairs, and did not live towards their neighbours of Quality, or Patrons, with that civility and good manners as they used to do, which disposed others to withdraw their countenance and good neighbourhood from them, especially after they were put into the Commissions of Peace, in most Counties of England." One of the Members of the House of Commons said, "That the Clergy were so exalted, that a Gentleman might not come near the Tail of their Mules; and that one of them had declared openly, that he hoped to see the day, when a Clergyman should be as good a man as any Upstart Jack Gentleman in the Kingdom." 'Tis certain, the favourable aspect of the Court, had very much exalted their

Pride and Ambition of the Clergy.



their behaviour, and their new notions had made them conceive themselves an order of men above the rank of the Laity, for as much as they had the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven at their Girdle, and upon their priestly Character depended the efficacy of all gospel Institutions. This made some of them remarkably negligent of their cures up and down the Country; others lost the little learning they had got at the University, and many became very scandalous in their lives; though Lord Clarendon says, that there was not one Church-man in any degree of favour or acceptance [at Court] of a scandalous insufficiency in Learning, or of a more scandalous condition of Life; but on the contrary, most of them, of confessed eminent parts in knowledge, and of virtuous and unblemished lives.

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Charles I.  
1636.

Claren.  
Vol. I.  
p. 77.

But great numbers of the most useful and laborious preachers in all parts of the Country were buried in silence, and forced to abscond from the fury of the High Commission; among whom were the famous Mr. John Dod, Mr. Whately, Dr. Harris, Mr. Capel, and Mr. John Rogers of Dedham, one of the most awakening preachers of his age, of whom Bishop Brownrigge used to say, that he did more good with his wild Notes, than we [the Bishops] with our set Musick. But his great usefulness could not screen him from those suspensions and deprivations which were the portion of the Puritans in these times. His resolutions about subscribing, I will relate in his own words: "If I come into trouble for Non-conformity, I resolve, by God's assistance, to come away with a clear conscience; for though the liberty of my Ministry be dear to me, I dare not buy it at such a rate. I am troubled at my former subscription, but I saw men of good gifts, and of good hearts (as I thought) go before me; and I could not prove that there was any thing contrary to the word of God," though I disliked the Ceremonies, and knew them to be unprofitable burdens to the Church of God; but if I am urged again I will never yield; it was my weakness before, as I now conceive, which I beseech God to pardon.—Written in the year 1627." But after this the good Man was overtaken again, and yielded, which almost broke his heart; for he adds,—"For this I smarted, 1631. If I had read over this [my former resolution] it may be I had not done what I did." How severe are such trials to a poor Man with a numerous family of children! and how sore the distresses of a wounded conscience!

Sufferings  
of Mr. Ro-  
gers of Ded-  
ham,

Others

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Of Mr.  
Nath. Ro-  
gers.

Others continued to leave their Country, according to our blessed Saviour's advice, Matth. x. 23. "When they persecute you in this City, flee ye into another." Among these were Mr. Nathaniel Rogers, son of Mr. John Rogers of Dedham, educated in Emanuel College, Cambridge, and settled at Aflington in Suffolk, where he continued five years; but seeing the storm that had driven his neighbours from their anchor, and being fearful of his own steadfastness in the hour of temptation, he resigned his living into the hands of his patron, and forsaking the neighbourhood of his Father, and all prospects of worldly advantage, cast himself and his young family upon the providence of God, and embarked for New England, where he arrived about the middle of November, 1636. and settled with Mr. Norton at Ipswich, with whom he continued to his death, which happened in the year 1655.

Of Mr.  
Whiteing.

About the same time went over Mr. Lambert Whiteing, M. A. a Lincolnshire Divine, who continued at Shirbeck near Boston, unmolested, till Bishop Williams's disgrace, after which he was silenced by the Spiritual Courts, and forced into New England, where he arrived with his Family this Summer, and continued an useful preacher to a little flock at Lynne till the year 1679. when he died in the eighty third year of his age.

1637.  
Second Suf-  
ferings of  
Mr. Prynne,  
Burton, and  
Bastwick.  
Rushw.  
Part 2d.  
p. 380.

The Star-Chamber and High Commission exceeded all the bounds not only of law and equity, but even of humanity itself. We have related the sufferings of Mr. Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick, in the year 1633. These Gentlemen being shut up in prison, were supposed to employ their time in writing against the Bishops and their Spiritual Courts: Bastwick was charged with a Book published 1636. entitled, "Apologeticus ad Præsules Anglicanos;" and with a Pamphlet called "the new Litany:" The others with two anonymous Books, one entitled, "A Divine Tragedy, containing a Catalogue of God's Judgments against Sabbath Breakers;" the other, "News from Ipswich." Which last was a satire upon the severe proceedings of Dr. Wren, Bishop of that Diocese. For these they were cited a second time into the Star Chamber, by virtue of an information laid against them by the Attorney General, "for writing and publishing seditious, schismatical, and libellous Books, against the Hierarchy of the Church, and to the scandal of the Government." The Defendants prepared their answers, but could not get Council to sign them; upon which they petition'd the Court to receive

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receive them from themselves, which would not be admitted : However, Prynne and Bastwick having no other remedy, left their answers at the Office, signed with their own hands, but were nevertheless proceeded against " Pro Confesso." Burton prevailed with Mr. Holt, a Benchet of Gray's Inn, to sign his answer ; but the Court ordered the two chief Justices to expunge what they thought unfit to be brought into Court, and they struck out the whole answer, except six lines at the beginning, and three or four at the end ; and because Mr. Burton would not acknowledge it thus purged, he was also taken " Pro Confesso."

In Bastwick's answer the Prelates are called " Invaders of the King's Prerogative, Contemnners and Despisers of the Holy Scriptures, advancers of Popery, Superstition, Idolatry and Profaneness ;" they are charged with " oppressing the King's loyal Subjects, and with great cruelty, tyranny and injustice." Mr. Prynne's answer reflected upon the Hierarchy, but in more moderate and cautious terms. All the Defendants offered to maintain their several answers, at the peril of their lives ; but the Court finding them not fil'd upon Record, would not receive them. The prisoners at the Bar cried aloud for Justice, and that their answers might be read ; but it was peremptorily denied, and the following sentence past upon them ; that " Mr. Burton be deprived of his living, and degraded from his Ministry, as Prynne and Bastwick had been from their professions of Law and Physick ; that each of them be fined five thousand Pounds ; that they stand in the Pillory at Westminster, and have their Ears cut off ; and because Mr. Prynne had already lost his Ears by sentence of the Court 1633. it was ordered, that the remainder of his stumps should be cut off, and that he should be stigmatized on both Cheeks with the Letters S. L. and then all three were to suffer perpetual imprisonment in the remotest prisons of the Kingdom." This sentence was executed upon them June 30th, the Hangman rather sawing the remainder of Prynne's Ears than cutting them off ; after which they were sent under a strong guard, one to the Castle of Launceston in Cornwall, another to the Castle of Lancaster, and a third to Carnarvan Castle in Wales ; but these prisons not being thought distant enough, they were afterwards shut up in the remote islands of Scilly, Guernsey, and Jersey, without pen, ink or paper, or the access of friends, where they continued till they were released by the Long Parliament.

Their Sentence.

At



King  
Charles I.  
1637.

Archbishop  
Laud's  
Speech in  
the Star-  
chamber.

At passing this sentence Archbishop Laud made a labour'd Speech to clear himself from the charge of Innovations, which the Puritans loaded him with. He begins with retorting the crime upon the Puritans, who were for setting aside the order of Bishops, whereas in all ages since the Apostles time the Church had been governed by Bishops, whose calling and order (in his Grace's opinion) was by divine right, the office of Lay Elders having never been heard of before Calvin. He then vindicates the particular Innovations complained of; as, 1. "Bowling towards the Altar, or at coming into the Church." This, he says, was the practice in Jewish times, Psalm xcvi. 6. "O come, let us worship, and bow down: Let us kneel before the Lord our Maker;" and yet the Government is so moderate, that no Man is forced to it, but only religiously called upon. "For my own part (says his Grace) I shall always think my self bound to worship with my Body as well as Soul, in what consecrated place soever I come to pray. You, my honoured Lords of the Garter, do reverence towards the Altar, as the greatest place of God's Residence upon Earth;" greater than the Pulpit, for there is only the Word of God, but upon the Altar is his Body; and a greater reverence is due to the Body than to the Word of the Lord; and this is no Innovation, for you are bound to it by your order, which is no new thing."

His Grace proceeds to consider the Alterations in the Collects and Prayers, which, he says, the Archbishop and Bishops to whom the ordering of the Fast Book was committed, had power under the King to make, provided nothing was inserted contrary to the doctrine or discipline of the Church of England; he then justifies the several amendments, and concludes most of his articles with shewing, that there is no connexion between the charge, and the popular clamour raised against him, of an intent to bring in Popery. But the several Innovations here mentioned being objected to the Archbishop at his trial, we shall defer our remarks to that place.

His Grace concludes with a protestation, that he had no design to alter the Religion established by law; but that his care to reduce the Church to order, to uphold the external decency of it, and to settle it to the rules of the first Reformation, had brought upon him and his brethren all that malicious storm that had lour'd so black over their heads. He then thanks the Court for their just and honourable censure of these Men, and for their defence of the Church; but be-  
cause

cause the business had some reference to himself, he forbears to censure them, leaving them to God's mercy and the King's Justice.

King Charles I.  
1637.

But notwithstanding this plausible Speech, which the King ordered to be printed, the barbarous sentence past upon these Gentlemen moved the compassion of the whole Nation. The three learned Faculties, of Law, Physick, and Divinity, took it to heart, as thinking their educations and professions might have secured them from such infamous punishments, proper enough for the poorest and most mechanick malefactors, who could make no other satisfaction to the publick for their offences, but very improper for persons of education, degrees, or quality. Nay, the report of this censure, and the smart execution of it, flew into Scotland, and the discourse was there, that they must also expect a Star Chamber to strengthen the hands of their Bishops, as well as an High Commission: "No doubt" (says Archbishop Laud) but there is a concurrence between them and the Puritan party in England, to destroy "me in the King's opinion."

The cruel Sentence disgusts the whole Nation.

Clarend.  
Vol. I. p. 94.

Rushw.  
p. 385.

But as cruel as this sentence was, Dr. Williams Bishop of Lincoln, and the Reverend Mr. Osbaldeston, chief Master of Westminster School, met with no less hardship. The Bishop had been Laud's very good friend, in persuading King James to advance him to a Bishoprick; but upon the accession of King Charles he turned upon his benefactor, and got him removed from all his preferments at Court; upon which Bishop Williams retired to his Diocese, and spent his time in reading, and in the well government of his Diocese; here he became popular, entertaining the Clergy at his table, and discoursing freely about affairs of Church and State. He spoke with some smartness against the new Ceremonies; and said once in conversation, "That the Puritans were the King's best Subjects, and he was sure would carry all at last; and that the King had told him, that he would treat the Puritans more mildly for the future." Laud being informed of this expression, caused an information to be lodged against him in the Star Chamber, for revealing the King's Secrets; but the charge not being well supported, a new Bill was exhibited against him, for tampering with the King's witnesses; and though there was very little ground for the charge, "His Lordship was suspended in the High Commission Court from all his offices and benefices; he was fined ten thousand pounds to the King: one thousand pounds to Sir John Mounson, and to be imprisoned in the Tower during the King's

Trial and Sentence of Bishop Williams.

Rushw.  
p. 817.

Rushw.  
p. 417.

King  
Charles I.  
1637.

“pleasure.” The Bishop was accordingly sent from the Bar to the Tower; all his rich goods and chattels, to an immense value, were plundered and sold, to pay the fine; his Library was seized, and all his papers and letters examined. Among his papers were found two or three letters writ to him by Mr. Osbaldeston about five years before, in which were some dark and obscure expressions, which the jealous Archbishop interpreted against himself and the Lord Treasurer Weston. Upon the foot of these letters a new bill was exhibited against the Bishop, for divulging scandalous Libels against the King’s Privy Counsellors. His Lordship replied, that he did not remember his having received the letters, but was sure he had never divulged them, because they were still among his private papers; but notwithstanding all he could say, he was condemned in another fine of eight thousand Pounds; five thousand to the King, and three thousand to the Archbishop; for the non-payment of which he was kept close prisoner in the Tower till the meeting of the Long Parliament.

Sentence of  
Mr. Osbal-  
deston.  
Rushw.  
p. 803, 817.

The Reverend Mr. Osbaldeston was charged “with plotting with the Bishop of Lincoln to divulge false news, and to breed a difference between the Lord Treasurer Weston and the Archbishop of Canterbury, as long ago as the year 1633.” The information was grounded upon the two letters already mentioned, in which he reports a misunderstanding between the great Leviathan and the little Urchin. And though the Counsel for the Defendant absolutely denied any reference to the Archbishop, and named the persons meant in the letter, yet “the Court fined him five thousand Pounds to the King, and five thousand Pounds to the Archbishop; to be deprived of all his spiritual Dignities and Promotions, to be imprisoned during the King’s pleasure, and to stand in the Pillory in the Dean’s Yard before his own school, and have his Ears nailed to it.” Mr. Osbaldeston being among the crowd in the Court when this sentence was pronounced, immediately went home to his study at Westminster School, and having burnt some papers, he absconded, leaving a note upon his desk with these words, “If the Archbishop inquire after me, tell him, I am gone beyond Canterbury.” The Messengers were soon at his house, and finding this note, sent immediately to the Sea-port towns to apprehend him, but he lay hid in a private house in Drury-Lane till the search was over, and then concealed himself till the meeting of the Long Parliament; however, all his goods and chat-  
tles



ties were seized and confiscated. This Mr. Osbaldeston was M. A. of Christ Church College, Oxford, and Prebendary of Westminster; he was an admirable Master, and had eighty Doctors in the two Universities that had been his scholars, before the year 1640; he was afterwards restored by the Long Parliament, but when he apprehended they went beyond the bounds of Duty and Allegiance, he laid down his School and favoured the Royal Cause.

King  
Charles I.  
1637.

Ath. Ox.  
p. 212.

Mr. Lilburne, afterwards a Colonel in the army, for refusing to take an Oath to answer all interrogatories concerning "his importing and publishing seditious Libels," was fined five hundred Pounds, and to be whipt through the streets from the Fleet to the pillory before Westminster-Hall Gate, April 8th, 1638. While he was in the pillory he uttered many bold and passionate speeches against the tyranny of the Bishops; whereupon the Court of Star Chamber, then sitting, ordered him to be gagged, which was done accordingly; and that when he was carried back to prison, he should be laid alone, with irons on his hands and legs, in the wards of the Fleet, where the basest of the prisoners used to be put, and that no person should be admitted to see him. Here he continued in a most forlorn and miserable condition till the meeting of the Long Parliament.

And of Mr.  
Lilburne.

In the midst of all these dangers the Puritan Clergy spoke freely against their oppressors. Dr. Cornelius Burges, in a Latin Sermon before the Clergy of London, preached against the severities of the Bishops, and refusing to give his Diocesan a copy of his Sermon, he was put into the High Commission. Mr. Wharton of Essex preached with the same freedom at Chelmsford, for which ('tis said) he made his submission. Several Pamphlets were dispersed against the proceedings of the ecclesiastical Courts, which the Bishop of London said he had reason to believe were writ, or countenanced by the Clergy of his own Diocese. Many private gentlemen in Suffolk maintained Lecturers at their own expence, without consulting the Bishop, who complained that they were factious, and did not govern themselves according to the Canons; but, says his Lordship [Wren] "What shall I do with such scholars, some in Orders, and others not, which Gentlemen of figure entertain in their houses, under pretence of teaching their children? And with those beneficed Divines, who take shelter in the houses of the rich Laity, and do not live upon their Cures?" Here was the Puritans last retreat; those that

Courage of  
the Puri-  
tans.

Russw.  
p. 467.

King  
Charles I.  
1637.

were not willing to go abroad found entertainment in Gentlemens families, and from thence annoyed the enemy with their Pamphlets. Even the populace, that were not capable of writing books, expressed their resentments against the Archbishop, by dispersing libels about the town, in which they threatned his destruction. His Grace has entered some of them in his Diary.

Libels dispersed against the Archbishop.

“ Wednesday, Aug. 23. my Lord Mayor sent me a Libel, found by the watch at the fourth gate of St. Paul’s, that the Devil had left that house to me.

“ Aug. 25. Another Libel was brought me by an officer of the High Commission, fastened to the north gate of St. Paul’s, that the government of the Church of England is a Candle in a Snuff, going out in a Stench.

“ The same night the Lord Mayor sent me another Libel, hanged upon the standard in Cheapside, which was my Speech in the Star Chamber set in the Pillory.

“ A few days after another short Libel was sent him in verse.”

But none of these things abated his zeal, or relaxed his rigor, against those who censured his arbitrary proceedings.

Prefs restrained.

It was impossible to debate things fairly in publick, because the Prefs was absolutely at his Grace’s disposal, according to a new decree of the Star Chamber made this summer, which ordains, that “ No book be printed unless it be first licensed with all its titles, epistles, and prefaces, by the Archbishop, or Bishop of London for the time being, or by their appointment; and within the limits of the University, by the Chancellor or Vice-Chancellor, on pain of the printer’s being disabled from his profession for the future, and to suffer such other punishment as the High Commission shall think fit. That before any books imported from abroad be sold, a catalogue of them shall be delivered to the Archbishop, or Bishop of London, to be perused by themselves or their Chaplains. And if there be any schismatical, or offensive books, they shall be delivered up to the Bishop, or to the High Commission, that the offenders may be punished. It was further ordained, that no person shall print beyond sea any English book or books, whereof the greatest part is English, whether formerly printed or not; nor shall any book be reprinted, though formerly licensed, without a new license. And finally, if any per-

“ son

“ son that is not an allowed Printer, shall set up a printing Press, he shall be set in the Pillory, and be whipt through the Streets of London.”

King Charles I.  
1637.

These terrible proceedings did no Service to Church, or State, but awakened the resentments of all ranks and professions of Men, against those in power: The Laity were as uneasy as the Clergy, many of whom sold their effects, and removed with their families and trades into Holland or New England. This alarmed the King and Council, who issued out a Proclamation, April 30th, 1637, as to the following purpose. “—— The King being informed, that great Numbers of his Subjects were yearly transported into New England with their Families and whole Estates, That they might be out of the reach of Ecclesiastical Authority ;” his Majesty therefore commands, that his Officers of the several Ports should suffer none to pass, without license from the Commissioners of the Plantations, and a testimonial from their Minister, of their conformity to the orders and discipline of the Church.” And to bar the Ministers, the following order of Council was published.

Further Severities.  
King forbids the Laity to go out of the Kingdom without a License.  
Rushw.  
P. 409.

“ **W**Hereas it is observed, that such Ministers who are unconformable to the discipline and ceremonies of the Church, do frequently transport themselves to the Plantations, where they take liberty to nourish their factious and schismatical humours, to the hindrance of good conformity and unity of the Church ; we therefore expressly command you, in his Majesty’s Name, to suffer no Clergyman to transport himself without a Testimonial from the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of London.”

And the Ministers.  
Ibid p. 410.

This was a degree of severity hardly to be paralleled in the Christian World. When the Ediēt of Nantz was revoked, the French King allowed his Protestant Subjects a convenient time to dispose of their effects and leave the Kingdom ; but our Protestant Archbishop will neither let the Puritans live peaceably at home, nor take Sanctuary in foreign Countries ; a conduct hardly consistent with the laws of humanity, much less with the character of a Christian Bishop ; but while his Grace was running things to these extremities, the people (as has been observed) took a general disgust, and almost all England became Puritan.

Remarks.



King  
Charles I.  
1637.

Approach  
of the Cler-  
gy towards  
Popery.

Differences  
between the  
two Church-  
es lessened.  
Rushw. p.  
Part. 1.  
p. 209.

Uninterrupt-  
ed Successi-  
on of Bi-  
shops.

Invocation  
of Saints.  
Rushw. p.  
210.

The Mass  
and real  
Presence.

Collyer, p.  
742.

The Bishops and Courtiers being not insensible of the number and weight of their Enemies among the more resolved Protestants, determined to balance their Power by joining with the Papists; for which purpose the difference between the two Churches were said to be trifling, and the peculiar Doctrines of Popery were printed and preached up as proper to be received by the Church of England. Bishop Montague speaking of the points of Faith and Morality affirmed, that none of these are controverted between us, but that "the points in dispute were of a lesser nature, of which a Man might be ignorant without any danger of Salvation." Franciscus de Clara, an eminent Franciscan Friar, published a Book, wherein he endeavoured to accomodate the Articles of the Church of England to the sense of the Church of Rome, so that both parties might subscribe them. The Book was dedicated to the King, and the Friar admitted to an acquaintance with the Archbishop.

Great stress was laid upon the uninterrupted Succession of the Episcopal Character through the Church of Rome; "For miserable were we (says Dr. Pocklington) if he that now sits Archbishop of Cantebury could not derive his Succession from St. Austin, St. Austin from St. Gregory, and St. Gregory from St. Peter." Dr. Heylin, in his moderate Answer to Mr. Burton, has these words, "That my Lord of Canterbury that now is, is lineally descended from St. Peter in a most fair and constant Tenor of Succession, you shall easily find, if you consult the learned Labours of Mason de Ministerio Anglicano."

Bishop Montague published a Treatise, Of the Invocation of Saints, in which he says, "That departed Saints have not only a Memory, but a more peculiar charge of their Friends; and that some Saints have a peculiar Patronage, Custody, Protection and Power, as Angels have also, over certain Persons and Countries by special deputation; and that it is not impiety so to believe." Dr. Cosins says in one of his Sermons, "That when our Reformers took away the Mass they marred all Religion, but that the Mass was not taken away, in as much as the real Presence of Christ remained still, otherwise it were not a reformed, but a deformed Religion." And in order to persuade a Papist to come to Church, he told him, "That the Body of Christ was substantially and really in the Sacrament." This Divine printed a collec-

tion

tion of private Devotions, in imitation of the Roman Horary. The Frontispiece had the three Capital Letters J. H. S. upon these there was a Cross incircled with the Sun, supported by two Angels, with two devout Women praying towards it. The Book contains the Apostle's Creed, the Lord's Prayer divided into seven Petitions, the Precepts of Charity, the seven Sacraments, the three Theological Virtues, the eight Beatitudes, the seven deadly Sins; with Forms of Prayers for the first, third, sixth, and ninth hours, and for the Vespers and Compline, formerly called the Canonical Hours; then followed the Litany, with Prayers for the Sacrament, in time of sickness, and at the approach of Death. This Book was licensed by the Bishop of London, and publickly sold, when the Books of the most resolved Protestants were suppressed.

King  
Charles I.  
1637.

Mr. Adams, in a Sermon preached at St. Mary's in Cambridge, asserted the expediency of Auricular Confession, saying, "It was as necessary to Salvation as meat is to the Body." Others preached up "the Doctrine of Penance, and of authoritative, priestly Absolution for Sin." Some maintained the proper Merit of good Works, in opposition to the received Doctrine of "Justification by Faith alone." Others, that in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper there was a full and proper Sacrifice for Sin. Some declared for Images, Crucifixes, and Pictures in Churches; for Purgatory, and for preserving, reverencing, and even praying to the Reliques of Saints. The Author of the English Pope, printed 1643. says, that Sparrow paved the way for Auricular Confession, Watts for Penance, Heylin for Altar Worship, Montague for Saint Worship, and Laud for the Mass.

Merit and  
Auricular  
Confession,  
&c.  
Rushw. p.  
137.  
Prynne, p.  
195, &c.

It was a very just observation of a Venetian Gentleman in his Travels to England about this time, "That the Universities, Bishops and Divines of England, daily embraced Catholick Doctrines, though they professed them not with open Mouth: They held that the Church of Rome was a true Church; that the Pope was superior to all Bishops; that to him it pertained to call general Councils; that it was lawful to pray for Souls departed; and, that Altars ought to be erected in all Churches; in sum, they believed all that was taught by the Church of Rome, not by the Court of Rome."

Remarks.  
May's Hist.  
of Parl.

Remarkable are the words of Heylin to the same purpose, "The greatest Part of the Controversy between us and the Church of Rome, (says he) not being in Fundamentals,

Fuller's  
Appeal,  
Part 3d.  
p. 63, 65.

King  
Charles I.  
1637.

Design to  
unite the  
two  
Churches.

“mentals, or in any essential points of the Christian Religion, I cannot otherwise look upon it but as a most Christian and Pious Work, to endeavour an Atonement in the Superstructure; as to the Lawfulness of it, I could never see any reason produced against it: Against the impossibility of it, it has been objected, that the Church of Rome will yield nothing; if therefore there be an agreement, it must not be their meeting us, but our going to them; but that all in the Church of Rome are not stiff, appears from the Testimony of the Archbishop of Spalato, who acknowledged that the Articles of the Church of England were not heretical, and by the Treatise of Franciscus de Clara. Now, if without prejudice to Truth, the Controversies might be composed, it is most probable, that other Protestant Churches would have sued to be included in the peace; if not, the Church of England will lose nothing by it, as being hated by the Calvinists, and not loved by the Lutherans.” This was the ridiculous court Scheme which Archbishop Laud used all his Interest to accomplish; and it is no impertinent story to our present purpose, because it is well attested, that a certain Countess (whose Husband’s Father the Archbishop had married, and thereby brought himself into trouble) having turned Papist, was asked by the Archbishop the Cause of her changing, to whom she replied, “It was because she always hated to go in a crowd.” Being asked again the reason of that expression, she answered, “That she perceived his Grace, and many others, were making haste to Rome, and therefore to prevent going in a press, she had gone before them.”

Fuller’s  
Appeal,  
p. 61.

Laws against  
Papists  
suspended.

’Tis certain the Papists were in high reputation at Court; the King counted them his best Subjects, and relaxed the penal Laws, on pretence, “that hereby foreign Catholick Princes might be induced to shew favour to their Subjects of the Reformed Religion.” Within the compass of four years seventy four Letters of Grace were signed by the King’s own Hand; sixty four Priests were dismissed from the Gate-House, and twenty nine by Warrant from the Secretary of State, at the instance of the Queen, the Queen Mother, or some foreign Ambassador. Protections were frequently granted to put a stop to the proceedings of the Courts of Justice against them. I have before me a list of Popish Recusants convicted in the twenty nine English

Foxes and  
Firebrands,  
Part 3d.  
p. 75.  
Ruthw. p.  
284.



English counties of the southern division, from the first of King Charles to the sixteenth, which amounts to no less than eleven thousand nine hundred and seventy, (as the account was brought into the long Parliament, by Mr. John Pulford, employ'd in their prosecution by the King himself) all of whom were released and pardon'd. And if their numbers were so great in the South, how must they abound in the northern and Welch counties, where they are computed three to one!

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Many were promoted to places of the highest honour and trust; Sir Richard Weston was Lord High Treasurer, Sir Francis Windebank Secretary of State, Lord Cottington was Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Mr. Porter of the Bed-Chamber; besides these, there was Lord Conway, Sir Kenelm Digby, Sir Toby Mathews, Mr. Montague, jun. the Dutchess of Montague, the Countess of Newport, and many others, all Papists, who were in high favour, and had the King and Queen's ear whensoever they pleased. The Pope had a nuncio in England, and the Queen an Agent at Rome, Cardinal Barberini was made Protector of the English Nation, and a society was erected under the title of the Congregation for propagating the Faith. Richard Smith, titular Bishop of Chalcedon, exercised episcopal jurisdiction over the English Catholics, by commission from the Pope; he conferr'd orders, and appeared in Lancashire with his mitre and crozier; Seignior Con, or Cuncæus, the Pope's legate, gain'd over several of the gentry, and attempted the King himself, by presents of little popish toys and pictures, with which his Majesty was wonderfully delighted. The Papists had a common purse, with which they purchased several monopolies, and bestowed the profits upon their best friends; several of their military men were put into Commission, and great numbers were listed in his Majesty's Armies against the Scots.

They are  
favoured  
and promoted  
at  
Court.

Their  
Numbers  
and Influ-  
ence.  
Fuller,  
B. XI.  
p. 135,  
137.  
Prynne,  
p. 198.  
Foxes and  
Firebrands,  
Part. 3d.  
p. 124.  
Collyer,  
p. 781.

But let the reader form his judgment of the numbers and strength of the Roman Catholics, from Lord Clarendon, who says, "The papists had for many years enjoyed a great calm, being on the matter absolved from the severest parts of the law, and dispensed with for the gentlest. They were grown to be a part of the Revenue, without any probable danger of being made a sacrifice to the law. They were looked upon as good subjects at Court, and good neighbours in the Country; all the restraints and reproaches of former times being forgotten: But they were not prudent managers of their prosperity, being

Lord Cla-  
rendon's  
Account of  
them.

Vol. I.  
p. 148.

"elated

King  
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" elated with the connivance and protection they re-  
 " ceived; and though I am persuaded their numbers en-  
 " creased not, their pomp and boldness did to that degree,  
 " that, as if they affected to be thought dangerous to the  
 " State, they appeared more publicly, entertained, and  
 " urged conferences more avowedly than had before been  
 " known. They resorted at common hours to Mass to  
 " Somerset House, and returned thence in great multitudes  
 " with the same barefacedness as others come from the  
 " Savoy, or other neighbouring Churches. They attempt-  
 " ed, and sometimes gained Profelytes, of weak uninfor-  
 " med ladies, with such circumstances as provoked the rage,  
 " and destroyed the charity of great and powerful families,  
 " which longed for their suppression; they grew not only  
 " secret contrivers, but publick protest promoters of, and  
 " Ministers in the most odious, and most grievous projects,  
 " as in that of soap, formed, framed and executed by al-  
 " most a corporation of that religion, which under that  
 " licence and notion might be, and were suspected to be  
 " qualified for other agitations. The Priests, and such as  
 " were in Orders (Orders that in themselves were punish-  
 " able with death) were departed from their former mo-  
 " desty and Fear, and were as willing to be known as to be  
 " hearken'd to; insomuch, that a Jesuit at Paris, who was  
 " coming for England, had the boldness to visit the Am-  
 " bassador there, who knew him to be such, and offering  
 " him his service, acquainted him with his journey, as if  
 " there had been no laws there for his Reception; and for  
 " the most invidious protection and countenance of that  
 " whole party, a publick Agent from Rome, first Mr. Con,  
 " a Scottish Man, and after him the Count of Rosetti an  
 " Italian) resided in London in great pomp, publicly vi-  
 " sited the Court, and was avowedly resorted to by the  
 " Catholicks of all conditions, over whom he assumed a  
 " particular jurisdiction, and was caressed, and presented  
 " magnificently by the Ladies of Honour, who enclined  
 " to that profession. They had likewise with more noise  
 " and vanity, than prudence would have admitted, made  
 " publick collections of Money to a considerable sum,  
 " upon some recommendations from the Queen, and to  
 " be by her Majesty presented, as a free-will offering  
 " from his Roman Catholick subjects to the King, for  
 " the carrying on the War against the Scots; which  
 " drew upon them the rage of that nation, with little  
 " devotion

“ devotion and reverence to the Queen herself, as if  
 “ she desired to suppress the Protestant Religion in one  
 “ Kingdom as well as the other, by the Arms of the  
 “ Roman Catholicks.”

King  
 Charles I.  
 1637.

From this account, compared with the foregoing relation, 'tis evident, there never was a stronger combination in favour of Popery, nor was the Protestant Religion at any time in a more dangerous Crisis, being deserted by its pretended friends, while it was secretly undermining by its most powerful enemies.

The Case was the same with the civil liberties and Properties of the people; no man had any thing that he could call his own, any longer than the King pleased; for in the famous trial of Mr. Hampden of Buckinghamshire, in the Case of Ship-Money, all the Judges of England, except Crook and Hutton, gave it for Law, “ That the King  
 “ might levy taxes on the subject, by writ under the Great Seal, without grant of Parliament, in Cases of Necessity; or  
 “ when the kingdom was in danger, of which danger and  
 “ necessity his Majesty was the sole and final Judge; and  
 “ that by Law his Majesty might compel the doing there-  
 “ of in case of refusal or refractoriness. This determination was enter'd in all the Courts of Westminster; and the Judges were commanded to declare it in their Circuits throughout the kingdom, to the end that no man might plead ignorance. “ The damage and mischief cannot be  
 “ expressed (says Lord Clarendon) that the Crown sustain-  
 “ ed by the deserved reproach and infamy that attended this  
 “ behaviour of the Judges, who out of their courtship sub-  
 “ mitted the grand questions of law to be measured by  
 “ what they call the Standard of general reason and neces-  
 “ sity.” While these extraordinary methods of raising Money were built only upon the prerogative, people were more patient, hoping that some time or other the law would take place; but when they were declared by all the judges to be the very Law itself, and a rule for determining suits between the King and Subject, they were struck with despair, and concluded very justly that Magna Charta, and the old English Constitution, was at an end.

The Civil  
 Liberties  
 of England  
 destroy'd.  
 Rapin, p.  
 302.

Vol. I.  
 P. 70.

Let the reader now recollect himself, and then judge of the candor of the noble Historian, who, notwithstanding the cruel persecutions and oppressions already mentioned, celebrates the felicity of these Times in the following words; “ Now after all this I must be so just as to say, that from  
 “ the dissolution of the Parliament in the fourth year of

L. Clarendon's Representation of the Times, Vol. I. p. 74, 76.

“ the



King  
Charles I.  
1637.

“ the King, to the beginning of the long Parliament,  
 “ which was about twelve years, this kingdom, and all his  
 “ Majesty’s Dominions, enjoy’d the greatest calm, and the  
 “ fullest measure of felicity that any people, in any age,  
 “ for so long time together have been blessed with, to the  
 “ wonder and envy of all other parts of Christendom——  
 “ the Court was in great plenty, or rather excess and lux-  
 “ ury, the country rich and full, enjoying the pleasure of  
 “ its own Wealth ; the Church flourished with learned and  
 “ extraordinary men ; and the Protestant Religion was  
 “ more advanced against the Church of Rome, by the  
 “ Writings of Archbishop Laud and Chillingworth, than  
 “ it had been since the Reformation——trade encreased  
 “ to that degree, that we were the exchange of Christen-  
 “ dom——Foreign Merchants looking upon nothing so  
 “ much their own as what they had laid up in the Ware-  
 “ houses of this kingdom——The reputation of the great-  
 “ ness and power of the King with foreign Princes was  
 “ much more than any of his Progenitors. And Lastly,  
 “ For a complement of all these blessings, they were enjoy-  
 “ ed under the protection of a King of the most harmless  
 “ disposition, the most exemplary piety, and the greatest  
 “ sobriety, chastity, and mercy, that any Prince had been  
 “ endowed with, and who might have said that which  
 “ Pericles was proud of upon his death-bed, concerning  
 “ his Citizens, That no English Man had worn a mourn-  
 “ ing Gown through his occasion. In a word, many wise  
 “ men thought it a time wherein those two adjuncts, Impe-  
 “ rium and Libertas were as well reconciled as possible.”

Remarks.

Not a line of this Panegyrick will bear examination.  
 When his Lordship says, “ That no people in any Age had  
 “ been blessed with so great a calm, and such a full measure  
 “ of felicity for so long a time together [twelve years], he  
 seems to have undervalued the long and pacifick reign of his  
 Majesty’s Royal Father, King James, who was distin-  
 guish’d by the title of Blessed. But where was the  
 Liberty or Safety of the Subject, when Magna Charta,  
 and the Petition of Right, which the King had signed  
 in full Parliament, were swallowed up in the gulph of  
 arbitrary Power ? And the statute laws of the land were ex-  
 changed for a Rule of Government depending upon the  
 Sovereign will and pleasure of the King ? If the Court  
 was in Excess and Luxury, it was with the plunder of  
 the people, arising from loans, benevolences, ship-money,  
 Mono-

King  
Charles I.  
1637.

Monopolies, and other illegal taxes on merchandize. The Country was so far from growing rich and wealthy, that it was every year draining of its inhabitants and substance, as appears not only by the loss of the foreign manufacturers, but by his Majesty's proclamations, forbidding any of his subjects to transport themselves and their effects to New England without his special license. Was it possible that Trade could flourish, when almost every branch of it was monopolized, and sold by the Crown, for large sums of money, and when the property of the subject was so precarious, that the King might call for it upon any occasion, and in case of refusal ruin the proprietor by exorbitant fines and imprisonment? Did no Englishman wear a mourning gown in these times, when the Seldens, the Hollis's, the Elliots, the Strouds, the Hobarts, the Valentines, the Coritons, and other Patriots of their country, were taken out of the Parliament house, and shut up for many years in close prisons, where some of them perished? How many of the Nobility and Gentry were punished with exorbitant fines in the Star Chamber? How many hundred Ministers, and others, were ruined in the High Commission, or forced from their native country into banishment, contrary to law? The gaols in the several counties were never free from State or Church prisoners, during the last twelve years of his Majesty's reign, and yet it seems "No Englishman wore a Mourning Gown through his occasion?" Is it possible to believe, "that the reputation of the Greatness and Power of King Charles I. with foreign Princes, (however harmless, pious, sober, chaste and merciful he might be) was equal to that of Queen Elizabeth or King Henry VIII?" What service did he do, by his arms or counsels for the Protestant Religion, or for the good of Europe? When his Majesty's affairs were in the greatest distress, what Credit had he abroad? Or, where was the foreign Prince (except his own Son in law) that would lend him either men or money? "If the Protestant Religion was advanced in speculation by "the writings of Archbishop Laud and Chillingworth;" is it not sufficiently evident, that the Roman Catholics were prodigiously increased in numbers, reputation and influence? Upon the whole, the people of England were so far from enjoying a full measure of Felicity, that they groaned under the yoke of the heaviest Oppression, and were prepared to lay hold of any opportunity to throw it off; so that to make his Lordship's account of the Times consistent with truth,

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truth, or with his own behaviour in the beginning of the Long Parliament, one is almost tempted to suspect it must have received some amendments or colourings from the hands of his Editors. This was the state of affairs at the end of the pacifick part of this Reign, and forwards to the beginning of the Long Parliament.

# C H A P. VI.

From the beginning of the commotions in Scotland, to the Long Parliament in the year 1640.

**W**E are now entring upon a scene of calamity which opened in the North, and in a few years, like a rising tempest, overspread both Kingdoms, and involved them in all the miseries of a Civil War. If Archbishop Laud could have been content with being Metropolitan of the Church of England, he might have gone to his grave in peace, but grasping at the jurisdiction of another Church, founded upon different Principles, he pulled down both upon his head, and was buried in the ruins.

We have mentioned the preposterous publishing the Scots Book of Canons, a year before their Liturgy, which was not finished till the month of October, 1636. His Majesty's reasons for compiling it were, that "his Royal Father had intended it, and made a considerable progress in the work, in order to curb such of his subjects in Scotland as were inclined to Puritanism; that his present Majesty resolved to pursue the same design, and therefore consented to the publication of this book (which was in substance the same with the English Liturgy) that the Roman party might not upbraid us with any material differences, and yet it was so far distinct, that it might be truly reputed a book of that Church's composing, and established by his Royal Authority as King of Scotland."

The compilers of this Liturgy were chiefly Dr. Weederburne, a Scots Divine, beneficed in England, but now Bishop of Dunblain, and Dr. Maxwell, Bishop of Ross. Their instructions from England were, to keep such catholic Saints in their Calendar as were in the English, and that such New Saints as were added should be the most approved, but in no case to omit St. George and St. Patrick. That in the book of Orders, those words in the

English

Rushw.  
p. 386.

Scots Li-  
urgy.



English book be not changed, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost;" and that sundry lessons out of the Apocrypha be inserted; besides these, the word *Præbyter* was inserted instead of *Priest*; and the water in the Font for baptism was to be consecrated. There was a Benediction or thanksgiving for departed Saints; some passages in the Communion were altered, in favour of the Real Presence; the Rubricks contained instructions to the people, when to stand, and when to sit or kneel; all which the Scots were strangers to. The main parts of the Liturgy were the same with the English, that there might be an appearance of Uniformity. It was revised, corrected, and altered by Archbishop Laud and Bishop Wren, as appeared by the original found in the Archbishop's chamber in the Tower, in which the alterations were inserted with his own hand.

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The Liturgy thus modelled was sent into Scotland, with a Royal Proclamation, dated December 12, 1636. commanding all his Majesty's loving subjects of that Kingdom to receive it with reverence, "as the only Form his Majesty thinks fit to be used in that Kirk," without so much as laying it before a Convocation, Synod, general Assembly, or Parliament of that Nation. It was appointed to be read first on Easter Sunday, 1637, against which time all Parishes were to be provided with two books at least; but the outcries of the people against it were so great, that it was thought adviseable to delay it to the 23d. of July, that the Lords of the Session, [or Judges] might see the success of it before the rising of the Term, which always ends the first of August, in order to report in their several counties, the peaceable receiving the Book at Edinburgh and parts adjacent. The Archbishop of St. Andrew's, with some of his more prudent brethren, foreseeing the disorders that would arise, advised the deferring it yet longer; but Archbishop Laud was so much of a different mind, that he procured a Warrant from the King, commanding the Scots Bishops to go forward at all events, threatening, that if they moved heavily, or threw in unnecessary delays, the King would remove them, and fill their Sees with Churchmen of more zeal and Resolution.

Imposed by  
the Prero-  
gative.

In obedience therefore to the Royal Command, notice having been given in all the Pulpits of Edinburgh, that the Sunday following [July 23.] the new Service-book would be read in all the Churches, there was a vast concourse of People

Occasions  
Tumults.

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Charles I.  
1637.

People at St. Giles's or the Great Church, where both the Archbishops, and divers Bishops, together with the Lords of the Session, the Magistrates of Edinburgh, and many of the Council were assembled; but as soon as the Dean began to read, the Service was interrupted by clapping of hands, and an hideous noise among the meaner sort of people at the lower end of the Church, which the Bishop of Edinburgh observing, stept into the pulpit, and endeavoured to quiet them, but the disturbance encreasing, a stool was thrown towards the Desk; upon which the Provost and Bailiffs of the city came from their places, and with much difficulty thrust out the populace and shut the Church doors; but such were the clamours from without, rapping at the doors, and throwing stones at the windows, that it was with much difficulty that the Dean went through with the service; and when he and the Bishop came out of Church in their Habits, they were in danger of being torn in pieces by the mob, who followed them, crying out, "Pull them down, A Pape, A Pape, " Antichrist, &c."

Between the two Sermons the Magistrates took proper measures for keeping the peace in the afternoon, but after evening prayer the tumult was greater than in the morning; for the Earl of Roxborough returning to his lodgings with the Bishop in his coach, was so pelted with stones, and pressed upon by the multitude, that both were in danger of their lives. The Clergy that read the Liturgy in the other Churches met with the like usage, insomuch that the whole city was in an uproar; but it did not yet appear, that any besides the meaner people were concerned in it; however, the Lords of the Council thought proper to dispense with reading the service next Sunday, till their Express returned from England with further instructions, which Laud dispatched with all expedition, telling them, "It was the King's firm resolution that they should go on with their work;" and blaming them highly for suspending it.

Reasons  
against it.

Among the Ministers that opposed reading the Liturgy, were the Reverend Mr. Ramsay, Mr. Rollock, Mr. Henderson, Mr. Hamilton, and Mr. Bruce, who were charged with letters of Horning for their disobedience. But they stood by what they had done, and in their petition to the Council gave the following reasons for their conduct; "(1.) Because the Service Book had not been warranted by a general Assembly, which is the representative body of the Kirk, nor by any Act of Parliament. (2.) Because the  
" Liberties

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“ liberties of the Scots Kirk, and the form of worship received at the Reformation, and universally practised, stood still warranted by Acts of the General Assembly, and Acts of Parliament. (3.) Because the Kirk of Scotland is a free and independent Kirk, and therefore her own Pastors are the proper judges what is most for her benefit. (4.) Some of the Ceremonies contained in this Book have occasioned great divisions in the Kirk, for as much as they are inconsistent with the form of worship practised in it, and symbolize with the Kirk of Rome, which is Antichristian. (5.) Because the people having been otherwise taught, are unwilling to receive the new Book till they are better convinced.” These reasons were of weight with the Council, but they durst not shew favour to the prisoners without allowance from England, which could not be obtained; for the zealous Archbishop stopt his Ears against all gentle methods of accommodation, hoping to bear down all opposition with the Royal Authority.

While the Country people were busy at harvest, things were pretty quiet, but when that was over they came to Edinburgh in great numbers, and raised new disturbances, upon which the Council issued out three Proclamations; one for the people that came out of the Country, to return home; a second for removing the Session or Term from Edinburgh to Linlithgow; and a third for calling in, and burning a seditious Pamphlet, called “ a Discourse against the English Popish Ceremonies, obtruded on the Kirk of Scotland; all which were dated October 17th 1637.” These Proclamations inflamed the people to such a degree, that the very next day, the Bishop of Galloway would have been torn in pices by the Mob, as he was going to the Council House, if he had not been rescued by Mr. Steward; but missing of his Lordship they beset the Council House, and threaten’d to break open the door; in so much that the Lords who were assembled were obliged to send for some of the popular Nobility in Town to their relief; but the people would not disperse till the Council had promised to join with the other Lords in petitioning the King against the Service Book, and to restore the silenced Ministers.

Rushw.  
p. 400.

Soon after this two Petitions were presented to the Lord Chancellor and Council against the Liturgy and Canons; one in the name of all the Men, Women, Children, and Servants of Edinburgh; and the other in the name of the

Petitions  
against it.



f King  
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Noblemen, Barons, Gentry, Ministers and Burgeffes. Their objections againſt them were the ſame with thoſe already mentioned. The Petitions were transmitted to the King, who inſtead of returning a ſoft answer, ordered a Proclamation to be publiſhed from Sterlin [Feb. 19.] againſt the late diſorderly tumults, in which, after having declared his abhorrence of all Superſtition and Popery, he expreſſed his diſpleaſure againſt the Petitioners; and to prevent any further Riots, ordered the Term or Seſſion to be removed from Linlithgow to Sterlin, twenty four miles from Edinburgh, with a ſtrict injunction, that no ſtranger ſhould reſort thither without ſpecial liſenſe. His Maſteſty alſo forbid all Aſſemblies, or Convocations of people, to frame or ſign Petitions, upon pain of High Treafon, and yet declared at the ſame time, that he would not ſhut his ears againſt them, if neither the form nor matter were prejudicial to his Royal Authority.

Ruſhw.  
p. 731.

And a Pro-  
teſtation.

Upon publiſhing this Proclamation ſundry Noblemen, Barons, Miniſters and Burghers, met together, and ſigned the following Proteſt, 1. " That it is the undoubted " Right of the Subjects of Scotland, to have immediate " Recourſe to the King by Petition. 2. That Archbiſhops " and Biſhops ought not to ſit in any Judicatory in this " Kingdom Civil or Eccleſiaſtical, till they have purged " themſelves of thoſe crimes which are ready to be proved " againſt them. 3. That no Proclamation of Council, in " preſence of the Archbiſhops or Biſhops, ſhall be pre- " judicial to any of our proceedings. 4. That neither we, " nor any that adhere to us, ſhall incur any damages for " not obſerving the Liturgy, or Book of Canons, " as " long as it is not eſtabliſhed by General Aſſembly, or Act " of Parliament." 5. That if any inconvenience fall out " (which God prevent) upon preſſing the late Innovations, " we declare the ſame is not to be imputed to us. 6. That " all our proceedings in this affair have no other Tendency " but the preſervation of the true reformed Religion, and " the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom."

They erect  
Tables.  
Ruſhw. p.  
734.

The Council being apprehenſive of danger from theſe large Aſſemblies and Combinations of People, agreed, that if they would return peaceable to their Houſes, they might appoint ſome of their number of all Ranks and Orders to repreſent the reſt, till his Maſteſty's pleaſure concerning their Proteſt ſhould be further known. Accordingly four Tables, as they were called, were erected at Edinburgh; one of

of the Nobility, another of the Gentry, a third of the Burroughs, and a fourth of the Ministers. These prepared and digested matters for the General Table, formed of Commissioners, from the other four, where the last and binding Resolutions were taken.

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1637.

One of the first things concluded upon by the Tables, was the “renewing their Confession of Faith, and the Solemn League and Covenant,” subscribed by King James and his Royal Household, March 2, 1580-1, and by the whole Scots Nation in the year 1590; with a general band for maintenance of true Religion, and the King’s Person. To this Covenant was now added a Narrative of sundry Acts of Parliament, by which the Reformed Religion had been ratified since that time, with an admonition, wherein the late Innovations were renounced, and a band of Defence for adhering to each other in the present Cause.

1638.  
And renew  
their solemn  
League and  
Covenant.  
Nalson’s  
Collect. p.  
20.

In their Covenant they declare in the most solemn manner, “That they believe with their Hearts, confess with their Mouths, and subscribe with their Hands, that the Confession of Faith then established by Act of Parliament is the true Christian Faith and Religion, and the only ground of their Salvation.—They further declare their abhorrence of all kinds of Papistry in general, and then enumerate sundry particulars of popish Doctrine, Discipline, and Ceremonies, as the Pope’s pretended Primacy over the Christian Church; “his five Bastard Sacraments, the Doctrine of Transubstantiation—the Mass, Purgatory—Prayers for the Dead, and in an unknown Language—Justification by Works—Auricular Confession—Crosses, Images, Altars, dedicating of Kirks, with all other Rites, Signs, and Traditions, brought into the Kirk without, or contrary to the Word of God.” All which they promise to oppose to the utmost of their power, and to defend the ancient doctrine and discipline of their Kirk all the days of their lives, under the pains contained in the law, and danger both of body and soul, in the day of God’s fearful judgment, protesting, and calling the searcher of all Hearts to witness, that their Minds and Hearts do fully agree with this their Confession, Promises, Oath and Subscriptions. They protest, and promise under the same oath, hand-writing, and pains, to defend the King’s Royal Person and Authority, with their Goods, Bodies, and Lives, in defence of Christ’s Gospel, the Liberties of their Country, the administration of Justice, and punishment

King  
Charles I.  
1638.

“ of iniquity against all his Enemies within the Realm and  
“ without; and this they do from their very Hearts, as  
“ they hope God will be their defence in the day of death,  
“ and the coming of the Lord Jesus Christ. To whom  
“ with the Father and the Holy Spirit, be all honour and  
“ glory eternally.”

The Band  
of Defence.

Then follows a recital of the Acts of Parliament, by which the reformed Religion was established among them. But instead of the band of Defence annexed to the Covenant of 1580, they framed a new one, suited to the present time, in which, after reciting the King's Coronation Oath, they declare, “ That as they will defend the King's Royal  
“ Person and Authority, they will also support the authority of Parliaments, upon which the security of their  
“ Lands, Livings, Rights and Properties, depend, and  
“ without which neither any law, nor lawful Judicatory, can be established. They declare the late Innovations brought into the Kirk to be contrary to the doctrine and discipline of it, and contrary to the Covenant above-mentioned, and therefore they will forbear the practice of them till they are tried, and allowed in a free Assembly, and in Parliament; and not only so, but they promise and swear, by the great name of God, to resist all these errors and corruptions to the utmost of their power, all the days of their lives. They then promise and swear over again, to defend the King's Person and Authority in the preservation of the aforesaid true Religion, Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom, and to assist and stand by one another at all Adventures, without suffering themselves to be divided by any allurements or terror from this blessed and loyal conjunction, and without being afraid of the odious aspersions of Rebellion, or Combination, which their adversaries may cast upon them. And conclude with calling the Searcher of Hearts to witness to their Sincerity, as they shall answer it to Christ in the day of account, and under pain of the loss of all honours and respect in this World, and God's everlasting Wrath in the next.” All this was sworn to and subscribed with great Seriousness and Devotion, first at Edinburgh, in the Month of February, 1637-8. and afterwards in the several Counties and Shires, where it was received by the common people, as a sacred Oracle, and subscribed by all such as were thought to have any zeal for the Protestant Religion, and the Liberties of their Country.



Country. The Privy Counsellors, the Judges, the Bishops, and the friends of arbitrary power, were the principal persons that refused. The Universities of St. Andrews and Aberdeen were said to oppose it, and those of Glasgow did not subscribe without some limitations.

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There cannot be a more solemn and awful engagement to God, and each other than this! What the reasons were that induced King James, and the whole Scots Nation, to enter into it in the year 1580, and 1590, is not necessary to be determined; but certainly such a combination of Subjects, without the consent of their Sovereign, in a well settled Government is unwarrantable, especially when it is confirmed with an oath, for no oath ought to be administered but by commission from the chief Magistrate. The only foundation therefore upon which this Covenant can be vindicated is, that the Scots apprehended their legal Church Establishment was broken in pieces by the King's assuming the Supremacy, by his erecting an High Commission, and by his imposing upon them a Book of Canons and Liturgy by his Royal Prerogative, without consent of Parliament or General Assembly.

The Council sent advice of the proceedings of the Covenanters from time to time, and acquainted his Majesty, that the cause of all the commotions was the fears of Innovations in the Doctrine and Discipline of the Kirk, by introducing the Liturgy, Canons, and High Commission; that it was therefore their humble opinion, that the reading the Service Book should not be urged at present. Upon this the King sent the Marquis of Hamilton, his High Commissioner into Scotland, with Instructions to consent to the suspending the use of the Service Book for the present, but at the same time to dissolve the Tables, and to require the Covenant to be delivered up within six Weeks. His Majesty adds, "That if there be not sufficient Strength in the Kingdom to oblige the Covenanters to return to their duty, he will come in person from England at the head of a sufficient power to force them;" and in the mean time the Marquis is empowered to use all hostile Acts against them as a rebellious People.

Upon the Marquis's arrival at Holyrood House he was welcomed by great numbers of the Covenanters of all Ranks and Qualities, in hopes that he would call a General Assembly, and a free Parliament; but when he told them, this was not in his Instructions, they went home full of resentments. The People nailed up the Organ Loft in the

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Charles I.  
1638.

Rushw.

p. 752, 762.

Church, and admonished the Marquis, not to read the Liturgy. The Ministers cautioned their hearers against consenting to ensnaring propositions; and a letter was sent to the Marquis and Council, exhorting them to subscribe the Covenant. His Lordship writ these things to Court, and moved his Majesty either to yield to the People or hasten his Royal Arms. The King replied, that he would rather die than yield to their impertinent and damnable demands; but admitted of the Marquis's flattering them, to gain time, provided he did not consent to the calling a General Assembly or Parliament, till they had disavowed and given up the Covenant. When this was known, both Ministers and People declared with one voice, that they would as soon renounce their Baptism as their Covenant; but withal avowed their duty and allegiance to the King, and their Resolutions to stand by his Majesty, in defence of the true Religion, Laws, and Liberties of the Kingdom. The Marquis not being able to make any impression on the Covenanters returned to England, with an account of the melancholy State of Affairs in that Kingdom, which surprized the English Court, and reflected some disgrace upon the Archbishop, for as his Grace was going to Council, Archibald, the King's Jester, said to him, "Whea's Feule now? Does not your Grace hear the news from Strive-ling about the Liturgy?" His Grace complaining of this usage to the Council, Archibald Armstrong, the King's Fool, was ordered to have his Coat pulled over his ears, to be discharged the King's service, and banished the Court.

King's Con-  
cessions.  
Ib. p. 471.

After some time Hamilton was sent back with instructions (if necessity required) to revoke the Liturgy, the Canons, the High Commission, and the five articles of Perth; and with authority to subscribe the Confession of Faith of 1580, with the Band thereunto annexed, and to take orders that all his Majesty's Subjects subscribed the same. He might also promise the calling a General Assembly and Parliament within a competent time, but was to endeavour to exclude the Laity from the Assembly. The Design of subscribing the Band of the old Covenant of 1580, was to secure the continuance of Episcopacy, because that Band obliges them to maintain the Religion at that time professed, which the King would interpret of Prelatical Government, as being not then legally discharged by Parliament, and because it contained no promise of "mutual Defence and Assistance against all Persons what-  
"soever,"

‘ soever,” which might include the King himself. But the Covenanters did not think fit to subscribe over again, and therefore only thanked the King for discharging the Liturgy, the Canons, and High Commission.

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At length the Marquis published a proclamation for a General Assembly to meet at Glasgow, Nov. 21. The choice of Members went every where in favour of the Covenanters; the Reverend Mr. Henderson, one of the silenced Ministers, was chosen Moderator, and Mr. Johnston, Clerk Register; but the Bishops presented a Declinator, “ Declaring the Assembly to be unlawful, and the Members of it not qualified to represent the Clergy of the Nation, (1.) Because they were chosen before the Presbyteries had received the Royal Mandate to make Election. (2.) Because most of them had not subscribed the Articles of Religion, nor sworn to the King’s Supremacy in presence of the Bishops, for neglect of which they were ipso facto deprived. (3.) Because they had excluded the Bishops, who by the Act of Assembly at Glasgow, 1610, were to be perpetual Moderators. (4.) Because there were Lay-Elders among them who had no right to be there, nor had ordinarily set in Presbyteries for above forty years. (5.) Because they apprehended it absurd, as well as contrary to the practice of the Christian Church, that Archbishops and Bishops should be judged by a mixt Assembly of the Clergy and Laicks.” Signed by the Archbishop of St. Andrews, the Bishops of Glasgow, Edinburgh, Galloway, Ross, and Brechin.

A General  
Assembly at  
Glasgow.  
Rushw.  
p. 865.

The Bishop’s  
Declinator.

But the force of these objections, how strong soever in themselves, was taken off, by the King’s owning the Assembly, and sitting in it by his Commissioner seven Days; though at the dissolution he declared their proceedings to be utterly destructive of the name and nature of a free Assembly.

The Bishops Declinator being read, was unanimously rejected, and a Committee appointed to draw up an answer. In the mean time the Assembly was busy in examining Elections, in which the Covenanters carried every thing before them; the Marquis therefore despairing of any good issue, determined according to his Instructions, to dissolve them; and accordingly went to the great Church, where they sat, and read over his Majesty’s Concessions; as, “ (1.) That his Majesty was willing to discharge the “ Service Book and the Book of Canons. (2.) To dissolve

It is rejected



King  
Charles I.  
1638.

“ the High Commission. (3.) That the Articles of Perth  
“ should not be urged. (4.) That no oath should be re-  
“ quired of any Minister at his entrance into the Ministry,  
“ but what is required by Act of Parliament. (5.) That  
“ for the future there should be General Assemblies as  
“ often as the affairs of the Kirk shall require; and, that  
“ the Bishops should be censurable by the Assembly, ac-  
“ cording to their Merits. (6.) That the Confession of  
“ Faith of 1580, should be subscribed by all his Majesty’s  
“ Subjects of Scotland.” These were very considerable  
abatements, but did not reach the requirements of the Co-  
venanters, which were the dissolution of the Order of Bi-  
shops, and of the above-mentioned grievances by a Statute  
Law. The Marquis went on, and in a long Speech de-  
claimed against Lay-Elders, “ an office (as he said) unknown  
“ in the Church for fifteen hundred years, such persons be-  
“ ing very unfit to judge of the high Mysteries of Predef-  
“ tination, Effectual Grace, Anti and Post-Lapsarian Doc-  
“ trines, or to pass Sentence upon their Superiors in Learn-  
“ ing and Office.” He therefore advised them to break up,  
and choose another Assembly of all Clergymen: but his  
motion striking at the very being and lawfulness of their  
present Constitution, was unanimously rejected; upon  
which the Marquis dissolved them, after they had sat but  
seven days; forbidding them to continue their Sessions upon  
pain of high treason; and next morning the dissolution was  
published by proclamation at the Market-cross.

The Assem-  
bly dissolved.

But continue  
sitting.  
Their Rea-  
sons for so  
doing.

But the Assembly instead of submitting to the Royal  
Command, continued sitting, and the very next day [Nov.  
29.] published a protestation to justify their Proceedings,  
wherein they affirm, “ 1. That Ruling Elders have con-  
“ stantly sat in their Assemblies before the late times of  
“ corruption. 2. That his Majesty’s Presence in their As-  
“ semblies, either in his own Person or by his Commission-  
“ ers, is not for voting, but as Princes and Emperors of  
“ old, in a princely manner, to countenance their meet-  
“ ings, and preside in them for external order. 3. That it  
“ is clear, by the doctrine and discipline of the Kirk, con-  
“ tained in the Book of Policy, and register’d in the Book  
“ of the Assembly, and subscribed by the Presbyteries of  
“ this Kirk, that it is unlawful in itself, and prejudicial to  
“ the privileges that Christ has left his Church, for the  
“ King to dissolve or break up the Assembly of this  
“ Kirk, or to stay their Proceedings; for then it would  
“ follow,

“ follow, that Religion and Church Government should  
 “ depend absolutely upon the pleasure of the Prince.  
 “ 4. That there is no pretence by Act of Assembly, or  
 “ Parliament, or any perceding practice, whereby the  
 “ King’s Majesty, or his Commissioner, may lawfully dis-  
 “ solve the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland,  
 “ without their consent. 5. That the Assemblies of the  
 “ Kirk have continued sitting, notwithstanding any con-  
 “ tramand, as is evident by all the Records thereof; and  
 “ in particular, by the General Assembly of 1582. And,  
 “ Lastly, to dissolve the Assembly before any Grievances  
 “ are redressed, is to throw back the whole Nation into  
 “ confusion, and to make every Man dispair hereafter ever  
 “ to see Innovations removed, the Subjects complaints re-  
 “ garded, or Offenders punished. For these reasons they  
 “ declare it lawful and necessary to continue the present  
 “ Assembly, till they have tried and censured all the By-  
 “ gone evils, and the Introductors of them, and have pro-  
 “ vided a solid course for continuing God’s Truth in this  
 “ Land with Purity and Liberty; they declare further,  
 “ that the said Assembly is, and shall be esteemed and  
 “ obeyed as a most lawful, and free General Assembly of  
 “ this Kingdom, and that the Acts, Sentences, Censures  
 “ and Proceedings of it, shall be obeyed and observed by  
 “ all the Subjects of this Kingdom.”

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 Charles I.  
 1638.

Archbishop Laud was vexed at these bold and desperate  
 proceedings of the Assembly, and thought of nothing but  
 dispersing them by arms. “ I will be bold to say (says his  
 “ Grace) never were there more gross absurdities, nor half  
 “ so many, in so short a time, committed in any publick  
 “ meeting; and for a national Assembly, never did the Church  
 “ of Christ see the like.—I am as sorry as your Grace  
 “ [the Marquis of Hamilton] can be, that the King’s  
 “ Preparations can make no more haste; I hope you think  
 “ I have called upon his Majesty, and by his command  
 “ upon some others, to hasten all that may be, and more  
 “ than this I cannot do; — I have done, and do daily  
 “ call upon his Majesty for his Preparations; he protests he  
 “ makes all the haste he can, and I believe him; but the  
 “ Jealousies of giving the Covenanters umbrage too soon  
 “ have made Preparations here too late.”

Preparati-  
 ons of the  
 English  
 Court a-  
 gainst them.  
 Rushw.  
 p. 863.

The Assembly, according to their Resolution, continued  
 sitting several weeks, till they had passed the following  
 Acts; “ An Act for disannulling six late Assemblies therein  
 “ mentioned, held in the years 1606, 1608, 1610, 1616,

Acts of the  
 Assembly.  
 Rushw.  
 p. 873.

1617,

King  
Charles I.  
1638.

“ 1617, 1618, with the reasons. An Act for abjuring  
“ and abolishing Episcopacy ; An Act for condemning the  
“ five Articles of Perth ; An Act for condemning the Ser-  
“ vice Book, Book of Canons, Book of Ordination, and the  
“ High Commission ; An Act condemning Archdeacons,  
“ Chapters and preaching Deacons ; An Act for restoring  
“ Presbyteries, provincial and national Assemblies, to their  
“ Constitution of Ministers and Elders, and to their Pow-  
“ er and Jurisdiction contained in the Book of Policy ; with  
many others of the like nature. They then pronounced  
sentence of deposition against the Bishops ; eight of whom  
were excommunicated ; four excluded from the Ministerial  
Function, and two only allowed to officiate as Pastors or  
Presbyters. Upon this Dr. Spotswood, Bishop of St. An-  
drews, and Lord High Chancellor of Scotland, retired to  
London, where he died the next year. Most of his Bre-  
thren the Bishops took the same method, only four remain-  
ed in the Country, three of whom renounced their Episco-  
pal Orders, viz. Alexander Ramsay, Bishop of Dunkeld,  
George Graham, Bishop of Orkney, and James Fairby,  
Bishop of Argyle, but the fourth, George Guthrey Bishop  
of Murray, kept his ground, and weathered the storm. At  
the close of the Session the Assembly drew up a letter to the  
King, complaining of his Majesty's Commissioner, who had  
proclaimed them Traytors, and forbid the People to pay  
any regard to their Acts ; and praying the King to look up-  
on them still as his good and faithful Subjects. They also  
published another Declaration to the good People of Eng-  
land, in vindication of their Proceedings, which his Ma-  
jesty took care to suppress, and issued out a Proclamation a-  
gainst the seditious behaviour of the Covenanters, which he  
commanded to be read in all the Churches in England.

Bishops  
deposed.

Ibid. p. 876.

First Scots  
War.  
Prynne,  
Introduct.  
p. 177, 178,  
196.  
Russw. p.  
841.

'Twas easy to foresee, that these warm proceedings must  
end in a War, especially when it is remembered, that his  
Majesty consulted with none but the declared Enemies of  
their Kirk, (viz.) Laud, Hamilton and Wentworth. On  
the 26th, of Jan. the King published his Resolution to go  
in Person against the Scots Covenanters at the Head of his  
Army ; for this purpose the Nobility were summoned to at-  
tend his Majesty, and all the wheels of the Prerogative  
were put in motion to raise Men and Money. The Arch-  
bishop of Canterbury writ to the Bishops of his Province,  
that this being Bellum Episcopale, “ A War for the Sup-  
“ port of Episcopacy,” they should stir up their Clergy to  
a liberal contribution, after the rate of three Shillings and  
ten



ten pence in the Pound, according to the valuation of their Livings in the King's Books. He writ also to his Commisfary, Sir John Lamb, for a contribution in the civil Courts of Doctors Commons, requiring him to fend the names of fuch as refused, to himfelf at Lambeth. The Queen and her friends undertook for the Roman Chatholicks ; the Courtiers and Country Gentlemen were writ to, to lend Money upon this occafion, which the former readily complied with, but of the latter forty only contributed together about fourteen hundred Pounds. With thefe and fome other affiftances, the King fitted out a Fleet of fixteen Men of War, and raifed a fplendid Army of twenty one thoufand Horfe and Foot.

King  
Charles I.  
1638.

The Scots being informed of the Preparations that were making againft them in England, fecured the important Caftles of Edinburgh, Dumbritton, and Frith ; and raifed an Army of fuch Voluntiers as had the caufe of the Kirk at heart, and were determined to facrifice their lives in defence of it ; they fent for their old General Lesley from Germany, who, upon this occafion, quitted the Emperor's Service, and brought over with him feveral experienced Officers. But their greateft diftreff was the want of Fire-arms, Ammunition, and Money, for there was not above three thoufand Arms to be found in the whole Kingdom ; and having no Money, their Soldiers made fuch a ragged appearance, that when the King faw them, he faid, " They would certainly " fight the Englifh if it were only to get their fine Clothes. But the Succes of this War will fall within the compafs of the next year.

To return to England, the Star Chamber and High Commiffion went on with their oppreffions, as if they were under no apprehenfions from the ftorm that was gathering in the North. Many Minifters were fufpended and fhut up in prifon, as Mr. Henry Wilkinfon, B. D. of Magdalen College, Oxford ; Mr. George Walker, Mr. Smith, Mr. Small, Mr. Cooper, Mr. Brewer a Baptift Preacher, who lay in prifon fourteen years ; Mr. Foxley of St. Martins in the Fields, who was confined in a chamber in the Gate-Houfe not four yards fquare for twenty Months, without pen, ink, or paper, or accefs of any friends, even in his extreme ficknefs ; and all this without knowing his crime, or fo much as gueffing at it, unlefs it was for fpeaking in favour of the Feoffees.

Proceedings  
of the High  
Commiffion.  
Prynne, p.  
388.

Great numbers of Puritans continued to flock into New England, notwithstanding the prohibition of the Council laft year,

Settlement  
of the Colo-  
nies of  
Connecticut  
and New-  
Haven.

King  
Charles I.  
1638.

year, insomuch that the Massachuset Bay began to be too straight for them; in the latter end of the year, 1636, about one hundred families travelled further into the Country, and settled on the banks of the river Connecticut, with the Reverend Mr. Hooker at their head; another detachment went from Dorchester; a third from Water-town; and a fourth from Roxbury; and built the towns of Hertford, Windsor, Weathenfield and Springfield, in that Colony. Next year [1637] the passengers from England were so numerous, that they projected a new Settlement on the South-west part of Connecticut River, in a large Bay near the confines of New York; the leaders of this Colony were Theophilus Eaton, Esq; and the Reverend Mr. Davenport; who came from England with a large retinue of acquaintance and followers; they spread along the coast, and first built the town of New-Haven, which gave name to the Colony; and after some time, the towns of Guilford, Milford, Stamford, Brainford, &c. Notwithstanding these detachments the Massachusets Bay had such frequent recruits from England, that they were continually building new towns, or enlarging their Settlements in the neighbourhood.

Puritan Ministers remove to New England.  
Mr. Rogers.  
Mather's History of New England.  
B. III.  
p. 101.

Among the Divines that went over this Summer, were the Reverend Mr. Ezekiel Rogers, M. A. sometime chaplain in the family of Sir Francis Barrington, of Hatfield Broad Oak, in Essex, and afterwards Vicar of Rowley in Yorkshire, where he continued a successful Preacher to a numerous congregation almost twenty years; the Archbishop of that Diocese [Dr. Matthews] being a moderate Divine, permitted the use of those Lectures or Prophefings, which Queen Elizabeth had put down; the Ministers within certain districts had their monthly exercises, in which one or two preached, and others prayed, before a numerous and attentive Audience. One of the hearers, that bore an ill-will to the Exercises, told the Archbishop, that the Ministers prayed against him; but his Grace, instead of giving credit to the informer, answered with a smile, that he could hardly believe him, because "those good Men know (says he) that "if I were gone to Heaven their Exercises would soon be "put down;" which came to pass accordingly, for no sooner was his Successor [Neile] in his chair but he put a period to them, and urged subscription with so much severity, that many of the Clergy were suspended and silenced; among whom was Mr. Rogers, who having no further prospect of usefulness in his own Country, embarked with several of his Yorkshire friends for New England, where he arrived

in the Summer of the year 1638, and settled at a place which he called Rowley. Here he spent the remainder of his days in a vicissitude of afflictions and sorrows till the year 1660, when he died, in the seventieth year of his age.

King  
Charles I.  
1638.

Mr. Samuel Newman, author of that concordance of the Bible that bears his name, he was born at Banbury, educated at Oxford, and having finished his studies, entered into holy orders, and became Minister of a small Living in that Country, but the severe prosecutions of the Spiritual Courts obliged him to no less than seven removals, till, at length he resolved to get out of their reach, and remove with his friends to New England, where he arrived this Summer, and settled at Rehoboth in the Colony of New Plimouth, where he spent the remainder of his days to the year 1663, when he died, in the sixty third year of his age. He was a hard Student, a lively Preacher, and of a heavenly conversation.

Mr. Newman.

Mr. Charles Chauncey, B. D. educated in Cambridge, and Greek Professor in that University. He was afterwards settled at Ware, and was an admired and useful preacher, till he was driven from thence, as has been related. When the Book of Sports was published, and the drums beat about the Town, to summon the People to their dances and revels, on the Lord's Day Evening, he preached against it, for which he was suspended, and soon after totally silenced. Few suffered more for Non-conformity (says my Author) by fines, by imprisonment, and necessities, to abscond, than Mr. Chauncey; at length he determined to remove to New-England, where he arrived in the year 1638, and became President of Harward College in Cambridge. Here he continued a most learned, laborious and useful Governor; till the year 1671, when he died, in the eighty second year of his age; he left behind him six sons, the eldest of which was Dr. Isaac Chauncey, well known heretofore among the Non-conformist Ministers of London.

Mr. Chauncey.  
Mather's  
Hist. of New  
England.

I pass over the lives and characters of many other Divines, and substantial Gentlemen, who deserted their native Country for the peace of their Consciences; but it deserves a particular notice, that there were eight sail of ships at once, this Spring, in the river of Thames, bound for New England, and filled with Puritan Families, among whom (if we may believe Dr. George Bates, and Mr. Dugdale, two famous Royalists) were Oliver Cromwell, afterwards Protector of the Commonwealth of England, John Hampden, Esq; and Mr. Arthur Haselrigge, who seeing no end of the oppressions

Oliver  
Cromwell,  
and other  
Gentlemen,  
bound for  
New Eng-  
land.



King  
Charles I.  
1638.

oppressions of their native Country, determined to spend the remainder of their days in America; but the Council being informed of their design, issued out an order, dated May 1, 1638, "To make stay of those ships, and to put on shore all the passengers and provisions intended for the voyage." And to prevent the like for the future, his Majesty prohibited all masters and owners of ships, to set forth any ships for New England with passengers without special license from the Privy Council; and gives this remarkable reason for it, "Because the people of New England were factious, and unworthy of any support from hence, in regard of the great disorders, and want of Government among them, whereby many that have been well affected to the Church of England have been prejudiced in their estates by them."

Rushw.  
p. 499.

Others re-  
move to  
Holland.

Dr. Thomas  
Goodwin.

When the Puritans might not transport themselves to New England they removed with their families into the Low Countries; among the Divines that went thither about this time, were Dr. Thomas Goodwin, educated in Cambridge, and a great admirer of Dr. Preston. In the year 1628, he was chosen to preach the Lecture in Trinity Church, and held it to the year 1634, when he left the University and all his preferments, through dissatisfaction with the terms of Conformity: Having lived in retirement till this time, he went with some select friends to Holland, and settled at Arnheim in Gelderland, where he continued till the beginning of the Long Parliament.

Mr. Nye.

Philip Nye, M. A. educated in Magdalen Hall, Oxon, and a popular Preacher at St. Bartholomew Exchange, London.

Mr. Bur-  
roughs.

Mr. Jeremiah Burroughs, a most candid and moderate Divine, educated in Cambridge, and afterwards a famous preacher to two of the largest Congregations about London, viz. Stepney and Cripplegate.

Mr. Bridge.

Mr. William Bridge M. A. and Fellow of Emanuel College, Cambridge; he was first Minister in Essex, and afterwards settled in the City of Norwich, in the parish of St. George Tomland; where he continued till he was silenced for Non-conformity by Bishop Wren, in the year 1637, and excommunicated.

Mr. Symp-  
son.

Mr. Sydrach Symphon, educated in Cambridge, and afterwards a celebrated preacher in London. These were afterwards the five Pillars of the Independant or Congregational Party, and were distinguished by the name of the dissenting brethren in the Assembly of Divines.

Several

Several Gentlemen and Merchants of Figure disposed of their effects, and went after them into exile, as Sir Math. Boynton, Sir William Constable, Sir Richard Saltingston, Mr. Lawrence, afterwards Lord President of the Council, Mr. Andrews, afterwards Lord Mayor of London, Mr. Aske, since a Judge, Mr. Bouchier, Mr. James, Mr. White, and others. The States received them with great humanity, granting them the use of their Churches at different hours of the day, with the liberty of ringing a bell for publick worship, though they did not approve of the Dutch discipline, nor join in communion with their Churches.

King  
Charles I.  
1638.

Great was the damage the Nation sustained by these removals; for as Heylin observes, "The severe pressing of the ceremonies made the people in many trading Towns tremble at a visitation, but when they found their striving in vain, and that they had lost the comfort of their Lecturers, who were turned out for not reading the second service at the Communion Table in their Hoods and Surplices, and for using other prayers besides that of the fifty fifth Canon, it was no hard matter for those Ministers to persuade them to transport themselves into foreign parts; "The Sun (said they) shines as comfortably in other places, and the Sun of Righteousness much brighter; 'tis better to go and dwell in Goshen, find it where we can, than tarry in the midst of such Egyptian bondage as is among us; the sinful corruptions of the Church are now grown so general, that there is no place free from the contagion; therefore go out of her my people, and be not partakers of her sins." And hereunto they were encouraged by the "Dutch, who chose rather to carry their Manufactures home than be obliged to resort to their Parish Churches, as by the Archbishop's injunctions they were obliged.

Heylin's Remarks.  
Life of Laud,  
p. 343, 344.

The eyes of all England were now towards the North, whither the King went March 27th, to put himself at the head of his Army raised against the Scots; the Earls of Arundel, Essex and Holland, being the chief commanding Officers under his Majesty. The Scots under the command of General Lesley, met them upon the borders; but when the two Armies had faced each other for some time, the King perceived that his Protestant Nobility and Soldiers were not hearty in his cause, and therefore gave way to a treaty, at the petition of the Scots, which ended in a Pacification, June 17th, by which all points of difference were referred to a General Assembly to be held at Edinburgh,

1639.  
King  
marches  
against the  
Scots.

A Pacification  
1639

King  
Charles I.  
1639.

burgh, Aug. 12, and to a Parliament which was to meet about a fortnight after. In the mean time both armies were to be disbanded, the Tables to be broke up, and no meetings held but such as are warranted by Act of Parliament. Accordingly the King dismissed his Army, but with very disobliging circumstances, not giving the Nobility and Gentry so much as thanks for their affection, loyalty, and personal attendance, which they resented so much, that few or none of them appeared upon the next summons; the Scots delivered back the King's forts and castles into his Majesty's hands, and disbanded their Soldiery, but wisely kept their Officers in pay till they saw the effect of the Pacification.

A General  
Assembly at  
Edinburgh.

The General Assembly met at Edinburgh according to the treaty, but being of the same Constitution with the last, the Bishops presented another declinator to his Majesty's Commissioner [the Earl of Traquair] and were excused giving their attendance by express letter from the King, his Majesty in his instructions to his Commissioner having yielded them the point of Lay-Elders. The Assembly therefore without any opposition, confirmed the proceedings of that at Glasgow, which was of very dubious authority. They appointed the Covenant to be taken throughout the Kingdom, and explained the bond of mutual defence to a consistency with their late conduct. They voted away the new Service Book, the Book of Canons, the five Articles of Perth, the High Commission, and with one consent determined, that "Diocesan Episcopacy was unlawful, and not to be allowed in their Kirk." Which the Earl of Traquair did not apprehend inconsistent with his private instructions from the King, which were these, "We allow Episcopacy to be abolished for the Reasons contained in the articles, and that the Covenant of 1580, for satisfaction of our people be subscribed.—Again, if they require Episcopacy to be abjured, as contrary to the Constitution of the Church of Scotland, you are to give way to it, but not as a point of Popery, or as contrary to God's Law, or the Protestant Religion.—Again, in giving way to the abolishing Episcopacy, be careful that it be done without the appearing of any Warrant from the Bishops in prejudice of Episcopacy as unlawful; but only in satisfaction to the People for settling the present disorders, and such other reasons of state; but herein you must be careful that our intentions appear not to any. 'Tis evident from hence, that his

Nelson,  
p. 247.  
King's In-  
structions to  
his Commis-  
sioner.  
Berwick,  
July 27,  
1639.



his Majesty's usage of the Scots was neither frank nor sincere; he had no design to abolish episcopacy, but consented to suspend it, because he was told that the Bishops being one of the three estates of Parliament, no law made in their absence could be of force, much less an Act for abolishing their whole order, after they had enter'd their protest in form. When his Majesty gave way to the subscribing the covenant, it was with another reserve, "as far as may stand" "with our future intentions well known to you. For though" "we have discharged the service Book and Canons, we will" "never consent that they be condemned as popish or superstitious;—nor will we acknowledge that the high Commission was without Law, nor that the five articles of Perth be condemned as contrary to the confession of faith; 'tis enough that they be laid aside." His Majesty's instructions conclude, "That if any thing be yielded in the present assembly prejudicial to his Majesty's service, his Commissioner shall protest, that his Majesty may be heard for redress thereof in his own time and place."

King  
Charles I.  
1639.

lb. p. 254;

The Scots Parliament met Aug. 31. and having first subscribed the solemn league and covenant with the King's consent, they confirmed all the acts of the general assembly, concluding with the utter extirpation of episcopacy as unlawful. But the King having by letter to his Commissioner forbid him to consent to the word unlawful, lest it should be interpreted absolutely, tho' it seems to have a reference only to the kirk of Scotland, his Lordship prorogued the Parliament, first for fourteen days, and then by the King's express command for nine months, without ratifying any of their acts. The Earl of Dumfermlin and lord Loudon were sent to London, to beseech his Majesty to give way to their ratification; but they were sent home with a reprimand for their misbehaviour, being hardly admitted into the King's Presence. It seems too apparent, that his Majesty meant little or nothing by his concessions but to gain time, for in his declaration before the next War, about six months forward, he says, "Concerning our promise of a" "Free Parliament, no man can imagine we intended it" "should be so free, as not to be limited by the enjoyment" "of their religion and liberties, according to the ecclesiastical and civil Laws of that kingdom; but if they pass" "these bounds, we are disobliged, and they left at liberty" "to fly at our monarchical Government without controul," "to wrest the sceptre out of our hands, and to rob the" "Crown of the fairest flower belonging to it." The

Parliament  
meets.  
Morton,  
p. 256.

King refuses to confirm their Acts.

King  
Charles I.  
1639.

Bishop  
Hall's Di-  
vine Right  
of Episco-  
pacy.

King therefore did not really intend the alteration of any of the civil or ecclesiastical laws of that Kingdom, and by his Majesty's not ratifying any of their Acts, it was evident, that the English Court had resumed their courage, and were determined once more to try the fortune of war.

In the mean time, to balance the declaration of the Scots assembly, Bishop Hall, at the request of Laud, composed a Treatise of the divine Right of Episcopacy, which the Archbishop revised. The propositions which he advances are these, (1.) That form of Government which is of apostolical institution ought to be esteemed of Divine Right. (2.) That form which was practised and recommended by the Apostles though not expressly commanded, is of apostolical Institution. (3.) The government set up by the Apostles was designed for perpetuity. (4.) The universal practice of the primitive Church is the best rule to judge of the apostolical practice. (5.) We ought not to suppose the primitive Fathers would change the form of Government they had received from the Apostles. (6.) The accession of privilege and honourable titles does not affect the substance of the episcopal function. (7.) The Presbyterian government, though challenging the glorious title of Christ's Kingdom and ordinance, has no foundation in scripture, nor in the practice of the Church for fifteen hundred years, and is altogether incongruous and unjustifiable.

Revised by  
Laud.

The Bishop's book was altered in many places, contrary to his own inclinations, by the Archbishop, and particularly in those wherein he had called "The Pope antichrist, or" "spoke too favourably of the morality of the Sabbath; or" "said, that presbytery was of use, where episcopacy could" "not be obtained. His Grace disapproved of his Lordship's" "waving the question, Whether episcopacy was a distinct" "order, or only a higher degree of the same order? And of" "his advancing the divine right of episcopacy no higher" "than the Apostles, whereas he would have it derived from" "Christ himself." Upon the whole, his Lordship's Book was so model'd by his Metropolitan, that in the debate hereafter mentioned, he could hardly go the lengths of his own performance.

The Bishops still kept a strict hand over the Puritans; not a Sermon was to be heard on the distinguishing points of Calvinism all over England. In some dioceses great complaints were made of Puritan justices of peace, for being too strict in putting the laws in execution against profaneness. At Ashford in Kent the Archbishop said, he must have

have recourse to the statute of Abjuration, and call in the assistance of the temporal courts to reduce the Separatists, the censures of the Church not being sufficient. Upon the whole, there was no abatement of the height of conformity, even to the end of this year, though the flames that were kindling in Scotland began to disturb the tranquility of the Church.

King  
Charles I.  
1639.

Mr. Bagshaw, a lawyer of some standing in the Middle Temple, being chosen reader in that house for the Lent vacation, began to attack the power of the Bishops. In his lectures on the 25th Edw. III. cap. 7. he maintained, That acts of Parliament were valid without the assent of the Lords Spiritual. 2. That no beneficed clerk was capable of temporal jurisdiction at the making that law. And, 3. That no Bishop, without calling a synod, had power as a diocesan to convict an heretick. Laud being informed of these positions, told the King, that Bagshaw had justified the Scots covenanters in decrying the temporal jurisdiction of churchmen, and the undoubted right of the Bishops to their seats in Parliament, upon which he was immediately interdicted all further reading on those points; and though Bagshaw humbly petitioned the Lord keeper, and the Archbishop for liberty to proceed, he could get no other answer after long attendance, than that "it had been better for him not to have meddled with that argument, which should stick closer to him than he was aware of." Whereupon he retired into the country.

Bagshaw's  
Readings  
against the  
Bishops.

Heylin's  
Life of  
Laud,  
p. 381.

The resolution of the English court to renew the war with Scotland, was owing to the Lord deputy Wentworth, whom Archbishop Laud had sent for from Ireland for this purpose. This Nobleman, from being a patriot of his country, was become a petty tyrant, and had governed Ireland in a most arbitrary and sovereign manner for about seven years, discountenancing the Protestants, because they were Calvinists, and enclined to Puritanism, and giving all imaginable encouragement to the Roman Catholics, as friends to the prerogative, whereby he gave up the balance of power in that kingdom into the hands of the Papists. Wentworth being come to court was immediately created Earl of Strafford and Knight of the garter, and in concert with Laud advised the King to set aside the pacification, and to push the Scots war with vigor, offering his Majesty eight thousand Irish, and a large sum of money for his assistance; but this not being sufficient, the war was thought so rea-

1640.  
Earl of  
Strafford  
called out  
of Ireland,  
advises a  
second War,



King  
Charles I.  
1640.

reasonable and necessary to the King's honour, that it might be ventur'd with an English Parliament, which being laid before the Council, was chearfully agreed to, and (after twelve years interval) a Parliament was summoned to meet April 13. 1640.

Scots are  
encouraged,  
by the  
English.

The Scots foreseeing the impending storm, consulted where to fly for succour; some were for throwing themselves into the hands of the French, and accordingly writ a very submissive letter to that Monarch, signed by the hands of seven Scots peers, but never sent it; for upon application to their friends at London, they were assured by a letter, writ by Lord Saville, and signed by himself, with the names of Bedford, Essex, Brook, Warwick, Say and Seal, and Mandeville, (who agreed to the letter, though they were so cautious as not to write their own names) "That the hearts of the people of England were with them; "that they were convinced the liberties of both nations "were at stake, and therefore they might depend upon "assistance as soon as a fair opportunity offered." Upon this encouragement the Scots laid aside their design of applying to France, and resolved to raise another army from among themselves, and march into England.

The short  
Parliament.

"The parliament that met at Westminster (says the "noble historian) was made up of sober and dispassionate "men, exceedingly disposed to do the King service," and yet his Majesty would not condescend to speak to them from the throne, but ordered the Lord keeper Finch to acquaint them with the undutiful behaviour of the Scots, whom he was determined to reduce, and therefore would not admit of the mediation of the two houses, but expected their immediate assistance, after which he would give them time to consider of any just grievances to be redressed. But the Commons, instead of beginning with the supply, appointed committees for Religion and grievances, which disobliged the King so much, that after several fruitless attempts to persuade them to begin with the Subsidy Bill, he dissolved them in anger, without passing a single Act, after they had sat about three weeks. The blame of this hasty dissolution was by some cast upon Laud, by others on Sir Harry Vane, but the King laid it upon the misbehaviour of the House of Commons, who would not take his Royal Word for redress of grievances after they had given the necessary supplies; he therefore sent  
for

for the leading Members of the House into custody, and committed them prisoners to the Fleet and other prisons.

King  
Charles I.  
1640.

His Majesty having failed of a Parliamentary Supply at the time he demanded it, was told by Lord Strafford, and others of the Council, that he "was now absolved from all rules of government, and might take what his necessities required, and his power could obtain". This, indeed, was no more than his Majesty had been doing for twelve years before; but some people drew an unhappy conclusion from this Maxim (viz.) "That if the King was absolved from all Rules of Government, the People might be absolved from all Rules of Obedience."

King goes  
on to raise  
Money by  
Prerogative.

However, all the Engines of arbitrary Power were set at work to raise Money for the war, as Loans, Benevolences, Ship-money, Coat and Conduct-money, Knighthood, Monopolies and other springs of the Prerogative, some of which (says Lord Clarendon) were ridiculous, and others scandalous, but all very grievous to the Subject. Those that refused payment were fined and imprisoned by the Star Chamber or Council Table; among whom were some of the Aldermen of London, and Sheriffs of several Counties. The Courtiers advanced three hundred thousand Pounds in three Weeks, the Clergy in Convocation gave six Subsidies, the Papists were very generous; Strafford went over to Ireland and obtained four Subsidies of the Parliament of that Kingdom; Soldiers were pressed into the service in all Counties, few lifting themselves voluntarily except Papists, many of whom had Commissions in the Army, which gave rise to a common saying among the People, that "the Queen's Army of Papists were going to establish the Protestant Religion in Scotland."

The People groaned under these oppressions, the odium of which fell upon Laud and Strafford, who were libell'd and threaten'd with the fury of the populace. May 9. a Paper was fixed upon the old Exchange, animating the Apprentices to pull the Archbishop out of his Palace at Lambeth; upon this the train'd Bands were order'd into St. George's Fields, nevertheless the Mob rose and broke his Windows, for which one of them being apprehended suffered death as a Traitor, though he could not be guilty of more than a breach of the peace. From Lambeth the Mob went to the House of the Pope's Agent, where they were dispersed by the King's Guards, and some of them sent to the White Lion Prison; but next Week [May 15.] they rose again and rescued their Friends. The Country

Mutinous  
Disposition  
of the Peo-  
ple.

King  
Charles I.  
1640.

was in the same mutinous posture, there being frequent skirmishes between them and the new raised Soldiers, even to bloodshed. The City Train Bands were in arms all the Summer, but the Campaign proving unsuccessful, there was no keeping the people within bounds afterwards; for while the High Commission was sitting at St. Paul's, Octob. 22. near two thousand Brownists (as the Archbishop calls them) raised a disturbance and broke up the Court, crying out, no Bishops, no High Commission. Such were the distempers of the times!

Convocation  
open'd.

The Convocation that sat with this Parliament was opened April 14. with more splendor and magnificence than the Situation of Affairs required. The Sermon was preached by Dr. Turner, Canon Residentiary of St. Paul's, from St. Matth. xvi. 16. "Behold, I send you forth as Sheep among Wolves." After which they adjourn'd to the Chapter House, where the King's Writ of Summons being read, the Archbishop, in a Latin Speech, recommended to the Lower House, the choosing a Prolocutor, to be presented to himself or his Commissary in the Chapel of Henry VII. on Friday following, to which time and place the Convocation was adjourn'd.

Proceedings  
of the Con-  
vocation.  
Collyer's  
Eccle. Hist.  
p. 793.  
Life of Hey-  
lin.

On the 17th of April, after divine Service, Dr. Steward, Dean of Chichester, and Clerk of the Closet, was presented to the Archbishop as Prolocutor in the Chapel of Henry VII. whom his Grace approved, and then produced his Majesty's Commission under the Great Seal, authorising them "to make and ordain certain Canons and Constitutions, for the establishing true Religion, and the profit of the State of the Church of England." The Commission was to remain in force during the present Session of Parliament, and no longer; and by a remarkable Clause, "nothing was to be concluded without the Archbishop's being a party in the Consultation." It was intended also to draw up an English Pontifical, which was to contain the form and manner of Royal Coronations.——A form "for consecrating Churches, Church-yards and Chapels.——A form for reconciling Penitents and Apostates.——A Book of Articles to be used by all Bishops at their Visitation.——And a short form of Prayer for "before Sermon," comprehending the Substance of the 55th Canon. But most of these projects were interrupted by the sudden dissolution of the Parliament



The Convocation, according to ancient custom, should have broke up at the same time, but one of the Lower House having acquainted the Archbishop with a Precedent in the 27th year of Queen Elizabeth, of the Clergy's granting a Subsidy or Benevolence, of two Shillings in the Pound, to be raised upon all the Clergy, after the Parliament was risen, and levying it by their own Synodical Act only, under the Penalty of Ecclesiastical Censures, it was concluded from thence, that the Convocation might sit independent of the Parliament, and therefore instead of dissolving, they only adjourned for a few days, to take further Advice.

King  
Charles I.  
1640.

Continued  
after the  
Dissolution  
of the Par-  
liament.  
Fuller's---  
Appeal, p.  
67, 69.

The zealous Archbishop relying upon this single precedent applied to the King for a Commission, to continue the Convocation during his Majesty's Pleasure, in order to finish the Canons and Constitutions, and to grant the Subsidies already voted. The Case being referr'd to the Judges, the Majority gave it as their opinion, " That the Convocation " being called by the King's Writ under the Great Seal, " doth continue till it be dissolved by Writ or Commission " under the Great Seal, notwithstanding the Parliament be " dissolved. Signed May 14. 1640, by

Opinion of  
the Judges.

John Finch, Custos, M. S.  
H. Manchester, Rob. Heath,  
John Bramston, Edw. Littleton,  
Ralph Whitfield, John Banks.

Upon this a Commission under the Great Seal was granted, and the Convocation re-assembled; but notwithstanding the opinion of these Gentlemen of the Long-Robe, Dr. Hackett, Brownrigge, Holdisworth, and others, to the number of thirty six, protested earnestly against it, though in regard the Session was warranted by so many considerable persons, they did not withdraw, nor enter their Protest in form of Law, as they ought to have done. They were further influenced by his Majesty's Message, sent by Sir H. Vane, Secretary of State, to acquaint them, " That it was " his Royal Pleasure, that none of the Prelates or Clergy, " should withdraw from the Synod or Convocation, till the " Affairs they had in command from the King were perfected and finished."

Several of  
the Members  
dissatisfy'd  
Fuller, B.  
IX. p. 112.

Upon this dubious Foundation the Convocation was continued, and a Committee of twenty six appointed to prepare matters for the debate of the House; but the Mob were so

King  
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1640.

Their Pro-  
ceedings.

inflamed, that they threaten'd to pull down the Convocation-House, upon which the King appointed them a Guard of the Militia of Middlesex, commanded by Endymion Porter, Groom of the Bed-Chamber, a Papist, under whose protection the Synod was continued, till the Canons were perfected, and six Subsidies given, by way of supply for the exigency of his Majesty's Affairs; to be collected in six years, after the rate of four Shillings in the Pound, amounting to about one hundred and twenty thousand pounds; after which it was dissolved [May 29.] by a special Mandate or Writ from his Majesty, after it had continued twenty five Sessions. The Canons having been approved by the Privy Council, were subscribed by as many of both Houses of Convocation as were present, and then transmitted to the Provincial Synod of York, by whom they were subscribed at once, without so much as debating either matter or form. Dr. John Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, was in the Tower, and had no concern with the Canons. Dr. Goodman, Bishop of Gloucester, a concealed Papist, was the only Prelate who declin'd the Subscription, but the Archbishop threatening him with Deprivation, and the rest of his Brethren pressing him to comply, he was persuaded to put his name to the Book; but several of the Members of the Lower House avoided the Test, by withdrawing before the day of Subscription; for of above one hundred and sixty, of which both Houses of Convocation consisted, there were not many more than one hundred names to the Book.

Remarks.

The unreasonableness of continuing the Synod after the Dissolution of the Parliament appears from hence, that the Convocation, consisting of Bishops, Deans, Archdeacons, and Clerks, the three former act in their personal capacities only, and may give for themselves what Subsidies they please; but the Clerks being chosen for their respective Cathedrals and Dioceses, legally to sit as long as the Parliament continues, desist from being publick Persons as soon as it is dissolved, and lose the character of Representatives; they are then no more than private Clergymen, who, though they may give the King what sums of Money they please for themselves, cannot vote away the Estates of their Brethren, unless they are re-elected. Besides, it was contrary to all law and custom, both before and since the Act of Submission of the Clergy to King Henry VIII. except in the single instance of Queen Elizabeth.

The

The Canons of this Synod, consisting of seventeen Articles, were published June 30, and entitled, "Constitutions and Canons ecclesiastical, treated upon by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, Presidents of the Convocation for their respective Provinces, and the rest of the Bishops and Clergy of those Provinces, and agreed upon with the King's Majesty's license, in their several Synods began at London and York, 1640."

King  
Charles I.  
1640.

CANON I. Concerning the Regal Power.

"We ordain and decree, That every Parson, Vicar, Curate, or Preacher, upon one Sunday in every quarter of the year, in the place where he serves, shall read the following explanation of the regal power.

Abstract of  
the Canons  
Of the king-  
ly Power.  
Nelson,  
p. 545.

"That the most high and sacred order of Kings is of Divine Right, being the ordinance of God himself, founded in the prime laws of Nature and Revelation, by which the supreme power over all persons civil and ecclesiastical is given to them.

"That they have the care of God's Church, and the power of calling and dissolving Councils both national and provincial.

"That for any persons to set up in the King's Realms any independent, coercive power, either papal or popular, is treasonable against God and the King. And for Subjects to bear arms against their King, either offensive or defensive, upon any pretence whatsoever, is at least to resist the powers ordained of God; and though they do not invade, but only resist, St Paul says, They shall receive damnation..

"And though tribute and custom, aid and subsidy be due to the King, by the law of God, nature and nations, yet Subjects have a right and property in their goods and estates; and these two are so far from crossing one another, that they mutually go together for the honourable and comfortable support of both.

"If any Clergyman shall voluntarily and carelessly neglect to publish these Explications, he shall be suspended; or if in any Sermon or publick Lecture, he shall maintain any position contrary hereunto, he shall be forthwith excommunicated and suspended for two years; and if he offend a second time he shall be deprived."



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1640.

For observ-  
ing the  
King's Inau-  
guration day.

CANON II. For the better observing the day of his Majesty's Inauguration.

“ The Synod decrees and ordains, That all persons shall come to Church the morning of the said day, and continue there till prayers and preaching are ended, upon pain of such punishment as the law inflicts on those who wilfully absent themselves from Church on holy-days.”

CANON III. For suppressing the growth of Popery.

Against Po-  
pery.

“ All ecclesiastical Persons within their several parishes or jurisdictions, shall confer privately with popish Recusants, but if private conference prevail not, the Church must and shall come to her censures, and to make way for them, such persons shall be presented at the next Visitation, who come not to Church, and refuse to receive the holy Eucharist; or who either say or hear Mass, and if they remain obstinate after citation, they shall be excommunicated.

“ But if neither conferences nor censures can avail, the Church shall then complain of them to the Civil Power; and this sacred Synod does earnestly intreat the reverend Justices of Assize to be careful in executing the laws, as they will answer it to God. And every Bishop shall once a year send into the Court of Chancery, a Significavit of the names of those who have stood excommunicated beyond the time limited by law, and shall desire, that a Writ De Excommunicato Capiendo may be at once sent out against them all.

“ Care is likewise to be taken, that no person be admitted to teach school, but who has subscribed to the Church as the law directs; and that no excommunicated person be absolved by any appeal, unless he first take the oath De parendo Juri & stando mandatis Ecclesiæ.”

CANON IV. Against Socinianism.

Against So-  
cinianism.

“ It is decreed, That no persons shall import, print, or disperse any of their books, on pain of Excommunication, and of being further punished in the Star Chamber. No Minister shall preach any such doctrines in his Sermons, nor Student have any such books in his Study, except he be a Graduate in Divinity; and if any Lay-man embrace their opinions, he shall be excommunicated, and not absolved without repentance and abjuration.”

[N. B.

[N. B. None of the Doctrines of Socinus, nor any of his peculiar sentiments, are mentioned in this Canon.]

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CANON V. Against Sectaries.

“ The Synod decrees, That the Canon above-mentioned Against Se-  
“ against Papists shall be in full force against all Anabaptists, paratists.  
“ Brownists, Separatists, and other Sectaries, as far as they  
“ are applicable ; and further, the clause against the Books  
“ of Socinians above-mentioned, shall be in force against  
“ books written against the Discipline and Government of  
“ the Church of England.

“ It is also ordained, That such persons who resort to  
“ their Parish Churches to hear the Sermon, but don't join  
“ in the publick Prayers, shall be subject to the same pe-  
“ nalties with other Sectaries and Recusants.”

CANON VI. An Oath for preventing innovations in  
Doctrin and Government.

“ The Synod decrees, That all Archbishops, Bishops, To prevent  
“ Priests and Deacons, shall before the 2d. of November next Alterations  
“ take the following Oath, which shall be tender'd by the in Church  
“ Bishop in person, or some grave Divine deputed by him, Government.  
“ and shall be taken in presence of a publick Notary.”

The O A T H.

“ I A. B. do swear, That I do approve the Doctrin, Dis- The Oath  
“ cipline or Government, established in the Church of called Et  
“ England, as containing all things necessary to Salvation ; cætera.  
“ and that I will not endeavour by myself, or any other, di-  
“ rectly or indirectly, to bring in any \* Popish Doctrin,  
“ contrary to that which is so established ; nor will I ever  
“ give my consent to alter the government of this Church,  
“ by Archbishops, Bishops, Deans and Archdeacons, &c.  
“ as it stands now established, and as by right it ought to  
“ stand, nor yet ever to subject it to the usurpations and  
“ superstitions of the See of Rome. And all these things I  
“ do plainly and sincerely acknowledge and swear, according  
“ to the plain and common sense and understanding of the  
“ same words, without any equivocation, or mental Evasion,  
“ or secret reservation whatsoever ; and this I do heartily,  
“ willingly

\* In his Majesty's duplicate of this Canon, sent by the Archbi-  
shop to the Bishop of Ely, the word (Popish) is omitted, as it is in Nalson,  
the duplicate sent to the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, and se- p. 499.  
veral others.

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“willingly and truly, upon the faith of a Christian. So  
“help me God in Jesus Christ.”

“If any beneficed person in the Church shall refuse this  
“Oath, he shall after one month be suspended Ab Offi-  
“cio; after a second month he shall be suspended Ab  
“Officio & Beneficio; and after a third month, if he con-  
“tinue to refuse, he shall be deprived.

“It is likewise ordained, That all that are incorporated  
“in either of the Universities, or take any Degree, whether  
“Lawyers, Divines or Physicians, shall take the same oath:  
“And all Governors of Halls and Colleges in the Univer-  
“sity; all School-masters, and in general, all that enter  
“into holy Orders, or have license to preach.”

#### CANON VII. A Declaration concerning some Rites and Ceremonies.

Of Rites and  
Ceremonies.

“The Synod declares, That the standing of the Com-  
“munion Table side-ways, under the East Window of the  
“Chancel or Chapel, is in its own nature indifferent; but  
“forasmuch as Queen Elizabeth’s Injunctions order it to be  
“placed where the Altar was, we therefore judge it proper,  
“that all Churches and Chapels do conform themselves to  
“the Cathedral or Mother Churches. And we declare,  
“that this situation of the Holy Table does not imply that  
“it is, or ought to be esteemed a true and proper Altar,  
“whereon Christ is again sacrificed; but it may be called  
“an Altar in the sense of the Primitive Church; and be-  
“cause it has been observed, that some people in time of  
“Divine Service have irreverently lean’d, cast their hats, or  
“set upon, or under the Communion Table, therefore the  
“Synod thinks meet that the Table be rail’d round.

“It is further recommended to all good people, That they  
“do reverence at their entring in, and going out of the  
“Church; and that all Communicants do approach the  
“holy Table to receive the Communion at the Rails, which  
“has heretofore been unfitly carried up and down by the  
“Minister, unless the Bishop shall dispense with it.”

#### CANON VIII. Of preaching for Conformity.

Preaching  
for Con-  
formity.

“All publick Preachers shall twice a year preach posi-  
“tively and plainly, that the Rites and Ceremonies of the  
“Church of England are lawful, and that it is the duty of  
“all people to conform to them.”

CANON



CANON IX. A Book of Articles for Parochial Visitation.

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Charles I.  
1640.

“ No other Book of Articles of Inquiry shall be used in  
“ Parochial Visitation, but that which is drawn up by the  
“ Synod.”

CANON X. Of the Conversation of the Clergy.

“ The Clergy are enjoined to avoid all excesses and dis-  
“ orders, and by their Christian Conversation to adorn their  
“ holy Profession.”

CANON XI. Chancellors Patents.

“ No Bishop shall grant any Patent to any Chancel-  
“ lor, or Official, for any longer Term than the Life of  
“ the Grantees, and the Bishop shall keep in his own  
“ hands the power of instituting to Benefices, and of li-  
“ censsing to preach.”

CANON XII. Chancellor Censures, &c.

“ No Chancellor, Commissary or Official, not being in  
“ Holy Orders, shall inflict any censure on the Clergy in  
“ criminal causes, other than neglect of appearing ; but all  
“ such causes shall be heard by the Bishop, or some dignifi-  
“ ed Clergyman with the Chancellor.”

CANON XIII. Excommunication and Absolution.

“ No Sentence of Excommunication or Absolution shall  
“ be pronounced but by a Priest, and in open Consistory,  
“ or at least in the Church or Chapel, having first receiv-  
“ ed it under the Seal of an Ecclesiastical Judge, from whom  
“ it comes.”

CANON XIV. Of Commutations.

“ No Commutation of Penance to be admitted without  
“ consent of the Bishop, and the Money to be disposed of  
“ to charitable uses.”

CANON XV. Of Jurisdictions.

“ No Executor shall be cited into any Court or Office,  
“ for the space of ten days, after the Death of the Tes-  
“ tator, though the Executor may prove the Will within  
“ such time.”

King  
Charles I.  
1640.

### CANON XVI. Of Licenses to Marry.

“ No license to marry shall be granted to any party, unless one of the parties have been Commorant in the Jurisdiction of the Ordinary to whom he applies, for the space of one Month before the said License be desired: The Archiepiscopal Prerogative is excepted.”

### CANON XVII. Against vexatious Citations.

“ No Citation into any Ecclesiastical Court shall be issued out, but under the Hand and Seal of one of the Judges of those Courts, and within thirty days after committing the crime; and unless the party be convicted by two witnesses, he shall be allowed to purge himself by oath, without paying any fee; provided that this Canon extend not to any grievous crime, As schism, incontinence, misbehaviour in the Church in time of Divine Service, obstinate inconformity, or the like.”

They are  
unaccepta-  
ble to the  
Clergy.

When these Canons were made publick, they were generally disliked; several pamphlets were printed against them, and dispersed among the people, “ As England’s complaint to Jesus Christ against the Bishops Canons; wherein the nakedness of them is exposed, in a solemn application to Jesus Christ as the Saviour of his Church. Queries relating to the several Articles and Determinations of the late Synod, &c.” All that loved the old English Constitution were dissatisfied with the first Canon, because it declares for “ The absolute power of Kings, and for the unlawfulness of defensive Arms, on any pretence whatsoever.” The Puritans disliked the fifth, sixth, seventh, and eight Canons; but the whole body of the Clergy were nearly concerned in the sixth, being obliged by the second of November to take the oath therein mentioned, on pain of suspension and deprivation. The London Clergy among whom were Dr. Westfield, Downham, Burges, Mr. Calamy, Jackson, John Goodwin, Offspring, and others, drew up a Petition against it to the Privy Council; and to give it the more weight, procured a great many hands. The Ministers, School-masters, and Physicians in Kent, Devonshire, Dorsetshire, Northamptonshire, and in most Counties of England, took the same method; some objecting to the Oath, as contrary to the oath of Supremacy; some complaining of the *Et Cætera* in the middle. Others objected to the Power of the Synod to impose an oath, and many

many confessed, " That they wished some things in the " Discipline of the Church might be altered," and therefore could not swear never to attempt it, in a proper way. Some of the Bishops endeavoured to satisfy their Clergy, by giving the most favourable interpretation to the Oath. Bishop Hall told them, that it meant no more than this, " That I do so far approve of the Discipline and Doctrine " of this Church, as that I do believe there is nothing in " any other pretended Discipline or Doctrine necessary to " Salvation, besides that which is contained in the Doc- " trine and Discipline of the Church of England. And as " I do allow the Government by Archbishops, Bishops, " Deans, Archdeacons, so I will not, upon the suggestion " of any factious Persons, go about to alter the same as " it now stands, and as by due right (being so established) " it ought to stand in the Church of England." But most of the Bishops pressed the Oath absolutely on their Clergy; and to my certain knowledge (says Mr. Fuller) obliged them to take it kneeling, a ceremony never required in taking the oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy; but to such an height of Power did these Prelates aspire upon the wing of the Prerogative!

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1640.

Nalson p.  
496, 498.

B. XI. p.  
171.

The Archbishop was advised of these difficulties by Dr. Sanderson, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln, who assured his Grace by Letter, " That multitudes of Churchmen, not " only of the preciser sort, but of such as were regular " and conformable, would utterly refuse to take the Oath, " or be brought to it with much difficulty and reluctance; " so that unless by his Majesty's special direction, the pres- " sing the oath may be forborn for a time; or that a " short explanation of some passages in it most liable to " exception, be sent to the several Persons who are to ad- " minister the same, to be publicly read before the Ten- " der of the said Oath; The peace of this Church is ap- " parently in danger to be more disquieted by this one oc- " casion, than by any thing that has happened within our " Memories." But this resolute Prelate, as if he had been determined to ruin his own and his Majesty's affairs, would relax nothing to the times, but would have broken the King's Interest among the conformable Clergy, if the Nobility and Gentry with the King at York, had not prevailed with his Majesty to lay him under a restraint, by the following Letter, under the hand of the principal Secretary of State.

The Execu-  
tion of them  
suspended.  
Nalson, p.  
497.

" May



King  
Charles I.  
1640.

Nelson, p.  
500.

“ May it please your Grace,  
“ I Am, by his Majesty’s Command, to let you know,  
“ That upon several Petitions presented by divers  
“ Churchmen, as well in the Diocese of Canterbury, as  
“ York, to which many hands are subscribed, as the Mode  
“ of Petitions now are; against the oath in the Canons  
“ made in the last Synod, his Majesty’s Pleasure is, that  
“ as he took order before his coming into these parts, that  
“ the execution of neither should be pressed on those that  
“ were already beneficed in the Church, which was order-  
“ ed at the Council Board in your Grace’s Presence, but that  
“ it should be administered to those who were to receive  
“ Orders, and to be admitted; it is his Majesty’s Pleasure,  
“ that those should be dispensed withal also, and that there  
“ be no prosecution thereof till the meeting of the Convo-  
“ cation.”

H. Vane.

York, Sept. 30, 1640.

Second  
Scots War.

We have mentioned the secret correspondence between the English and Scots Nobility to recover the Liberties of both Kingdoms, which encouraged the Scots to march a second time to their borders, where the King met them with his army, commanded by the Earls of Northumberland and Strafford; but it soon appeared that the English Nobility were not for conquering the Scots; nor had the Protestant Soldiers any zeal in his Majesty’s cause; so that after a small skirmish the Scots Army passed the Tweed, Aug. 21, and on the 30th, took possession of the important Town of Newcastle, the Royal Army retreating before them as far as York, and leaving them Masters of the three Northern Counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Durham, where they subsisted their Army, and raised what Contributions they pleased. As soon as the Scots entered Newcastle they sent Express to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, to assure them, they would not interrupt the Trade between that Town and the City of London, but would cultivate all manner of Friendship and brotherly Correspondence. They also sent Messengers to the King, with an humble petition, that his Majesty would please “ To confirm their late Acts of  
“ Parliament, restore their Ships and Merchandize, recal  
“ his Proclamation, which stiles them Rebels, and call  
“ an

“ English Parliament, to settle the peace between both Kingdoms.” This was followed by another, signed by twelve Peers, with his Majesty at York, and by a third from the City of London. The King finding it impossible to carry on the war, appointed Commissioners to treat with the Scots at Rippon, who agreed to a Cessation of Arms for two Months, from the 26th of October, the Scots to have eight hundred and fifty Pounds a day for maintenance of their army; and the treaty to be adjourned to London, where a free Parliament was immediately to be called. The calling an English Parliament was the grand affair that had been concerted with the Scots before their coming into England; and it was high time; because to all appearance this was the last crisis for recovering the Constitution; for if the Irish and English armies were raised to reduce Scotland, under the arbitrary power of the Prerogative (as Lord Clarendon confesses) what could be expected, but that afterwards they should march back into England, and establish the same despotick Power here, with a standing army, beyond all recovery.

King  
Charles I.  
1640.

Sad and melancholy was the condition of the prime Ministers, when they saw themselves reduced to the necessity of submitting their conduct to the examination of an English Parliament, supported by an army from Scotland, and the general discontents of the People! several of the Courtiers began to shift for themselves; some withdrew from the Storm, and others having been concerned in one illegal project or other, deserted their Masters, and made their peace, by discovering the King's Counsels to the leading Members of Parliament, which disabled the Junto from making any considerable efforts for their safety. All Men had a veneration for the person of the King; though his Majesty had lost ground in their affections by his ill usage of his Parliaments, and by “taking the faults of his Ministers upon himself.” But the Queen was in no manner of esteem with them who had the Protestant Religion, and the Liberties of their Country at heart. The Bishops had sunk their character by their high behaviour in the Spiritual Courts, so that they had nothing to expect, but that their wings should be clipped. And the Judges were despised and hated, for abandoning the laws of their Country, and giving a sanction to the illegal proceedings of the Council and Star Chamber. As his Majesty had but few friends of credit or interest among the people at home, so

Sad Condition of the Court at the calling the Long Parliament.

King.  
Charles I.  
1640.

he had nothing to expect from abroad; France and Spain were pleased with his Distress; the foreign Protestants wished well to the oppressed people of England; they published their resentments against the Bishops, for their hard usage of the Dutch and French Congregations, and gave it as their opinion, "That a protestant King that countenanced Papists, and at the same time drove his Protestant Subjects out of the Kingdom, was not worthy the assistance of the reformed Churches, especially after he had renounced Communion with them, and declared openly, that the Religion of the Church of England was not the same with that of the foreign Protestants."

Death of  
Mr. Ball.

Three considerable Divines, of a very different character, died about this time; Mr. John Ball, educated in Brazen Nose College, Oxon, and afterwards Minister of Whitmore, a small Village near Newcastle in Staffordshire, where he lived upon twenty Pounds a year, and the profits of a little School. He was a learned and pious Man, deserving as high esteem (says Mr. Baxter) as the best Bishop in England, though he was content with a poor House, a mean habit, and a small Maintenance. Being dissatisfied with the terms of Conformity, it was some time before he could meet with an opportunity to be ordained without Subscription, but at last he obtained it from the hands of an Irish Bishop, then occasionally in London; though he lived and died a Non-conformist, he was against a Separation, and writ against Mr. Can and Mr. Robinson upon that head. His last Work, entitled, "A Stay against Straying," was subscribed by five most noted Presbyterian Divines, who all testified that he died abundantly satisfied in the cause of Non-conformity, which he distinguished from Separation. His other Works were very numerous, and of great Reputation in those times. He died Oct. 20. 1640, in the fifty sixth year of his age.

Of Dr.  
Chadderton.  
Clark's  
Lives, p.  
246.  
Fuller's  
Worthies,  
B. II. p. 118.

Dr. Lawrence Chadderton, born in Lancashire, 1546, of popish Parents, who, when they heard their Son had changed his Religion, disinherited him; he was first Fellow of Christ College, and afterwards Master of Emanuel College, Cambridge. King James nominated him one of the four Representatives of the Puritans in the Hampton-Court Conference; and afterwards one of the Translators of the Bible. He commenced D. D. 1612. and governed his College with great Reputation many years, being remarkable for Gravity, Learning and Piety; he had a plain, but effectual



effectual way of preaching (says Fuller) having a strict regard for the Sabbath, and a great aversion to Arminianism. He was a fine grey-headed old Gentleman, and could read without Spectacles to his death, which happen'd in the ninety fifth year of his age. Being advanced in years, and afraid of being succeeded by an Arminian Divine, he resigned his Mastership to Dr. Preston, whom he survived; and saw Dr. Sancroft, and after him Dr. Houldsworth succeed him, which last attended his funeral at St. Andrew's Church, and gave him a large and deserved Commendation in a Funeral Sermon.

King  
Charles I.  
1649.

Dr. Richard Nalle, Archbishop of York, born in King-street, Westminster, of mean Parents, his Father being a Tallow-chandler; he was educated in St. John's College, Cambridge, and pass'd through all the degrees and orders of the Church of England, having been a School-master, Curate, Vicar, Parson, Chaplain, Master of the Savoy, Dean of Westminster, Clerk of the Closet to two Kings, Bishop of Rochester, Litchfield, Lincoln, Durham, Winchester; and lastly, Archbishop of York. The Oxford Historian says, he was an affectionate Subject to his Prince, an indulgent Father to his Clergy, a bountiful patron to his Chaplains, and a true Friend to all that relied upon him. Dr. Heylin confesses, that he was not very eminent either for parts or learning; Mr. Pryne says, he was a Popish Arminian Prelate, and a persecutor of all orthodox and godly Ministers. 'Tis certain, he had few or none of the Qualifications of a primitive Bishop; for he hardly preach'd a Sermon in twelve years, but gain'd his preferments by Flattery and servile Court Compliances. He was a zealous Advocate for pompous Innovations in the Church, and oppressive projects in the State, for which he would have felt the resentments of the House of Commons, had he lived a little longer; but he died very seasonably for himself, in an advanced age. Oct. 31. 1640, three days before the meeting of the Long Parliament.

Of Dr.  
Nalle, Arch-  
bishop of  
York.

King  
Charles I.  
1640.

## C H A P. VII.

The Character of the Long Parliament. Their Arguments against the late Convocation and Canons. The Impeachment of Dr. William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury. Votes of the House of Commons against the Promoters of the late Innovations.

The Long  
Parliament.

WE are now entering upon the proceedings of the Long Parliament, which continued sitting, with some little intermission, for above eighteen years, and occasioned such prodigious Revolutions in Church and State, as were the surprize and wonder of all Europe. The House of Commons have been severely censured for the ill success of their endeavours to recover and secure the Constitution of their Country; but the attempt was Glorious, though a train of unforeseen accidents render'd it fatal in the Event. The Members were made up chiefly of Country Gentlemen, who had no attachment to the Court; for as Whitlock observes, "Though the Court laboured to bring in their Friends, yet those who had most favour with them, had least in the Country; and it was not a little strange, to see what a Spirit of opposition to the Court proceedings, was in the Hearts and Actions of most of the People, so that very few of that party had the favour of being chosen Members of this Parliament." Mr. Eachard insinuates some unfair methods of Elections, which might be true on both sides; but both he and Lord Clarendon admit, that there were many great and worthy Patriots in the House, and as eminent as any age had ever produced; Men of Gravity, of Wisdom, and of great and plentiful Fortunes, who would have been satisfied with some few amendments in Church and State.

Before the beginning of the Session the principal Members consulted measures for "securing the frequency of Parliaments; for redressing of Grievances in Church and State; and, for bringing the King's arbitrary Ministers to Justice;" to accomplish which it was thought necessary to set some bounds to the Prerogative, and to lessen the power of the Bishops, but it never enter'd into their thoughts to overturn the civil or ecclesiastical Government, as will appear from the concurrent testimony of the most unexceptionable Historians.

As

“ As to their religion (says the noble historian) they were  
 “ all members of the Establish’d Church, and almost to a  
 “ man for episcopal government, Though they were un-  
 “ devoted enough to the court, they had all imaginable du-  
 “ ty for the King, and affection for the government esta-  
 “ blished by law or ancient custom; and without doubt  
 “ the majority of that body were persons of gravity and  
 “ wisdom, who being possessed of great and plentiful for-  
 “ tunes, had no mind to break the peace of the kingdom, or  
 “ to make any considerable alterations in the government of  
 “ the Church or State.” Dr. Lewis du Moulin, who lived  
 through these times, says, “ That both Lords and Com-  
 “ mons were most, if not all, peaceable, orthodox Church  
 “ of England men, all conforming to the rites and ceremo-  
 “ nies of episcopacy, but greatly averse to popery and tyran-  
 “ ny, and to the corrupt part of the Church that inclined  
 “ towards Rome.” This is further evident from their or-  
 der of Nov. 20. 1640, “ That none should sit in their  
 “ house, but such as would receive the Communion accord-  
 “ ing to the usage of the Church of England”. The Com-  
 mons, in their grand remonstrance of Dec. 1. 1641. de-  
 clared to the world, “ That it was far from their purpose  
 “ to let loose the golden reins of discipline and government  
 “ in the Church, to leave private persons, or particular  
 “ congregations, to take up what form of divine service they  
 “ pleased; for we hold it requisite (say they) that there  
 “ should be throughout the whole realm a conformity to  
 “ that order which the law enjoins, according to the word  
 “ of God”. The noble Historian adds further, “ That e-  
 “ ven after the battle of Edgehill the design against the  
 “ Church was not grown popular in the house; that in  
 “ the years 1642. and 1643. the Lords and Commons  
 “ were all in perfect conformity to the Church of England,  
 “ and so was their army, the general and officers both by  
 “ sea and land being neither Presbyterians, Independants,  
 “ Anabaptists, nor Conventiclers; and that, when they cast  
 “ their eyes upon Scotland, there were in truth very few in  
 “ the two houses who desired the extirpation of episcopacy.  
 “ Nay, his lordship is of opinion, that the nation in general  
 “ was less inclined to the Puritans than to the Papists; at  
 “ least, that they were for the establishment; for when  
 “ the King went to Scotland [1641] the Common Prayer  
 “ was much revered throughout the kingdom, and was  
 “ a general object of veneration with the people—There

King  
 Charles I.  
 1640.

Thos. reli-  
 gious Cha-  
 racter.  
 Clarend.  
 Vol. I.  
 p. 154.  
 &c.



King  
Charles I.  
1640.

“ was a full submission and love to the established govern-  
“ ment of the Church and State, especially to that part of  
“ the Church which concerned the liturgy and Book of  
“ Common Prayer;” which, though it be hardly credible,  
as will appear hereafter by the numbers of petitions from  
several counties against the Hierarchy, yet may serve to  
silence those of his Lordship’s admirers, who through igno-  
rance and ill-will have represented the long Parliament,  
and the body of the Puritans, at their first sitting down,  
as in a plot against the whole ecclesiastical establishment.

If we may believe his Lordship’s character of the leading  
members of both houses, even of those that were most ac-  
tive in the war against the King, we shall find they  
were true Churchmen according to Law; and that they  
had no designs against episcopacy, nor any inclination to  
Presbytery, or the separation.

Character  
of the lead-  
ing Mem-  
bers among  
the Peers.  
Earl of  
Essex.  
Claren.  
Vol. I.  
p. 182.  
185, 189,  
211, 212,  
233, 507.  
Vol. II.  
p. 211,  
212, 214,  
462, 597,  
&c.  
Earl of  
Bedford.

The Earl of Essex was general of the Parliament army,  
and so great was his reputation, that his very name com-  
manded thousands into their service. It had been im-  
possible for the Parliament to have raised an army, in  
his Lordship’s opinion, if the earl of Essex had not con-  
sented to be their general; and “ yet this nobleman, says  
“ he, was not indevoted to the function of Bishops, but  
“ was as much devoted as any man to the Book of Com-  
“ mon Prayer, and obliged all his servants to be present with  
“ him at it; his household Chaplain being always a conforma-  
“ ble man, and a good scholar.”

The Earl of Bedford was general of the horse under  
the Earl of Essex, “ but he had no desire that there should  
“ be any alteration in the government of the Church; he  
“ had always lived towards my lord of Canterbury himself,  
“ with all respect and reverence; he frequently visited and  
“ dined with him, subscribed liberally to the repairing  
“ St. Paul’s, and seconded all pious undertakings.”

Lord Kim-  
bolton.

Lord Kimbolton, afterwards Earl of Manchester, was a  
man of great generosity and good breeding; and no man  
was more in the confidence of the discontented party, nor  
more trusted; he was commander of part of the Parliament  
forces, and rather complied with the changes of the times  
than otherwise; he had a considerable share in the restoration  
of King Charles the second, and was in high favour with  
him till his death.

Earl of  
Warwick.

The Earl of Warwick was admiral of the parliament fleet;  
he was the person who seized on the King’s ships, and em-  
ployed them against him during the whole course of the  
war;

war; he was looked upon as the greatest patron of the Puritans, and yet "this Nobleman (says Lord Clarendon) never discovered any aversion to episcopacy, but much professed the contrary".

King  
Charles I.  
1640.

In truth (says the noble Historian) when the bill was brought into the house to take away the Bishops votes in Parliament, there were only at that time taken notice of in the House of Peers, the Lords Say, and Brook, as positive enemies to the whole fabrick of the Church, and to desire a dissolution of the government.

Among the leading members in the House of Commons we may reckon "William Lenthall Esq; their Speaker, who was of no ill reputation for his affection to the Government both of Church and State"; (says his Lordship) and declared on his death-bed after the restoration, that he had always believed episcopal government to be the best government of the Church, and accordingly died a dutiful member of the Church of England.

Character  
of the lead-  
ing Mem-  
bers in the  
House of  
Commons.  
Of Mr.  
Lenthall  
the Speaker.

Mr. Pym had the greatest influence in the House of Commons, and was in truth the most popular man, and most able to do hurt, of any that lived in his time; and yet Lord Clarendon says, "Though he was an enemy to the Arminians, he professed to be very entirely for the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, and was never thought to be for violent measures, till the King came to the House of Commons, and attempted to seize him amongst the five Members."

Ms. Pym.

Denzil Hollis, Esq; after the Restoration promoted to the dignity of a Baron, was at the head of all the Parliament's counsels till the year 1647. "He had an indignation (says Lord Clarendon) against the Independants, nor was he affected to the Presbyterians, any otherwise than as they constituted a party to oppose the others, but was well pleased with the government of the Church."

Mr Hollis.

Sir H Vane the Elder did the King's affairs an unspeakable prejudice and yet "in his judgment he liked the government both of Church and State; nay, he not only appeared highly conformable himself, but exceeding sharp against those that were not."

Sir H. Vane.  
sen.

Sir John Hotham was the gentleman who shut the gates of Hull against the King's forces; shed the first blood that was spilt in the civil War; and was the first his Majesty proclaimed a traitor; and yet his lordship declares, "He was very well affected to the government."

Sir John  
Hotham.

King  
Charles I.  
1646.

Mr. Hamp-  
den.  
Of the E. of  
Essex's  
Party.

His Lordship is a little more dubious about the famous Mr. Hampden, but says, That most people believed " his dislike was rather to some Churchmen, than to the ecclesiastical government of the Church."

I might mention Mr. Whitlock, Selden, Langhorne, and others, who are represented without the least inclination to Presbytery; but it is sufficient to observe from his Lordship, " That all the Earl of Essex's party in both houses, were men of such principles, that they desired no alteration in the court or government, but only of the persons that acted in it; nay, the chief officers of his army were so zealous for the liturgy, that they would not hear a man as a Minister that had no episcopal ordination.

And others. Nathaniel Fiennes, Esq; Sir H. Vane, jun. and shortly after Mr. Hampden, were believed to be for root and branch; yet (says his Lordship) Mr. Pym was not of that mind, nor Mr. Hollis, nor any of the northern men, or any of those lawyers, who drove on most furiously with them; all who, were well pleased with the government of the Church; for tho' it was in the hearts of some few to remove foundations, they had not the courage and confidence to communicate it.

This was the present temper and constitution of both Houses of Parliament, from whence his Lordship justly concludes, " that as they were all of them, almost to a man, conformists to the Church of England, they had all imaginable duty for the King, and affection for the government established by law; and as for the Church, the major part even of these persons would have been willing to satisfy the King; the rather, because they had no reason to think the two houses, or indeed either of them, could have been induced to pursue the contrary." How injurious then are the characters of those Church-historians, and others, who have represented the members of this Parliament, even at their first sitting down, as men of the new religion, or of no religion, Fanaticks, and men that had form'd deep designs against the whole constitution in Church and State.

Long Par-  
liament o-  
pened.

The Parliament was open'd Nov. 3. with a most gracious Speech from the throne, wherein his Majesty declares, he would concur with them in satisfying their just grievances, leaving it with them where to begin. Only some offence was taken at his Majesty's calling the Scots, Rebels, at a time when there was a pacification with them; upon which his Majesty came to the house, and instead of softning his language, very imprudently avowed the expression,



King  
Charles I.  
1640.

pression, saying, "He could call them neither better nor worse." The houses petitioned his Majesty to appoint a fast, for a Divine Blessings upon their Counsels, which was observed Nov. 17, the Reverend Mr. Marshal and Mr. Burges preached before the Commons; the former on 2 Chron. xv. 2. "The Lord is with you, while you are with him; if you seek him he will be found of you, but if you forsake him he will forsake you." The latter on Jer. l. 5. "They shall ask the way to Zion with their faces thitherward, saying, Come, and let us join ourselves to the Lord in an everlasting Covenant that shall not be forgotten." The Sermons were long, but delivered with a great deal of caution: The house gave them thanks, and a piece of plate for their labours. The Bishops of Durham and Carlisle preached before the Lords in the Abbey Church of Westminster; the one a Courtier, and the other a favourer of the Puritans. The Lord's day following all the Members in a body received the Sacrament from the hands of Bishop Williams, Dean of Westminster, not at the rails about the Altar, but at a Communion Table, placed by order of the house, in the middle of the Church, for that purpose.

At their first entring upon business they appointed four grand Committees; the first to receive petitions about grievances of Religion, which was afterwards subdivided into twenty or thirty; the second for the affairs of Scotland and Ireland; the third for Civil Grievances, as Ship-money, Judges, Courts of Justice, Monopolies, &c. the fourth concerning Popery and plots relating thereunto. Among the grievances of Religion, one of the first things that came before the house, was, the acts and canons of the late Convocation; several warm speeches were made against the compilers of them, Nov. 6, and among others Lord Digby, who was as yet with the Country Party, stood up and said, "Does not every Parliament Man's heart rise, to see the Prelates usurping to themselves the grand pre-eminence of Parliaments? the granting subsidies under the name of a benevolence, under no less a penalty to them that refuse it, than the loss of Heaven and earth; of Heaven by excommunication, and of Earth by deprivation, and this without redemption by appeal? What good man can think with patience, of such an enslaving oath, as that which the new Canons enjoin to be taken, by Ministers, Lawyers, Physicians, and Graduates in the University, where, besides the swearing such

They appoint Committees.

Speeches against the late Canons.

" and

King  
Charles I.  
1640.

“ an impertinence, as that things necessary to Salvation  
“ are contained in discipline ; besides the swearing those to  
“ be of divine Right, which among the learned was never  
“ pretended to, as the ARCH Things in our Hierarchy ;  
“ besides the swearing not to consent to the change of  
“ that, which the state may, upon great reasons, think fit  
“ to alter ; besides the bottomless perjury of an Et Cætera ;  
“ besides all this, men must swear that they swear freely  
“ and voluntarily, what they are compelled to ; and lastly,  
“ that they swear to the oath in the literal sense, whereof  
“ no two of the Makers themselves, that I have heard of,  
“ could ever agree in the understanding.”

Sir B. Rudyard, Sir J. Culpeper, Sir Edward Deering, Sir Harbottle Grimstone, spoke with the same warmth, and satyrical wit, for discharging the Canons, dismounting them, and melting them down ; nor did any Gentleman stand up in their behalf but Mr. Holbourn, who is said to make a speech of two hours length in their vindication ; but his arguments made no impression on the house, for at the close of the debate, a Committee of twelve Gentlemen, among whom were Mr. Selden, Maynard, and Coke, was appointed to search for the warrants by which the Convocation was held, after the Parliament broke up, and for the Letters Patents of the Benevolence, and for such other materials as might assist the house in their next debate upon this argument, which was appointed for December 14, when some of the Members would have aggravated the crime of the Convocation to High Treason, but Serjeant Maynard and Mr. Bagshaw moderated their resentments, by convincing them, that they were only in a præmunire. At the close of the debate the house came to the following Resolutions.

Resolutions  
against  
them.  
Dec. 15, 16.

Resolved Nem. Contradicente, “ That the Clergy of  
“ England convened in any Convocation or Synod, or other-  
“ wise, have no power to make any Constitutions, Canons,  
“ or Acts whatsoever, in matters of Doctrine, Discipline,  
“ or otherwise, to bind the Clergy or Laity of the Land,  
“ without consent of Parliament.

Resolved, “ That the several Constitutions and Canons  
Ecclesiastical, treated upon by the Archbishops of Canter-  
“ bury and York, Presidents of the Convocations for  
“ their respective Provinces, and the rest of the Bishops and  
“ Clergy of those Provinces, and agreed upon with the  
“ King’s Majesty’s license, in their several Synods begun

“ at

“ at London and York, 1640, do not bind the Clergy or  
 “ Laity of the Land, or either of them.

King  
 Charles I.  
 1640.

Resolved, “ That the several Constitutions and Canons  
 “ made and agreed to in the Convocations or Synods  
 “ abovementioned, do contain in them many matters con-  
 “ trary to the King’s Prerogative, to the fundamental  
 “ Laws and Statutes of this Realm, to the Rights of Par-  
 “ liament, to the property and liberty of the Subject, and  
 “ matters tending to sedition, and of dangerous conse-  
 “ quence.

Resolved, “ That the several grants of Benevolences or  
 “ Contributions, granted to his most excellent Majesty by  
 “ the Clergy of the Provinces of Canterbury and York,  
 “ in the several Convocations or Synods holden at London  
 “ and York, in the year 1640, are contrary to the Laws,  
 “ and ought not to bind the Clergy.”

If the first of these Resolutions be according to Law, I Remarks.  
 doubt there were then no Canons subsisting, for those of  
 1603, were not brought into Parliament, but being made  
 in a Parliamentary Convocation, were ratified by the King  
 under the Great seal, and so became binding to the Clergy,  
 according to the Statute of the 25th of King Henry VIII.  
 In the Saxon times all Ecclesiastical Laws and Constitutions  
 were confirmed by the Peers, and by the Representatives  
 of the People; but those great Councils, to which our  
 Parliament succeed, being made up of Laicks and Ecclesi-  
 asticks, were afterwards divided and then the Clergy did  
 their business by themselves, and enacted Laws without  
 confirmation of King or Parliament, during the reign of  
 Popery, till the Act of the Submission of the Clergy to  
 King Henry VIII. so that the claim of making Canons  
 without consent of Parliament, seemed to stand upon no  
 other foundation than the usurped power of the Pope; nor  
 did the Parliament in those times yield up their right, for  
 in the 51st of Edward III. the Commons passed a bill,  
 That no Act or Ordinance should be made for the future  
 upon the petition of the Clergy, without consent of the  
 Commons; “ and that the said Commons should not be  
 “ bound for the future by any constitutions of the Clergy,  
 “ to which they had not given their consent in Parliament.”  
 But the bill was dropt, and things went on upon the former  
 foot till the reign of King Henry VIII. when the Pope’s  
 usurped power was set aside, and both Parliament and Cler-  
 gy agreed (by the Act of Submission) that no Canons should  
 be binding without the Royal Assent; nor that the Clergy  
 in



King  
Charles I.  
1640.

Fuller's Ap-  
peal, p. 42.

in Convocation should so much as consult about any, without the King's special license; but Serjeant Maynard said in the House, that it did not follow, that because the Clergy might not make Canons without the King's License, that therefore they might make them, and bind them on the Clergy by his license alone; for this were to take away the ancient rights of Parliament before the Pope's Usurpation, which they never yielded up, nor does the Act of Submission of the Clergy take away. Upon this reasoning the Commons voted their first Resolution, the strength of which I leave to the consideration of the reader.

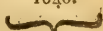
The arguments upon which the other resolutions are founded will be put together, after we have related the proceedings of Convocation.

Proceedings  
of Convoca-  
tion.

The Convocation was opened Nov. 4. Dr. Bargrave, Dean of Canterbury, preached the Sermon, and Dr. Steward, Dean of Chichester, was chosen Prolocutor, and presented to the Archbishop's acceptance in King Henry the VIIIth's Chapel, when his Grace made a pathetick Speech, lamenting the danger of the Church, and exhorting every one present to perform the duty of their places with Resolution, and not to be wanting to themselves, or the cause of Religion; but nothing of moment was transacted, there being no commission from the King; only Mr. Warmist're, one of the Clerks for the Diocese of Worcester, being convinced of the invalidity of the late Canons, moved the house, 'That "they might cover the pit which they had opened,"' and prevent a parliamentary inquisition, by petitioning the King for leave to review them; but his motion was rejected, the house being of opinion that the Canons were justifiable; nor would they appear so mean as to condemn themselves before they were accused. Mr. Warmist're suffered in the opinion of his brethren within doors for his cowardly speech; and was reproached from without as an enemy to the Church, and a Turn-coat, because he had subscribed those articles which now he condemned. This obliged him to publish his Speech to the World, in which, after having declared his satisfaction in the doctrine, discipline and government of the Church of England, as far as it is established by law, he goes on to wish there had been no private innovations brought in; for though he approves of an outward reverence in the worship of God, he is against directing it to Altars and Images. He apprehends it reasonable, that such innocent ceremonies as have a proper tendency to decency and order should be retained, but wishes  
the

Mr. War-  
mist're's  
Speech.

King  
Charles I.  
1640.



the removal of Crosses and Images out of Churches, as scandalous and superstitious; having an apparent tendency towards Idolatry; and that there might be no lighted Candles in the day-time; he then gives his reasons against the Oath in the sixth Canon, and concludes with these words; "If my Subscription be urged against what I have said, "I was persuaded it was the practice of Synods and "Councils, that the whole body should subscribe to those "Acts which are passed, by the major part, as Synodical "Acts, notwithstanding their private dissent; if my subscription implied any more, I do so far recant and condemn it in myself, and desire pardon both of God and "the Church, resolving by God's Grace to be more cautious hereafter." Mr. Warmistre's behaviour shewed him to be a wise and discreet Clergyman; and his being sequestered from his livings some time after, for not submitting to the Parliament, shews him to be a man of principle, not to be moved from his integrity by the resentments of his friends, or the flatteries of his enemies. And though the Convocation was so sanguine at their first coming together, as to despise Mr. Warmistre's motion, yet when they saw the vigorous resolutions of the House of Commons against the Canons, and the articles of impeachment against their Metropolitan for High Treason, one of which was "for compiling the late Canons," they were dispirited, and in a few weeks deserted their stations in the Convocation-House; the Bishops also discontinued their Meetings, and in a few weeks both Houses dwindled to nothing, and broke up without Adjournment or Prorogation.

They disappointed.

Objections of the Commons against the late Convocation.

To return to the Parliament; it was argued against the late Convocation, that they were no legal assembly after the dissolution of the Parliament; that his Majesty had no more power to continue them than to recal his Parliament; nor could he, by his Letters Patents, convert them into a national or provincial Synod, because the right of their Election ceasing at the expiration of the Convocation, they ought to have been re-chosen before they could act in the name of the Clergy whom they represented, or bind them by their Decrees. 'Tis contrary to all law and reason in the world, that a number of men met together in Convocation, upon a Summons limited to a certain time, should, after the expiration of that time, by a new Commission, be changed into a national or provincial Synod, without the voice or election of any one person concerned.

The

King  
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The Commons were therefore at a loss what Name to call this extraordinary Assembly by, being in their opinion, neither Convocation nor Synod, because no representative body of the Clergy. The Words Convocation and Synod are convertible Terms, and signify the same thing, but 'tis essential to both that they be chosen by the Clergy, if they are to make Constitutions and Canons to bind them. Some, indeed, have thought of a small distinction, as that a Convocation must begin and end with the Parliament, whereas a Synod may be called by the King out of Parliament, but then such an Assembly cannot give Subsidies for their Brethren, nor make Laws to bind them.

And against  
the Canons.

The Objections to the particular Canons are these:

I. Against the First Canon it was argued, That the Compilers of it had invaded the Rights and Prerogative of Parliament, by pretending to settle and declare the extent of the King's Power, and the Subjects Obedience.

By declaring the sacred Order of Kings to be of Divine Right, founded in the prime laws of Nature and Revelation, by which they condemned all other Governments.

By affirming, that the King had an absolute Power over all his Subjects, and a Right to the Subsidies and aids of his people, without consent of Parliament.

By affirming, that Subjects may not bear arms against their King, either offensive or defensive, upon any Pretext whatsoever, upon pain of "receiving to themselves  
" Damnation."

By taking upon themselves to define some things to be Treason not included in the Statute of Treasons.

And, Lastly, by inflicting a penalty on such of the King's Subjects as shall dare to disobey them, in not reading and publishing the above-mentioned particulars; in all which cases it was averred, that they had "invaded the  
" Rights of Parliament, destroyed the Liberty of the Sub-  
" ject, and subverted the very fundamental Laws and  
" Constitutions of England."

II. It was objected against the second Canon, that they had assumed the legislative Power, in appointing a new Holy Day, contrary to the Statute, which says, there shall be such and such Holy days, and no more.

IV. It was objected against the fourth Canon, that whereas the determination of Heresy is expressly reserved to Parliament, the Convocation had declared that to be

Heresy

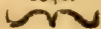


Hereſy which the Law takes no notice of ; and had condemned Socinianiſm in general, without declaring what was included under that denomination, ſo that after all, it was left in their own breſts whom they would condemn and censure under that character.

VI. It was objected againſt the ſixth Canon, that it impoſed a new Oath upon the Subject, which is a power equal, if not ſuperior to the making a new Law. It was argued likewiſe againſt the Oath itſelf, that in ſome parts it was very ambiguous and doubtful, and in others directly falſe and illegal.

We are to ſwear in the Oath, that “ we approve the “ Doctrinè, Diſcipline, or Government eſtabliſhed in the “ Church of England,” and yet we are not told wherein that Doctrinè and Diſcipline is contained ; whether by the doctrinè of the Church we are to underſtand only the Thirty nine Articles, or likewiſe the Homilies and Church Catechiſm ; and by the Diſcipline, only the Book of Canons, or likewiſe all other eccleſiaſtical Orders, not repealed by Statute ; for it is obſervable, that the Words of the Oath are, “ As it is eſtabliſhed,” and not, “ As “ it is eſtabliſhed by Law.” And the ambiguity is further encreaſed by that remarkable *Et cætera*, inſerted in the body of the Oath ; for whereas Oaths ought to be explicit, and the Senſe of the Words as clear and determined as poſſible, we are here to ſwear to we know not what, to ſomething that is not expreſſed ; by which means we are left to the arbitrary interpretation of the Judge, and may be involved in the guilt of Perjury before we are aware.

King  
Charles I.  
1640.



Objections  
againſt the  
*Et cætera*  
Oath.

But beſides the Ambiguity of the Oath, it contains ſome things falſe and illegal ; for it affirms, the government of the Church by Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Deans and Archdeacons, to be of Divine Right ; for after we have ſworn to the Hierarchy as eſtabliſhed by the Law of the Land, we are to ſwear further, that “ by Right it ought ſo to ſtand :” Which words are a mere tautology, or elſe muſt infer ſome further Right than that which is included in the legal eſtabliſhment, which can be no other than a Divine Right. Now, though it ſhould be allowed, that the government of the Church by Biſhops is of Divine Right, yet certainly Archbiſhops, Deans and Archdeacons can have no pretence to that claim.

Beſides, to ſwear, “ never to give our conſent to alter the “ Government of this Church by Archbiſhops, Biſhops &c.

“ as

King  
Charles I.  
1640.

“ as it stands now established, is directly contrary to the Oath of Supremacy, for in that Oath we are sworn to assist his Majesty in the exercise of his ecclesiastical Jurisdiction or Government, by his Commission under the Great Seal, directed to such Persons as he shall think meet ; so that if his Majesty should think fit at any time to commission other persons to exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction than at present, we are sworn by the Oath of Supremacy, not only to consent; but to aid and assist him in it ; whereas in this new Oath we swear, never to consent to any such alteration.

Nothing is more evident, than that the Discipline of the Church is alterable ; the Church itself laments the want of godly Discipline; and many of the Clergy and Laity wish and desire an amendment ; it is therefore very unreasonable, that all that take degrees in the Universities, many of whom may be Members of Parliament, shall be sworn beforehand, “ never to consent to any Alteration.” And though ’tis known to all the world, that many of the conforming Clergy are dissatisfied with some branches of the present Establishment, yet they are to swear, that they take this Oath Heartily and Willingly, though they are compelled to it under the penalties of Suspension and Deprivation. Some objections were made to the seventh, and other Canons, but these were the chief:

Remarks.

Archbishop Laud, in his answer to the Impeachment of the House of Commons against himself, boldly undertakes to refute all these objections, and to justify the whole, and every branch of the Canons ; his words are these, “ I hope  
“ I am able to make it good in any learned Assembly in  
“ Christendom, that this Oath, and all those Canons (then  
“ made, and here before recited) and every branch in them,  
“ are just and orthodox, and moderate, and most necessary  
“ for the present condition of the Church of England, how  
“ unwelcome soever to the present distempers.” Lord  
Clarendon expresses himself modestly on the other side ; he doubts, whether the Convocation was a legal Assembly after the dissolution of the Parliament, but is very sure, that their proceedings are not to be justified ; “ The Convocation-  
“ house, (says he) which is the regular and legal assembling  
“ of the Clergy, was after the determination of the Parlia-  
“ ment, continued by a new Writ under the proper title of  
“ a Synod, made Canons, which certainly it might do ;  
“ and gave Subsidies out of Parliament, and enjoined  
“ Oaths which certainly it might not do ; in a word, did  
“ many things which in the best of times might have been  
“ question’d;

“ questioned, and therefore were sure to be condemned in  
 “ the worst.” The Parliament that sat after the Resto-  
 ration was of the same mind with his Lordship, forasmuch  
 as these Canons were excepted out of the Act of 13 Car.  
 II. cap. 12. and declared of no validity. Mr. Eachard is of  
 opinion, that the Synod that framed these Canons was not  
 a legal Representative of the Clergy after the dissolution of  
 the two Houses. But Bishop Kennet in his complete His-  
 tory, says, That these publick censures of the Canons were  
 grounded upon prejudice and faction; that it is hard to find  
 any defect of legality in the making them; and that if these  
 Canons are not binding, we have no proper Canons since  
 the Reformation; he therefore wishes them, or some others  
 like them, revived, because “ in very much of Doctrine  
 “ and Discipline they are a good example to any future  
 “ Convocation; and, that we can hardly hope for unity,  
 “ or any tolerable regularity, without some Constitutions  
 “ of the like nature.” Strange! that a dignified Clergy-  
 man, that held his Bishoprick upon Revolution Principles,  
 should wish the subversion of the Constitution of his Coun-  
 try, and declare for principles of persecution. If I might  
 have liberty to wish, it should be, That neither we nor our  
 posterity may ever enjoy the Blessings of unity and regula-  
 rity upon the foot of such Canons.

King  
 Charles I.  
 1640.

Kennet, p.  
 113.

Upon the same day that the House passed the abovementioned Resolutions against the Canons, several warm Speeches were made against the Archbishop of Canterbury, as the chief Author of them; and a Committee was appointed to enquire more particularly, how far his Grace had been concerned in the Proceedings of the Convocation, and in the treasonable design of subverting the Religion and Laws of his Country, in order to draw up a Charge against him. Next day the Earl of Bristol acquainted the House of Lords, that the Scots Commissioners had presented some papers against the Archbishop of Canterbury, which were read by the Lord Paget, and then reported to the House of Commons, at a Conference between the two Houses. Their charge consisted of divers Grievances (which had occasioned great disturbances in the Kingdom of Scotland) ranged under three heads, of all which they challenged the Archbishop to be the chief Author upon earth.

Archbishop.  
 Laud im-  
 peached of  
 High Treason, Dec. 16.

The first branch of the charge consisted of “ Divers al-  
 “ terations in Religion, imposed upon them without Or-  
 “ der, and against Law, contrary to the form establish-  
 “ ed in their Kirk;” as, U  
 Vol. II. p<sup>r</sup>ear

The Scots  
 charge.



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1640.

appear in the Chapel in their Whites, contrary to the custom of their Kirk, and the Archbishop's own promise ; his directing the English Service to be read in the Chapel twice a day ; his ordering a list of those Councillors, and Senators of the College of Justice, who did not communicate in the Chapel, according to a form not received in their Kirk, to be sent up to him, in order to their being punished ; his presumptuous censuring the practice of the Kirk, in Fasting sometimes on the Lord's Day, as opposite to Christianity it self ; his obtaining warrants for the sitting of the High Commission Court once a week at Edinburgh ; and his directing the taking down of galleries and stone walls in the Kirks of Edinburgh and St. Andrews, to make way for Altars, and Adorations towards the East.

The second branch of their charge was, “ his obtruding  
“ upon them a Book of Canons and Constitutions Eccle-  
“ siastical, devised, for the establishing a tyrannical power  
“ in the persons of their Prelates, over the Consciences,  
“ Liberties, and Goods of the People ; and for abolishing  
“ that Discipline and Government of their Kirk, which was  
“ settled by Law, and had obtained amongst them ever  
“ since the Reformation.” For proof of this they alledged that the Book of Canons was corrected, altered, and enlarged by him at his pleasure, as appears by the interlineations, and marginal Notes in the Book, written with the Archbishop's own hand : That he had added some entire new Canons, and altered others, in favour of Superstition and Popery ; and in several Instances relating to the censures of the Church, had lodged an unbounded power in the Prelates over the Consciences of Men.

The third and great Innovation with which they charged the Archbishop, was, “ The Book of Common Prayer, Ad-  
“ ministration of the Sacraments, and other parts of Divine  
“ Worship, brought in without warrant from their Kirk, to  
“ be universally received as the only form of Divine Service,  
“ under the highest pains both Civil and Ecclesiastical ;  
“ which Book contained many Popish Errors and Cere-  
“ monies, repugnant to their Confession of Faith, Con-  
“ stitutions of their General Assemblies, and to Acts of  
“ Parliament.” Several of these errors are mentioned in the Article, and they declare themselves ready, when desired, to discover a great many more of the same kind ; all which were imposed upon the Kingdom, contrary to their earnest supplications ; and upon their refusal to receive the  
Service

Service Book, they were, by his Grace's instigation declared Rebels and Traitors; an Army was raised to subdue them, and a prayer composed and printed by his direction, to be read in all the Parish Churches in England, in time of Divine Service, wherein they are called "Traiterous Subjects, having cast off all Obedience to their Sovereign;" and Supplication is made to the Almighty, to cover their faces with shame, as Enemies to God and the King. They therefore pray, that the Archbishop may be immediately removed from his Majesty's Presence, and that he may be brought to a trial, and receive such censure as he has deserved, according to the laws of the Kingdom.

King  
Charles I.  
1640.

The Archbishop has left behind him a particular Answer to these Articles, in his Diary, which is writ with a peculiar sharpness of Style, and discovers a great opinion of his own abilities, and a sovereign contempt of his Adversaries; but either from a distrust of the strength of his reply, or for some other reasons, his Grace was pleased wisely to evade the whole charge at his trial, by pleading The Act of Oblivion at the pacification of the Scots troubles.

His Grace's  
reply.

When the report of these Articles was made to the Commons, the resentment of the House against the Archbishop immediately broke out into a flame; many severe Speeches were made against his late conduct; and among others, one was by Sir Harbottle Grimstone, Speaker of that Parliament that restored the King, who stood up and said, "That this great Man, the Archbishop of Canterbury, was the very Sty of all that pestilential filth that had infested the Government; that he was the only Man that had advanced those, who, together with himself, had been the Authors of all the Miseries the Nation now groaned under. That he had managed all the projects that had been set on foot for these ten years past, and had condescended so low as to deal in Tobacco, by which thousands of poor people had been turned out of their trades, for which they served an apprenticeship; that he had been charged in this House, upon very strong proof, with designs to subvert the Government, and alter the Protestant Religion in this Kingdom, as well as in Scotland; and there is scarce any grievance or complaint comes before the House, wherein he is not mentioned, like an angry wasp, leaving his sting in the tail of every thing." He therefore moved, that the charge of the Scots Commissioners might be supported by an im-

Sir H. Grim-  
stone's  
Speech a-  
gainst him.

King  
Charles I.  
1640.

He is im-  
peached by  
the English  
Parliament.

peachment of their own; and, that the question might now be put, "Whether the Archbishop had been guilty of "High Treason?" Which being voted, Mr. Hollis was immediately sent up to the bar of the House of Lords to impeach him in the Name of all the Commons of England, and to desire, that his person might be sequestered, and that in convenient time they would bring up the particulars of their Charge; upon which his Grace being commanded to withdraw, stood up in his place and said, "That "he was heartily sorry for the offence taken against him, "but humbly desired their Lordships to look upon the whole "course of his Life, which was such, as that he was persuaded not one Man in the House of Commons did believe "in his heart that he was a Traitor." To which the Earl of Essex replied, "That it was a high reflection upon the "whole House of Commons, to suppose they would charge "him with a crime which themselves did not believe." After this his Grace withdrew, and being called in again, was delivered to the Usher of the Black Rod, to be kept in safe custody, till the House of Commons should deliver in their Articles of Impeachment.

He is com-  
mitted to  
the Usher of  
the Black  
Rod.

Upon the 26th of February Mr. Pym, Mr. Hampden, and Mr. Maynard, by order of the Commons, went up to the House of Lords, and at the Bar of the House presented their Lordships with fourteen articles, in maintenance of their former charge of High Treason against the Archbishop, which were read, his Grace being present.

Heads of the  
impeach-  
ment of the  
H. of Com-  
mons.

In the first, he is charged with endeavouring to subvert the Constitution, by introducing an arbitrary Power of Government, without any Limitation or Rule of Law. In the second, he is charged with procuring Sermons to be preached, and other Pamphlets to be printed, in which the Authority of Parliaments is denied, and the Absolute Power of the King asserted to be agreeable to the Law of God. The third Article charges him with interrupting the course of Justice, by messages, threatnings, and promises to the Judges. The fourth, with selling Justice in his own Person, under colour of his Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, and with advising his Majesty to sell Places of Judicature, contrary to Law. In the fifth, he is charged with the Canons, and Oath, imposed upon the Subject by the late Convocation. In the sixth, with robbing the King of his Supremacy, by denying the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction to be derived from the Crown. In the seventh, with bringing in Popish Doctrine, Opinions, and Ceremonies, contrary



King  
Charles I.  
1640.

trary to' the articles of the Church, and cruelly persecuting those who opposed them. In the eighth, he is charged with promoting persons to the highest and best preferments in the Church who are corrupt in doctrine and manners. In the ninth, with employing such for his domestick Chaplains, as he knew to be popishly affected, and committing to them the licensing of Books, whereby such writings have been publish'd, as have been scandalous to the Protestant Religion. The tenth article charges him with sundry attempts to reconcile the Church of England with the Church of Rome. The eleventh, with discountenancing of preaching, and with silencing, depriving, imprisoning, and banishing, sundry godly and orthodox Ministers. The twelfth, with dividing the Church of England from the foreign Protestant Churches. The thirteenth, with being the author of all the late disturbances between England and Scotland, And the last, with endeavouring to bereave the kingdom of the legislative power, by alienating the King's mind from his parliaments.

At the delivery of these articles Mr. Pym declared, that the Commons reserved to themselves the liberty of presenting some additional articles, by which they intended to make the charge more particular and certain, as to time and other circumstances; and pray'd their lordships to put the cause into as quick a forwardness as they could.

When the Archbishop had heard the articles read, he made his obeisance to the house, and said, " That it was a great and heavy charge, and that he was unworthy to live if it could be made good; however, it was yet but in Generals, and Generals made a great noise, but were no proof. For human frailties he could not excuse himself, but for corruption in the least degree, he feared no accuser that would speak truth. But that which went nearest him, was, that he was thought false in his Religion, as if he should profess with the Church of England, and have his heart at Rome." He then besought their Lordships, that he might enlarge himself, and so made a short reply to each article, which consisted in an absolute denial of the whole. But the lords voted him to the Tower; whither he was carried in Mr. Maxwell's coach through the city, on Monday, March 1. It was designed he should have pass'd incognito, but an Apprentice in Newgate Street happening to know him, raised the mob, which surrounded the coach, and followed him with huzzas and insults till he got within the Tower gate. Indeed, such was the

Archbishop  
speaks for  
himself.

He is sent to  
the Tower.

King  
Charles I.  
1640.

universal hatred of all ranks and orders of men against this severe prelate, for his cruel usage of those that had fallen into his hands in the time of his prosperity, that no man's fall in the whole kingdom was so unlamented as his. His Grace being lodged in the Tower, thought it his interest to be quiet, without so much as moving the Lords to be brought to a trial, or putting in his answer to the articles of impeachment, till the Commons, after two or three years, exhibited their additional articles, and moved the peers, that he might be brought to judgment.

Prisoners of  
the Prero-  
gative re-  
leased.  
Bishop of  
Lincoln.

Before the Archbishop was confined he had the mortification to see most of the Church and State prisoners set at liberty; Nov. 16. the Bishop of Lincoln was discharged from his imprisonment in the Tower, and his fine remitted. Next day being a publick Fast, he appeared in the Abbey Church at Westminster, and officiated as Dean. When he resumed his seat in the house of Lords, he behaved with more temper than either the King or the Archbishop could expect; upon which his Majesty sent for him, and endeavoured to gain him over to the Court, by promising to make him full satisfaction for his past sufferings; in order to which his Majesty commanded all the judgments that were filed against him to be cancelled, and within a twelve-month translated him to the Archbishoprick of York, with leave to hold his deanry of Westminster in Commendam for three years: The Bishop therefore never complained to the house of his sufferings, nor petition'd for satisfaction.

Prynne,  
Burton,  
and Bast-  
wick.

Mr. Prynne, Mr. Burton, and Dr. Bastwick, being remanded from the several islands to which they had been confined, upon their humble petition to the House of Commons, were met some miles out of town by great numbers of people on horseback with rosemary and bays in their hats, and attended into the City in a sort of triumph, with loud acclamations for their deliverance; a few weeks after, the house came to the following resolutions, " That  
" the several judgments given against them were illegal, un-  
" just and against the liberty of the subject: That their  
" several fines be remitted; that they be restored to their  
" several professions; and, that for reparation of their  
" losses, Mr. Burton ought to have six thousand pounds,  
" and Mr. Prynne and Dr. Bastwick five thousand pounds  
" each, out of the estates of the Archbishop of Canter-  
" bury, the high Commissioners, and those lords who had  
" voted against them in the Star Chamber; but the  
" confession

“ confusion of the times prevented the payment of the  
“ money.”

King  
Charles I.  
1640.

Dr. Leighton was released about the same time, and his  
fine of ten thousand pounds remitted: The reading his pe-  
tition drew tears from the house, being to this effect.

The humble petition of Alexander Leighton, prisoner in  
the Fleet,

Humbly sheweth,

“ **T**HAT on Feb. 17. 1630. he was apprehended co- Dr. Leigh-  
“ ming from sermon by a high Commission Warrant, ton's Peti-  
“ and dragged along the street with bills and staves to Lon- tion.  
“ don House. That the gaoler of Newgate being sent for,  
“ clapt him in irons, and carried him with a strong pow-  
“ er into a loathsome and ruinous dog-hole, full of rats  
“ and mice, that had no light but a little grate, and the  
“ roof being uncovered, the snow and rain beat in upon  
“ him, having no bedding, nor place to make a fire, but  
“ the ruins of an old smoaky chimney. In this woful  
“ place he was shut up for fifteen weeks, no body being  
“ suffered to come to him, till at length his wife only was  
“ admitted.

“ That the fourth day after his commitment the Pursui-  
“ vant, with a mighty multitude, came to his house to  
“ search for Jesuits books, and used his wife in such a bar-  
“ barous and inhuman manner as he is ashamed to express;  
“ that they rifled every person and place, holding a pistol  
“ to the breast of a child of five years old, threatening to  
“ kill him if he did not discover the books; that they broke  
“ open chests, presses, boxes, and carried away every thing,  
“ even household stuff, apparel, arms, and other things;  
“ that at the end of fifteen weeks he was served with a Sub-  
“ pœna, on an information laid against him by Sir Robert  
“ Heath, attorney general, whose dealing with him was  
“ full of cruelty and deceit; but he was then sick, and, in  
“ the opinion of four physicians, thought to be poisoned,  
“ because all his hair and skin came off; that in the height  
“ of this sickness the cruel sentence was past upon him  
“ mentioned in the year 1630. and executed Nov. 26 fol-  
“ lowing, when he received thirty six stripes upon his naked  
“ back with a threefold cord, his hands being tied up to a  
“ stake, and then stood almost two hours in the pillory in  
“ the frost and snow, before he was branded in the face, his  
“ nose slit, and his ears cut off; that after this he was car-  
“ ried by water to the Fleet, and shut up in such a room



King  
Charles I.  
1640.

He is re-  
leased.

Dr. Osbal-  
deston and  
others.  
Nelson,  
p. 250.  
Ib. p. 570.

Authors of  
the late In-  
novations  
censured.  
Dr. Cosins.

“ that he was never well, and after eight years was turned  
“ into the common Gaol——” The house voted him satis-  
faction for his sufferings; but it does not appear that he had  
any, except being keeper of Lambeth House for a prison,  
which he must be very unfit for, being now in the seventy  
second year of his age, and worn out with poverty, weak-  
ness and pain.

Besides these, Dr. Osbaldeston, one of the prebendaries of  
Westminster; the Reverend Mr. Henry Wilkinson, B. D.  
of Magdalen Hall, Oxford, Mr. Smith, Wilson, Small Cooper,  
and Brewer, who had been in prison fourteen years;  
Mr. George Walker, who had been committed for preach-  
ing a Sermon, Oct. 14. 1638. at St. John the Evangelist's,  
London, and detained four weeks in the hands of a messen-  
ger, to whom he paid twenty pounds fees. And after his  
prosecution in the Star Chamber, had been shut up ten weeks  
in the Gate House, and at last enforced to enter into bond of  
a thousand pounds to confine himself prisoner in his brother's  
house at Chiswick, where he continued till this time, his  
parsonage being sequester'd; and in general, all that were  
confined by the high Commission were set at liberty passing  
their words to be forth-coming when they should be called for.

The imprisonment of the above-mentioned gentlemen be-  
ing declared illegal, 'tis natural to imagine the house would  
make some enquiry after their prosecutors. About the latter  
end of January Dr. Cosins, Prebendary of Durham, and after-  
wards bishop of the same diocese, was sent for into custody,  
on account of the superstitious innovations which he had in-  
troduced into that cathedral. The doctor, in his answer, de-  
nied the whole charge, and as to the particulars he replied;  
that the marble altar with cherubims was set up before he  
was prebendary of the Church; that he did not approve of  
the image of God the Father, and that to his knowledge  
there was no such representation in the Church at Durham;  
that the Crucifix with a blue cap and golden beard was  
mistook for the top of Bishop Hatfield's tomb, which had  
been erected twenty five years; that there were but two  
candles on the Communion Table; and; that no more  
were used on Candlemas Night than in the Christmas  
Holidays; that he did not forbid the singing the Psalms in  
metre, nor direct the singing of the Anthem to the three  
Kings of Colen; nor use a consecrated knife at the Sa-  
crament. The Lords were so far satisfied with the Doc-  
tor's Answer, as not to commit him at present; but  
the Commons having voted him unfit to hold any eccle-  
siastical

ecclesiastical promotion, the Doctor foreseeing the storm that was coming upon the Church, wisely withdrew into France, where he behaved discreetly and prudently till the Restoration, being soften'd in his principles by age and sufferings.

King  
Charles I.  
1640.

Dr. Matthew Wren, late Bishop of Norwich, and now of Ely, having been remarkably severe against the Puritan Clergy in his Dioceses; the Inhabitants of Ipswich drew up a Petition against him, and presented it to the House December 22, 1640, upon which the Committee of Parliament exhibited a charge against him, consisting of twenty five Articles relating to the late Innovations. It was carried up to the Lords by Sir Thomas Widdrington, and sets forth, that during the time of his being Bishop of Norwich, which was about two years, fifty Ministers had been excommunicated, suspended, and deprived, "For not reading the second Service at the Communion Table; for not reading the Book of Sports; for using conceived Prayers before the Afternoon Sermon, &c." and that by his rigorous severities many of his Majesty's Subjects, to the number of three thousand, had removed themselves, their families, and estates, to Holland, and set up their Manufacturies there, to the great prejudice of the Trade of this Kingdom. I don't find that the Bishop put in a particular answer to these Articles, nor was he taken into custody, but only gave bond for his appearance. Some time after the Commons voted him unfit to hold any ecclesiastical preferment in the Church, and both Lords and Commons joined in a petition to the King, to remove the said Bishop from his Person and Service; some time after he was imprisoned, with the rest of the protesting Bishops; after his release he retired to his House at Downham in the Isle of Ely, from whence he was taken by a party of Parliament Soldiers and conveyed to the Tower, where he continued a patient prisoner till the end of the year 1659, without being brought to his trial, or admitted to bail.

Bp. Wren.  
Nelson,  
p. 398.

Complaints were made against several other Bishops and Clergymen, as Dr. Pierce Bishop of Bath and Wells, Dr. Montague Bishop of Norwich, Dr. Owen Bishop of Landaff, Dr. Manwaring Bishop of St. David's; but the House had too many affairs upon their hands to attend their Prosecutions. Of the inferior Clergy, Dr. Stone, Chaffin, Aston, Jones, and some others, who had been instruments of severity in the late times, were voted unfit for ecclesiastical promotions. Dr. Layfield Archdeacon of Essex, pleaded his

And several  
other Cler-  
gymen.

his

King  
Charles I.  
1640.

his privilege as a Member of Convocation, according to an old popish Statute of Henry VI. but the Committee over-ruled it, and voted the Doctor into Custody of the Serjeant at Arms. Dr. Pocklington Canon of Windsor, and Prebendary of Peterborough, was complained of for two Books, one entituled, *The Christian Altar*; the other, *Sunday no Sabbath*, which had been licensed by Dr. Bray, one of the Archbishop's Chaplains. The Doctor acknowledged his offence at the Bar of the House, confessed that he had not examined the Books with that caution that he ought, and made a publick recantation in the Church of Westminster; but Pocklington refusing to recant about thirty false propositions, which the Bishop of Lincoln had collected out of his Books, was sentenced by the "Lord Keeper to be deprived of his ecclesiastical preferments; to be for ever disabled to hold any place or dignity in the Church or Commonwealth; never to come within the Verge of his Majesty's Court; and his Books to be burnt by the hands of the common Hangman in the City of London, and the two Universities; but both the Doctors died soon after. The number of petitions that were sent up to the Committee of Religion from all parts of the Country against their Clergy is incredible; some complaining of their superstitious impositions, and others of the immorality of their lives, and neglect of their cures; which shews the little esteem they had among the people, who were weary of their yoke, and respected them no longer than they were under the terror of their Excommunications.

Mutinous  
Behaviour  
of the Peo-  
ple.

Such was the Spirit of the populace, that it was difficult to prevent their out-running Authority, and tearing down in a tumultuous manner what they were told was illegally set up. At St. Saviour's Southwark the Mob pulled down the rails about the Communion Table. At Halstead in Essex they tore the Surplice, and abused the Service Book; nay, when the House of Commons was assembled at St. Margaret's Westminster, as the Priest was beginning the second service at the Communion Table, some at the lower end of the Church began a Psalm, which was followed by the Congregation, so that the Minister was forced to desist. But to prevent these seditious practices for the future, the Lords and Commons passed a very severe sentence on the Rioters, and published the following order, bearing Date Jan. 16th, 1640-1, appointing it to be read in all the Parish Churches of London, Westminster, and the Borough of Southwark, (viz.) "That Divine Service shall be performed

Votes to  
prevent it.



“ formed as it is appointed by the Acts of Parliament of  
 “ this Realm ; and that all such as disturb that wholesome  
 “ order shall be severely punished according to Law.” But  
 then it was added, “ That the Parsons, Vicars, and Cu-  
 “ rates of the severall Parishes, shall forbear to introduce  
 “ any Rites or Ceremonies that may give offence, other-  
 “ wise than those which are established by the Laws of  
 “ the Land.” The design of this proviso was to guard  
 against the late innovations, and in particular, against the  
 Clergy’s refusing the Sacrament to such as would not re-  
 ceive it kneeling at the Rails.

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 Charles I.  
 1640.

There was such a violent clamour against the High Cler-  
 gy, that they could hardly officiate according to the late in-  
 junctions, without being affronted, nor walk the Streets in  
 their Habits (says Nalson) without being reproached as Po-  
 pish Priests, Cæsar’s Friends, &c. the reputation of the  
 Liturgy began to sink ; reading Prayers was called a Life-  
 less Form of Worship, and a quenching the Holy Spirit,  
 whose assistances are promised in the matter, as well as the  
 manner of our prayers ; besides, the Nation being in a cri-  
 sis, it was thought impossible that the old Forms should be  
 suitable to the exigency of the times, or to the circum-  
 stances of particular persons, who might desire a Share in  
 the devotions of the Church. Those Ministers, therefore,  
 who prayed with fervency and devotion, in words of their  
 own conception, suitable either to the Sermon that was  
 preached, or to the present urgency of affairs, had crowd-  
 ed and attentive Auditories, while the ordinary service of the  
 Church was deserted as formal, lifeless, and without Spirit.

Service of  
 the Church  
 neglected.

This discipline of the Church being relaxed, the Brow-  
 nists or Independants, who had assembled in private, and  
 shifted from House to House for twenty or thirty years, took  
 courage, and shewed themselves in publick. We have  
 given an account of their original, from Mr. Robinson and  
 Mr. Jacob, in the year 1616, which last was succeeded by  
 Mr. John Lathorp, formerly a Clergyman in Kent, but  
 having renounced his orders, he became pastor of this little  
 Society. In his time the Congregation was discovered by  
 Tomlinson, the Bishop’s Pursuivant, April 29th, 1632, at  
 the House of Mr. Humphry Barnet, a Brewer’s Clark, in  
 Black Fryars, where forty two of them were apprehended,  
 and but eighteen escaped : Of those that were taken, some  
 were confined in the Clink, others in New-prison and the  
 Gate-house, where they continued about two years, and  
 were then released upon bail, except Mr. Lathorp, for  
 whom

History of  
 the Independ-  
 ants contin-  
 ued.  
 Of Mr.  
 Lathorp,  
 MS. penes  
 me.

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1640.

whom no favour could be obtained ; he therefore petition'd the King for liberty to depart the Kingdom, which being granted, he went in the year 1634, to New England, with about thirty of his Followers. Mr. Lathorp was a Man of learning, and a meek and quiet Spirit, but met with some uneasinesses, upon occasion of one of his people carrying his child to be baptized by the parish Minister ; some of the congregation insisting, that it should be re-baptized, because the other Administration was not valid ; but when the question was put, it was carried in the negative, and resolved by the majority, not to make any declaration at present, " Whether or no Parish Churches were true Churches?" upon this some of the more rigid, and others who were dissatisfied about the lawfulness of infant Baptism, desired their dismission, which was granted them ; these set up by themselves, and chose Mr. Jesse their Minister, who laid the foundation of the first Baptist Congregation that I have met with in England. But the rest renewed their Covenant, " To walk together in the Ways of God, so far as he had made them known to them, and to forsake all false Ways." And so steady were they to their Vows, that hardly an instance can be produced, of one that deserted to the Church by the severest prosecutions.

Mr. Canne.

Upon Mr. Lathorp's retiring to New England the Congregation chose for their Pastor the famous Mr. Canne, Author of the Marginal References in the Bible, who after he had preached to them in private Houses for a year or two, was driven, by the severity of the times into Holland, and became Pastor of the Brownist Congregation at Amsterdam.

Mr. Howe.

After Mr. Canne, Mr. Samuel Howe undertook the pastoral care of this little Flock ; he was a Man of Learning, and printed a small Treatise, called, " The Sufficiency of the Spirit's Teaching." But not being sufficiently upon his guard in conversation, he laid himself open to the Informers, by whose means he was cited into the Spiritual Courts, and excommunicated ; upon this he absconded, but being at last taken, he was shut up in close prison where he died. His friends would have buried him in Shoreditch Church Yard, but being excommunicated the Officers of the Parish would not admit it, so they buried him in a piece of ground at Annisfield Clear, where many of his Congregation were buried after him.

Mr. More.

Upon Mr. Howe's death the little Church was forced to take up with a Lay-man, Mr. Stephen More, a Citizen of London

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London, of good natural parts, and of considerable substance in the World; he had been their Deacon for some years, and in the present exigency accepted of the pastoral Office, to the apparent hazard of his Estate and Liberty. But the face of Affairs beginning now to change, this poor Congregation, which had subsisted almost by a Miracle for above twenty four years, shifting from place to place, to avoid the notice of the Publick, ventur'd to open their Doors in Dead Man's Place, in Southwark, Jan. 18th, 1640-1. Mr. Fuller calls them a Congregation of Anabaptists, who were met together to the number of eighty; but by their Journal or Church Book, an Abstract of which is now before me, it appears to be Mr. More's Congregation of Independants, who being assembled in Dead Man's Place on the Lord's Day, were disturbed by the Marshal of the King's-Bench, and most of them committed to the Clink prison. Next Morning six or seven of the Men were carried before the House of Lords, and charged with denying the King's Supremacy in ecclesiastical matters, and with preaching in separate Congregations, contrary to the Statute of the 35th of Eliz. The latter they confessed, and as to the former, they declared to the House, "That they could acknowledge no other head of the Church but Christ; that they apprehended no Prince on earth had power to make laws to bind the conscience; and that such laws as were contrary to the laws of God, ought not to be obeyed; but that they disowned all foreign power and jurisdiction." Such a declaration a twelvemonth ago would have cost them their Ears; but the House, instead of remitting them to the ecclesiastical Courts, dismissed them with a gentle Reprimand, and three or four of the Members came out of curiosity to their Assembly next Lord's-day, to hear their Minister preach, and see him administer the Sacrament, and were so well satisfied, that they contributed to their collection for the poor.

They appear in publick.

To return to the Parliament. It has been observed, that one of their Resolutions at first sitting down, was to reduce the powers of the Spiritual Courts. The old Popish Canons, which were the laws by which they proceeded (as far as they had nor been repealed by particular Statutes) were such a labyrinth, that when the Subject was got into the Commons he knew not how to defend himself, nor which way to get out. The Kings of England had always declined a reformation of the ecclesiastical Laws, tho' a plan had been laid before them ever since the Reign of King Edward VI.

Votes of  
Parliament  
against In-  
novations.

But



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But the grievance was now become insufferable, by the numbers of illegal imprisonments, deprivations, and fines levied upon the subject in the late times, for crimes not actionable in the Courts of Westminster Hall; it was necessary therefore to bring the affairs of the Church to a parliamentary standard, but till this could be accomplished by a new law, all that could be done was to vote down the late innovations, which had very little effect; and therefore on the 23d of January they ordered commissioners to be sent into all counties, to demolish and remove out of Churches and Chapels, all “images, altars, or tables turned altarwise, crucifixes, superstitious pictures, and other monuments and” “relics of Idolatry, agreeably to the injunctions of King Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth; but how far, and upon what emergent occasions, the House of Commons, who are but one third of the legislature, may lawfully appoint Commissioners to put the laws in execution, without the concurrence of the other two, I must leave with the reader.

Votes against Subscriptions of the University.

The university of Cambridge having complained of the oaths and subscriptions imposed upon young students at their matriculation, as, “subscribing to the Book of Common Prayer, and to the thirty nine articles,” the House of Commons voted, “That the statute made twenty seven years ago in the University of Cambridge, imposing upon young scholars a subscription, according to the thirty sixth canon of 1603. is against law, and the liberty of the subject, and ought not to be imposed upon any students or graduates whatsoever.” About five months forwards they passed the same resolution for Oxford, which was not unreasonable, because the Universities had not an unlimited power, by the thirty sixth Canon, to call upon all their Students to subscribe, but only upon such lecturers or readers of divinity whom they had a power of licensing; and to this I conceive the last words of the Canon refer; “But if either of the Universities offend therein, we leave them to the danger of the law and his Majesty’s censure.

Design of their Votes.

And it ought to be remember’d, That all the proceedings of the House of Commons this year, in punishing delinquents; and all their votes and resolutions about the circumstances of publick worship, had no other view, than the cutting off those illegal additions and innovations, which the iniquity of the late times had introduced, and reducing the discipline of the Church to the standard of statute Law. No man was punished for acting according to law; but the displeasure

displeasure of the house ran high against those, who in their publick ministrations, or in their ecclesiastical Courts, had bound those things upon the subject which were either contrary to the laws of the land, or which the laws had taken no notice of.

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## C H A P. VIII.

The Antiquity of Liturgies, and of the Episcopal Order, debated between Bishop Hall and Smectymnus. Petitions for and against the Hierarchy. Root and Branch Petition. The Ministers petition for Reformation. Speeches upon the petitions. Proceedings against Papists.

THE debates in the House of Commons about the English liturgy and hierarchy, engaged the attention of the whole nation, and revived the controversy without doors. Pamphlets for and against Episcopacy. The press being open great numbers of anonymous Pamphlets appeared against the establishment, not without indecent and severe language, under these and the like titles; " Prelatical Episcopacy not from the Apostles. Lord Bishops not the Lord's Bishops. Short View of the Prelatical Church of England. A Comparison between the Liturgy and the Mass Book. Service Book no better than a Mess of Pottage, &c." Lord Brook attacked the order of Bishops in a treatise of the nature of episcopacy, wherein he reflects, in an ungenerous manner, upon the low pedigree of the present Bench, as if nothing but a noble descent could qualify men to sit among the Peers. Several of the Bishops vindicated their pedigree and descent, as Bishop Williams, Moreton, Curle, Cook, Owen, &c. and Archbishop Usher defended the order, in a treatise, entitled, " The apostolical institution of Episcopacy ;" but then, by a Bishop, his Lordship understood no more, than a stated president over an assembly of Presbyters, which the Puritans of these times were willing to admit. But the most celebrated writer on the side of the establishment, was the learned and pious Bishop Hall, who at the request of Archbishop Laud had published a treatise, entitled " Episcopacy of divine right," as has been related. Bp. Hall's Divine Right of Episcopacy. This Reverend Prelate, upon the gathering of the present storm, appeared a second time in its defence, in an humble remonstrance to the high Court of Parliament; and some time

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Answer'd by  
Smectym-  
nuus.

time after, in a defence of that remonstrance, in vindication of the antiquity of liturgies, and of diocesan episcopacy.

The Bishop's remonstrance was answered by a celebrated treatise, under the title of *Smectymnuus*, a fictitious word, made up of the initial letters of the names of the authors (*viz.*) Stephen Marshal, Edmund Calamy, Thomas Young, Matthew Newcomen, and William Spurstow. When the Bishop had replied to their book, these Reverend Divines published "a vindication of their Answer to the humble remonstrance;" which being an appeal to the legislature on both sides, may be supposed to contain the merits of the controversy, and will therefore deserve the reader's attention.

The debate was upon these two heads;

I. Of the antiquity of liturgies, or forms of Prayer.

II. Of the apostolical institution of diocesan Episcopacy.

Abstract of  
the contro-  
versy upon  
Antiquity  
of Liturgies.  
Sp. Hall.

The Bishop begins with liturgies, by which he understands, "Certain prescribed and limited forms of Prayer, composed for the publick service of the Church, and appointed to be read at all times of publick worship". The antiquity of these, his lordship derives down from Moses, by an uninterrupted succession to the present time. "God's people, says he, ever since Moses's day, constantly practised a set form, and put it over to the times of the Gospel. Our blessed Saviour, and his gracious forerunner, taught a direct form of prayer. When Peter and John went up to the Temple at the ninth hour of prayer, we know the Prayer wherein they joined was not of an extempore and sudden conception, but of a regular prescription; and the evangelical Church, ever since, thought it could never better improve her peace and happiness, than in composing those religious models of invocation and thanksgiving, which they have traduced unto us, as the liturgies of St. James, Basil, and Chrysostom, and which, though in some places corrupted, serve to prove the thing itself."

*Smectym-  
nuus* for  
Liberty of  
Prayer.

*Smectymnuus* replies, That if there had been any liturgies in the times of the first and most venerable antiquity, the great inquirers after them would have produc'd them to the world before this time; but that there were none in the Christian Church is evident from Tertullian, in his Apol. cap. 30. where he says, the Christians of those times, in their publick assemblies, pray'd "sine monitore quia de pe-  
"store;



“store; [without any prompter but their own hearts.” And in his treatise of prayer he adds, There are some things to be asked according to the occasions of every man. St. Austin says the same thing, Ep. 121. It is free to ask the same things that are desired in the Lord’s Prayer, Aliis atque aliis verbis, sometimes in one manner of expression, and sometimes in another. And before this Justin Martyr, in his apology says, ὁ προεστώς, the President, or he that instructed the people, prayed according to his ability, or as well as he could. Nor was this liberty of prayer taken away till the times when the Arian and Pelagian heresies invaded the Church; it was then first ordained, that none should pray “Pro arbitrio, sed semper eadem preces; that they “should not use the liberty which they had hitherto practised, but should always keep to one form of Prayer,” Council Laod. can. 18th. But still this was a form of their own composing, as appears by a canon of the council of Carthage, Anno 397. which gives this reason for it, “Ut nemo in precibus vel patrem, pro filio, vel filium, pro patre nominet, & cum altari adfistitur semper ad patrem dirigatur oratio; & quicumque sibi preces aliunde describit, non iis utatur nisi prius eas cum fratribus instructionibus contulerit, i. e. That none in their prayers might mistake the Father for the Son, or the Son for the Father; and that when they assist at the altar, prayer might be always directed to the Father: And whosoever composes any different forms, let him not make use of them, till he has first consulted with his more learned brethren.” It appears from hence, that there was no uniform prescribed liturgy at this time in the Church, but that the more ignorant priests might make use of forms of their own composing, provided they consulted their more learned brethren; but at length it was ordained at the council of Milan, Anno 416. that none should use set forms of prayer, but such as were approved in a synod. They go on to transcribe from Justin Martyr and Tertullian, the manner of publick worship in their times, which was this; first, the scriptures were read, after reading followed an exhortation to the practice and imitation of what was read, then all rose up and joined in prayer, after this they went to the Sacrament, in the beginning whereof the president of the assembly poured out prayers and thanksgivings, according to his ability, and the people said Amen; then followed the distribution of the elements; and a collection of alms; this was Justin Martyr’s liturgy or service, and Tertullian’s is the

Primitive  
Manner of  
Worship.

King  
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same, only he mentions their beginning with Prayer before reading the Scriptures and their Love Feasts, which also began and ended with prayer, and were celebrated with singing of Psalms. The Smeectymnuans admit, that our blessed Saviour taught his Disciples a form of prayer, but deny that he designed to confine them to the use of those Words only, nor did the primitive Church so understand it, as has been proved from St. Austin. The pretended Liturgy of St. James, Basil, and St. Chrysostom, are of little Weight in this argument, as being allowed by the Bishop, and the most learned criticks, both Protestants and Papists, to be full of forgeries and spurious insertions. Upon the whole therefore, they challenge his Lordship to produce any one genuine Liturgy, used in the Christian Church, for three hundred years after Christ \*.

Bp. Hall's  
Commenda-  
tion of the  
English Li-  
turgy.

From the antiquity of Liturgies in general, the Bishop descends to a more particular commendation of that which is established in the Church of England, as that it was drawn up by wise and good men with great deliberation; that it had been sealed with the blood of Martyrs; and was selected out of ancient models, not Roman but Christian.

Hist. Ref.  
Part 2d.  
p. 72,

\* Bishop Burnet says, That it was in the fourth Century that the Liturgies of St. James, St. Basil, &c. were first mentioned; that the Council of Laodicea appointed the same prayers to be used Mornings and Evenings, but that these Forms were left to the discretion of every Bishop; nor was it made the Subject of any publick Consultation till St. Austin's time, when in their dealing with Hereticks they found they took advantage from some of the Prayers that were in some Churches; upon which it was ordered, that there should be no publick Prayers used but by common advice. Formerly, (says the Bishop) the Worship of God was a pure and simple thing, and so it continued, till Superstition had so infected the Church, that those Forms were thought too naked, unless they were put under more artificial rules, and dressed up with much Ceremony. In every age there were notable Additions made, and all the Writers almost in the eighth and ninth Centuries employed their fancies to find out Mystical Significations for every Rite that was then used, till at length there were so many Missals, Breviaries, Rituals, Pontificals, Pontoises, Pies, Graduals, Antiphonals, Psalteries, Hours, and a great many more, that the understanding how to officiate was become so hard a piece of the trade, that it was not to be learned without long practice.

In

In answer to which these Divines appeal to the Proclamation of King Edward VI. wherein the original of it is published to the World. The Statute mentions four different forms then in use, out of which, an uniform office was to be collected, (viz.) the Use of Sarum, of Bangor, of York, and of Lincoln; all which were Roman rather than Christian; they admit his Lordship's other encomiums of the English Liturgy, but affirm, that it was still imperfect, and in many places offensive to tender consciences.

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Charles I.  
1640.

Smeectym-  
nuus's Re-  
ply.

The good Bishop after all, seems willing to compromise the difference about prayer; "Far be it from me (says his Lordship) to dishearten any good Christian from the use of conceived prayer in his private Devotions, and upon occasion also in the publick. I would hate to be guilty of pouring so much water upon the spirit, to which I shall gladly add oil rather. No, let the full soul freely pour out itself in gracious expressions of its holy thoughts; into the bosom of the Almighty; let both the sudden flashes of our quick ejaculations, and the constant flames of our more fixed conceptions mount up from the altar of a zealous heart into the throne of Grace; and if there be some stops or solecisms, in the fervent utterance of our private wants, these are so far from being offensive, that they are the most pleasing musick to the ears of that God, unto whom our prayers come; let them be broken off with sobs and sighs, and incongruities of our delivery, our good God is no otherways affected to this imperfect elocution, than an indulgent parent is to the clipped and broken language of his dear child, which is more delightful to him than any other smooth oratory. This is not to be supposed in another, by any man that hath found the true operations of this grace in himself ——— What I have professed concerning conceived prayers, is that which I have ever allowed, ever practised both in private and publick. God is a free Spirit, and so should ours be, in pouring out our voluntary devotions upon all occasions; nothing hinders, but that this liberty, and a publick Liturgy should be good friends, and go hand in hand together; and whosoever would forcibly separate them let them bear their own blame——the over-rigorous pressing of the Liturgy, to the jussling out of preaching, or conceived prayers, was never intended, either by the Law-makers, or moderate governors of the Church." If the Bishops, when in

Bp. Hall's  
Concessions  
about Liberty  
of prayer.

Def. of Re-  
monstrance.



King  
Charles I.  
1640.

power, had practised according to these concessions, their affairs could not have been brought to such a dangerous crisis as at this time.

Of the Di-  
stinction be-  
tween Bi-  
shop and  
Presbyter.  
Bp. Hall.

II. The other point in debate, between the Bishop and his adversaries, related to the superior order of Bishops. And here the controversy was not about the name, which signifies, in the Greek, no more than an Overseer, but about the office and character; the Smeſtymnuan Divines contended that a primitive Bishop was no other than a Parochial Pastor, or a preaching Presbyter, without inequality, or any proper rule over his Brethren. His Lordship, on the other hand, affirms, that “ Bishops were originally a  
“ distinct order from Presbyters, instituted by the Apostles  
“ themselves, and invested with the sole power of ordi-  
“ nation and ecclesiastical Jurisdiction;” that in this sense they are of Divine Institution, and have continued in the Church by an uninterrupted succession to the present time. The Bishop enters upon this argument with unusual assurance, bearing down his adversaries with a torrent of bold and unguarded expressions. His words are these, “ This  
“ holy calling (meaning the order of Bishops as distinct  
“ from Presbyters) fetches its pedigree from no less than  
“ Apostolical, and therefore Divine Institution-----Except  
“ all Histories, all Authors fail us, nothing can be more  
“ plain than this; out of them we can and do shew, on  
“ whom the Apostles of Christ laid their hands, with an  
“ acknowledgment, and conveyance of Imparity and Ju-  
“ risdiction. We shew, what Bishops, so ordained, lived  
“ in the times of the Apostles, and succeeded each other  
“ in their several charges, under the eyes and hands of the  
“ then living Apostles. We shew, who immediately suc-  
“ ceeded those immediate Successors, in their several Sees,  
“ throughout all the regions of the Christian Church, and  
“ deduce their uninterrupted Line, through all the follow-  
“ ing ages, to this present day; and if there can be  
“ better evidence under heaven for any matter of fact (and  
“ in this cause matter of fact so derived, evinceth matter  
“ of right) let Episcopacy be for ever abandoned out of  
“ God’s Church,-----Again, if we do not shew out of the  
“ genuine and undeniable writings of those holy Men,  
“ who lived both in the times of the Apostles, and some  
“ years after them, and conversed with them as their  
“ blessed fellow-labourers, a clear and received distinction  
“ both of the names and offices of Bishops, Presbyters,  
“ and

Remonst.  
p. 21.

“ and Deacons, as three distinct, subordinate Callings  
 “ in God’s Church, with an evident Specification of the  
 “ duty and charge belonging to each of them ; let this  
 “ claimed Hierarchy be for ever hooted out of the  
 “ Church.”

King  
 Charles I.  
 1640.

The Bishop admits that the language of Scripture, Bishops and Presbyters are the same ; that there is a plain identity in their denomination, and that we never find these three orders mentioned together, Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons ; but though there be no distinction of names, his Lordship apprehends, that there is a real distinction and Specification of powers ; which are,

I. The sole right of ordination.

II. The sole right of Spiritual Jurisdiction.

I. The sole right of Ordination his Lordship proves from the words of St. Paul, 2 Tim. i. 6. “ Stir up the Gift of God which is in thee by the laying on of my hands ;” and that this power was never communicated to Presbyters, from the words of St. Jerom, by whom ordination is excepted from the office of a Presbyter : “ Quid facit Episcopus, quod non facit Presbyter, excepta Ordinatione.” And yet (says his Lordship) our English Bishops do not appropriate this power to themselves ; “ Say, Brethren, I beseech you after all this noise, what Bishops ever undertook to ordain a Presbyter alone, or without the concurrent imposition of many hands ? This is perpetually and unfailably done by us.”

Of the right  
 of Ordina-  
 tion by Bi-  
 shops.  
 Bp. Hall.

The Smectymnuan Divines contend on the other hand, That Bishops and Presbyters were originally the same : That Ordination to the office of a Bishop does not differ from the Ordination of a Presbyter ; that there are no powers conveyed to a Bishop which Presbyters are secluded from ; nor any qualification required in one more than in the other ; that admitting Timothy was a proper Bishop, which they deny, yet that he was ordained by the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery as well as of St. Paul’s, 2 Tim. iv. 14. That the original of the order of Bishops was from the Presbyteries choosing one from among themselves to be a stated president in their assemblies, in the second or third Century ; that St. Jerom declares once and again, that in the days of the Apostles, Bishops and Presbyters were the same ; that as low as his time they had gained nothing but Ordination ; and that St. Chrysostom and Theophylact

Smectym-  
 nuus for  
 Ordination  
 by Presby-  
 ters.

King  
Charles I.  
1640.

affirm, that while the Apostles lived, and for some ages after, the names of Bishops and Presbyters were not distinguished. This (say they) is the voice of the most primitive antiquity \*. But the Smectymnuans are amazed at his Lordship's assertion, that the Bishops of the Church of England never ordained without Presbyters; and that this was so constant a practice, that no instance can be produced of its being done without them. "Strange! (say they) when  
" some of us have been eye-witnesses of many scores who  
" have been ordained by a Bishop in his private Chapel, with-  
" out the presence of any Presbyter, except his domestick  
" Chaplain, who only read prayers. Besides, the Bishops  
" Letters of Orders make no mention of the assistance of  
" Presbyters, but challenge the whole power to themselves,  
" as his Lordship had done, in his Book entitled, " Episcopacy of Divine Right," the fifteenth Section of which  
" has this Title, " The Power of Ordination is only in  
" Bishops."

Whether  
Presbyters  
may ordain  
without a  
Bishop.

But the main point upon which the Bishop lays the whole stress of the cause is, " Whether Presbyters may ordain without a Bishop?" For the proof of this the Smectymnuans produce the Author of the Comment on the Ephesians, which goes under the name of St. Ambrose, who says, that  
" in Egypt the Presbyters ordain if the Bishop be not pre-  
" sent;" so saith St. Augustine in the same Words; and the Chorepiscopus, who was but a Presbyter, had power to impose hands, and to ordain within his precincts with the Bishop's Licence; nay further, the Presbyters of the City of Alexandria, with the Bishop's leave, might ordain, as appears from Con. Ancy. Carit. 3. where it is said,  
" It is not lawful for Chorepiscopi to ordain Presbyters or  
" Deacons; nor the Presbyters of the City, without the  
" Bishop's Letter, in another Parish;" which implies, they

\* In the Debate of the House on this Head, the Authority of that very ancient Parchment Copy of the Bible in St. James's Library, sent by Cyrillus Patriarch of Alexandria, to King Charles I. being all written in great Capital Greek Letters, was vouched and asserted by Sir Simon D'Ewes, a great antiquary, wherein the Postscript to the Epistles to Timothy and Titus are only this, " The first to Timothy, written from Laodicea, to Titus, written from Nicopolis," whence he inferr'd, that the stiling of Timothy and Titus first Bishops of Ephesus and Crete, were the spurious Additions of some Eastern Bishop or Monk, at least five hundred Years after Christ. Rushw. Vol. IV. p. 284.

might



might do it with the Bishop's Letter, or perhaps without it, in their own; and Firmilianus says of them that rule in the Church, whom he calls Seniores & Præpositi, that is, Presbyters as well as Bishops, that they had the power of baptizing, and of laying on of hands in ordaining\*.

## II. The

\* It may be some Satisfaction to the Reader, to see the Judgment of other learned Men upon this argument, which has broke the bands of brotherly Love and Charity, between the Church of England and all the foreign Protestants that have no Bishops.

The learned Primate of Ireland, Archbishop Usher, in his letter to Dr. Bernard, says, "I have ever declared my opinion to be, that *Episcopus & Presbyter gradu tantum differunt, non Ordine*, and consequently, that in places where Bishops can't be had, the Ordination by Presbyters stands valid; but the Ordination made by such Presbyters, as have severed themselves from those Bishops to whom they have sworn Canonical Obedience, I can't excuse from being Schismatical. I think that Churches that have no Bishops are defective in their government, yet for the justifying my Communion with them (which I do love and honour as true Members of the Church universal,) I do profess if I was in Holland, I should receive the blessed Sacrament at the hands of the Dutch Ministers, with the like affection as I should from the hands of the French Ministers, was I at Charenton." The same most Reverend Prelate, in his answer to Mr. Baxter, says, "That the King having asked him at the Isle of Wight, whether he found in Antiquity, That *Presbyters alone ordained any?*" He replied yes, and that he could shew his Majesty more, even where Presbyters alone successively ordained Bishops, and instanced in Hierom's Words, *Epist. ad Evagrium*, of the Presbyters of Alexandria, choosing and making their own Bishops from the Days of Mark, till Heraclius and Dionysius." Baxter's Life, p. 206.

This was the constant Sense of our first Reformers, Cranmer, Pilkington, Jewel, Grindal, Whitgift, &c. and even of Bancroft himself; for when Dr. Andrews Bishop of Ely, moved, That the Scots Bishops elect might first be ordained Presbyters, in the year 1610. Bancroft replied, there was no need of it, since Ordination by Presbyters was valid; upon which the said Bishop concurred in their consecration. And yet lower when the Archbishop of Spalato was in England, he desired Bishop Moreton to re-ordain a Person that had been ordained beyond Sea, that he might be more capable of preferment; to which the Bishop replied, that it could not be done, but to the scandal of the reformed Churches, wherein he would have no hand. The same reverend Prelate adds, in his *Apol. Cathol.* that to ordain was the *Jus Antiquum* of Presbyters. To these may be added the Testimony of Bishop Burnet, whose Words are these, "As for the notion of distinct

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Of the right  
of Jurisdic-  
tion.  
Bp. Hall.

II. The other Branch of Power annexed to the Episcopal Office, "Is the sole Right of Spiritual Jurisdiction; this the Bishop seems in some sort to disclaim; "Who ever (says he) challenged a sole Jurisdiction? We willingly grant, that Presbyters have, and ought to have, a Jurisdiction within their own charge; and that in all great affairs of the Church they ought to be consulted. We admit, that Bishops of old had their Ecclesiastical Council of Presbyters; and we still have the same in our Deans and Chapters; but we say, that the Superiority of Jurisdiction is so in the Bishop, that Presbyters may not exercise it without him, and that the exercise of external Jurisdiction is derived from, by, and under him, to those who exercise it within his Diocese." This his Lordship proves from several testimonies out of the Fathers.

Smeætym-  
nuus for the  
Jurisdiction  
of Presbyters.

The Smeætymnuans agree with his Lordship, that in the ancient Church, Bishops could do nothing without the consent of the Clergy; nor in cases of Excommunication and absolution without the allowance of the whole body of the Church to which the Delinquent belonged, as appears from the testimonies of Tertullian and St. Cyprian; but they aver, upon their certain knowledge, that our English Bishops have exercised several parts of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction without their Presbyters. And further (say they) where, in all antiquity, do we meet with such Delegates, as Lay-Chancellors, Commissaries, and others, as never received imposition of hands? These Offices were not known in those times; nor can any instance be produced of Laity or Clergy that had them, for above four hundred years after Christ. Upon the whole, allowing that in the third or fourth Century, Bishops were a distinct Order from Presbyters, yet, say these Divines, our modern Bishops of the Church of England differ very widely from them; the primitive Bishops were elected by a free Suffrage of the Presbyters, but ours by a Conge d'Eslire from the King. They did not proceed against Criminals but with the consent of their Presbyters, and upon the testimony of several Witnesses; whereas ours proceed by an Oath Ex Officio, by "Offices of Bishop and Presbyter, I confess, 'tis not so clear to me, and therefore, since I look upon the Sacramental Actions, as the highest of sacred Performances, I cannot but acknowledge those who are empowered for them, must be of the highest Office in the Church." Vindication of the Church of Scotland, p. 336.

which

which men are obliged to accuse themselves; the Primitive Bishops had no lordly titles and dignities, no Lay-Chancellors, Commissaries and other Officials, nor did they engage in secular affairs, &c. After several comparisons of this kind they recapitulate the late severities of the Bishops in their ecclesiastical Courts; and conclude with a humble Petition to the high Court of Parliament, "That if Episcopacy be retained in the Church, it may be reduced to its primitive simplicity; and if they must have a Liturgy, that there may be a consultation of Divines to alter and reform the present; and that even then, it may not be imposed upon the Clergy, but left to the discretion of the Minister, how much of it to read when there is a Sermon."

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By this representation it appears that the Controversy between these Divines might have been compromised, if the rest of the Clergy had been of the same spirit and temper with Bishop Hall; but the Court Bishops would abate nothing as long as the Crown could support them. And as the Parliament encreased in power, the Puritan Divines stiffened in their demands, till all methods of an accommodation were impracticable.

While this Controversy was debated at home, Letters were sent from both sides to obtain the judgment of foreign Divines, but most of them were so wise as to be silent. Dr. Plume, in the Life of Bishop Hacket, writes, that Blondel, Vossius, Hornbeck, and Salmasius, were sent to by the King's Friends in vain; Blondel writ a very learned Treatise on the Puritan Side; but Deodate from Geneva, and Amyraldus from France, wished an accommodation, and (as Plume says) were for Episcopal Government. The Papists triumphed, and had raised expectations from these differences, as appears by a Letter of T. White, a Roman Catholick, to the Lord Viscount Gage at Dublin, dated Feb. 12, 1639, in which are these words; "We are in a fair way to allwage Heresy and her Episcopacy; for Exeter's Book has done more for the Catholicks, than they could have done themselves, he having written, that Episcopacy in office and jurisdiction is absolutely Jure Divino, (which was the old quarrel between our Bishops and King Henry VIII. during his Heresy) which Book does not a little trouble our adversaries, who declare this Tenet of Exeter's to be contrary to the Laws of this Land——All is like to prosper here, so I hope with you there." But 'tis certain, the Body of foreign Protestants were

Remarks.

Judgment  
of foreign  
Divines.

Foxes and  
Firebrands,  
Part 2d  
p. 81.



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were against the Bishops for this reason among others, because they had disowned their Ordinations; and could it be supposed, they should compliment away the validity of their Administrations to a set of men that had disowned their Communion, and turned the French and Dutch Congregations out of the Land? No, they wished they might be humbled by the Parliament. Lord Clarendon adds, "They were glad of an occasion to publish their resentments against the Church, and to enter into the same conspiracy against the Crown, without which they could have done little hurt."

Numbers of  
Hands to  
Petitions, for  
and against  
the Hierar-  
chy.

But the cause of the Hierarchy being to be decided at another Tribunal, no applications were wanting on either side to make friends in the Parliament House, and to get hands to petitions. The industry of the several parties on this occasion, is almost incredible; but it being the fashion of these times to judge of the sense of the Nation this way, messengers were sent all over England to promote the work, Lord Clarendon, and after him Dr. Nalson, and others of that party complain of great Disingenuity on the side of the Puritans: His Lordship says, "That the paper which contained the Ministers Petition was filled with a very few hands, but that many other sheets were annexed, for the reception of numbers that gave credit to the undertaking; but that when their names were subscribed, the petition itself was cut off, and a new one, of a very different nature, annexed to the long list of names; and when some of the Ministers complained to the Reverend Mr. Marshall, with whom the petition was lodged, that they never saw the petition to which their hands were annexed, but had signed another against the Canons, Mr. Marshall is said to reply, that it was thought fit by those that understood business better than they; that the latter petition should be rather preferred than the former." This is a charge of a very high nature, and ought to be well supported: If it had been true, why did they not complain to the Committee which the House of Commons appointed to enquire into the irregular methods of procuring Hands to Petitions? His Lordship answers, that "They were prevailed with to sit still and pass it by;" for which we have only his Lordship's word, nothing of this kind being to be found in Rushworth, Whitlock, or any disinterested Writer of those times.

Clarend.  
Vol. I. p.  
204.

The Folly  
of it.

It cannot be denied, but there was a great deal of art and persuasion used to get hands to the Petitions on both sides,

sides, and many subscribed their names that were not capable to judge of the Merits of the Cause. The Petitions against the Hierarchy were of two sorts; some desiring that the whole Fabrick might be destroyed; of these, the chief was the Root and Branch Petition, signed by the hands of about fifteen thousand Citizens and inhabitants of London, Others petitioned only for a Reformation of the Hierarchy; of these, the chief was the Ministers Petition, signed with the names of seven hundred beneficed Clergymen, and followed by others with an incredible number of hands, from Kent, Gloucestershire, Lancashire, Nottingham, and other Counties. The Petitions in favour of the present Establishment were not less numerous; for within the compass of this and the next year, there were presented to the King and House of Lords, no less than nineteen, from the two Universities, from Wales, Lancashire, Staffordshire, and other Counties, subscribed with about one hundred thousand Hands, whereof, according to Dr. Walker, six thousand were Nobility, Gentry, and dignified Clergy. One would think, by this account, that the whole Nation had been with them; but can it be supposed, the honest Freeholders of Lancashire and Wales could be proper judges of such Allegations in their Petitions as these?----That there can be no Church without Bishops----that no Ordination was ever performed without Bishops;----that without Bishops there can be no Presbyters, and by consequence no Consecration of the Lord's Supper----that it has never been customary for Presbyters to lay hands upon Bishops, from whence the disparity of their function is evident----that a Bishop has a character that cannot be communicated but by one of the same Distinction----and, that the Church has been governed by Bishops, without interruption, for fifteen hundred years. These are topicks fit to be debated in a Synod of learned Divines, but the tacking a hundred thousand names of Freeholders on either side, could prove no more, than that the honest countrymen acted too much by an implicit faith in their Clergy. Loud complaints being made to the Parliament of unfair methods of getting names to Petitions, the House appointed a Committee to examine into the matter; but there being great faults (as I apprehend) on both sides, the affair was dropt.

The Root and Branch Petition was presented to the House Decemb. 11, 1640, by Alderman Pennington, and others, in the name of his Majesty's Subjects in and about the City of London, and adjacent counties. It was thought to be

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1640.

Root and  
Branch Pe-  
tition for  
taking away  
the whole  
the Hierarchy.

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the contrivance of the Scots Commissioners, who were become very popular at this time. The Petition sheweth,  
 “ That whereas the government of Archbishops, and Lord  
 “ Bishops, Deans and Archdeacons, &c. with their Courts,  
 “ and Ministrations in them, have proved prejudicial, and  
 “ very dangerous to the Church and Commonwealth;  
 “ They themselves having formerly held, that they have  
 “ their jurisdiction or power of human authority, till of  
 “ late they have claimed their Calling immediately from  
 “ Christ, which is against the laws of this Kingdom, and  
 “ derogatory to his Majesty’s State Royal. And whereas  
 “ the said Government is found, by woful experience, to  
 “ be a main cause and occasion of many foul evils, pres-  
 “ sures, and grievances of a very high nature, to his Ma-  
 “ jesty’s Subjects, in their consciences, liberties, and estates,  
 “ as in a schedule of particulars hereunto annexed, may  
 “ in part appear.

“ We therefore most humbly pray and beseech this  
 “ honourable Assembly, the premises considered, that the  
 “ said Government, with all its dependancies, Roots and  
 “ Branches, may be abolished, and all Laws in their be-  
 “ half made void, and that the government, according to  
 “ God’s Word, may be rightly placed among us; and  
 “ we, your humble Supplicants, as in duty bound, shall  
 “ ever pray, &c.”

The Schedule annexed to the Petition contained twenty eight Grievances and Pressures, the chief of which were, the Bishops suspending and depriving Ministers for non-conformity to certain Rites and Ceremonies; their discountenancing preaching; their claim of Jure Divino; their administering the Oath Ex Officio; the exorbitant power of the High Commission, with the other innovations already mentioned.

The friends of the Establishment opposed this Petition, with one of their own, in favour of the Hierarchy, in the following words.

To the honourable the Knights, Citizens, &c. the humble  
 Petition of, &c.

Humbly sheweth,

Counter Pe-  
titions for  
continuing  
the Hierar-  
chy.

“ **T**HAT whereas of late, a Petition subscribed by  
 “ many, who pretend to be Inhabitants of this city,  
 “ hath been delivered, received, and read in this honourable  
 “ House, against the ancient, present, and by law esta-  
 “ blished,



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“ blished, Government of the Church ; and that not so  
“ much for the reformation of Bishops, as for the utter sub-  
“ version and extirpation of Episcopacy itself ; we whose  
“ names are underwritten, to shew there be many, and  
“ those of the better sort of the inhabitants of this city,  
“ otherwise, and better minded, do humbly represent unto  
“ this honourable House, these Considerations following,

1. “ That Episcopacy is as ancient as Christianity itself  
“ in this Kingdom.

2. “ That Bishops were the chief instruments in the re-  
“ formation of the Church against Popery, and afterwards  
“ the most eminent Martyrs for the Protestant Religion,  
“ and since, the best and ablest champions for the de-  
“ fence of it.

3. “ That since the Reformation the times have been  
“ very peaceable, happy, and glorious, notwithstanding  
“ the Episcopal Government in the Church, and there-  
“ fore that this Government can be no cause of our un-  
“ happiness.

4. “ We conceive, that not only many learned, but divers  
“ other godly persons, would be much scandalized, and  
“ troubled in conscience, if the Government of Episco-  
“ pacy, conceived by them to be an Apostolical Institution,  
“ were altered ; and since there is so much care taken,  
“ that no man should be offended in the least Ceremony,  
“ we hope there will be some, that such men’s Consciences  
“ may not be pressed upon in a matter of an higher na-  
“ ture and consequence, especially considering, that this  
“ Government by Episcopacy is not only lawful, and conve-  
“ nient for edification, but likewise suitable to, and agree-  
“ able with the civil policy and government of this State.

5. “ That this Government is lawful, it appears by the  
“ immediate, universal, and constant practice of all the  
“ Christian World, grounded upon Scripture, from the  
“ Apostles time to this last Age, for above fifteen hundred  
“ years together, it being utterly incredible, if not impos-  
“ sible, that the whole Church for so long a time, should  
“ not discover, by God’s Word, this Government to be  
“ unlawful, if it had been so ; to which may be added, that  
“ the most learned Protestants, even in those very Churches,  
“ which now are not governed by Bishops, do not only  
“ hold the government by Episcopacy to be lawful, but  
“ wish, that they themselves might enjoy it.

“ Again, that the Government by Episcopacy is not  
“ only lawful, but convenient for edification, or as much, or  
“ more

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“ more conducive to Piety and Devotion than any other,  
“ it appears, because no modest Man denies, that the pri-  
“ mitive Times were most famous for Piety, Constancy,  
“ and Perseverance in the Faith, notwithstanding more  
“ frequent, and more cruel Persecutions than ever have  
“ been since, and yet it is confessed, that the Church, in  
“ those times was governed by Bishops.

“ Lastly, That the Government of the Church by Epis-  
“ copacy is most suitable to the form and frame of the  
“ Civil Government here in this Kingdom, it appears by  
“ the happy and flourishing Union of them both, for so long  
“ a time together ; whereas no Man can give us an assu-  
“ rance how any Church Government besides this (where-  
“ of we have so long experience) will suit and agree with  
“ the civil policy of this State. And we conceive it may  
“ be of dangerous consequence for Men of settled fortunes,  
“ to hazard their Estates, by making so great an altera-  
“ tion, and venturing upon a new form of Government,  
“ whereof neither we nor our Ancestors have had any  
“ trial or experience, especially considering, that those who  
“ would have Episcopacy to be abolished, have not yet  
“ agreed, nor (as we are verily persuaded) ever will or can  
“ agree upon any other common form of Government to  
“ succeed in the room of it ; as appears by the many dif-  
“ ferent and contrary Draughts and Platforms they have  
“ made and published, according to the several humours and  
“ Sects of those that made them ; whereas, seeing every  
“ great alteration in a Church or State must needs be dan-  
“ gerous, it is just and reasonable, that whosoever would  
“ introduce a new Form instead of an old one, should  
“ be obliged to demonstrate and make it evidently appear  
“ aforehand, that the Government he would introduce is  
“ proportionably so much better than that he would abo-  
“ lish, as may recompense the Loss we may sustain, and  
“ may be worthy of the hazard we must run in abolishing  
“ the one, and in introducing and settling of the other ;  
“ but this we are confident can never be done, in regard of  
“ this particular.

“ And therefore our humble and earnest request to at his  
“ Honourable House is, that as well in this consideration,  
“ as all the aforesaid, we may still enjoy that Govern-  
“ ment which most probably holds its Institution from the  
“ Apostles, and most certainly, its plantation with our  
“ Christian Faith itself in this Kingdom, where it hath

“ ever

“ ever since flourished, and continued for many ages without any interruption or alteration ; whereby it plainly appears, that as it is the most excellent Government in it self, so it is the most suitable, most agreeable, and every way most proportionable to the civil Constitution and Temper of this State ; and therefore we pray and hope, will always be continued and preserved in it and by it, notwithstanding the abuses and corruptions which in so long a tract of time, through the errors or negligence of Men, have crept into it ; which abuses and corruptions being all of them (what, how many soever they may be) but merely accidental to Episcopacy, we conceive and hope there may be a reformation of the one, without a destruction of the other ;

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“ Which is the humble Suit

“ of, &c. &c. &c.”

A third Petition was presented to the House, Jan. 23: by ten or twelve Clergymen, in the name of seven hundred of their Brethren who had signed it, called the Ministers Petition, praying for a Reformation of certain grievances in the Hierarchy, but not an entire subversion of it ; a Schedule of these Grievances was annexed, which being referred to the Committee, Mr. Crew reported three following, as proper for the Debate of the House ; 1. “ The secular Employments of the Clergy. 2. The sole Power of the Bishops in Ecclesiastical Affairs, and particularly in Ordinations and Church Censures. 3. The large Revenues of Deans and Chapters, with the inconveniencies that attend the application of them.

Ministers  
Petition for  
Reformation  
of the Hierarchy.

Two days after the delivery of this Petition [Jan. 25.] his Majesty came to the House, and very unadvisedly interrupted their Debates by the following Speech ; —

The King  
interposes.

“ There are some Men that more maliciously than ignorantly will put no difference between Reformation and Alteration of Government : Hence it comes to pass, that Divine Service is irreverently interrupted, and Petitions in an ill way given in, neither disputed nor denied, against the present established Government, in the names of divers Counties, with Threatnings against the Bishops, that they will make them but cyphers. Now, I must tell you, that I make a great difference between Reformation and Alteration of Government ; though I

“ am



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“ am for the first, I cannot give way to the latter. If  
“ some of them have over-stretched their Power, and en-  
“ croached too much on the temporality, I shall not be  
“ unwilling that these things should be redressed and re-  
“ formed; nay further, if you can shew me, that the  
“ Bishops have some temporal Authority inconvenient for  
“ the State, and not necessary for the Government of the  
“ Church, and upholding Episcopal Jurisdiction, I shall not  
“ be unwilling to desire them to lay it down; but this  
“ must not be understood that I shall any ways consent that  
“ their Voices in Parliament should be taken away, for in  
“ all the times of my Predecessors, since the conquest and  
“ before, they have enjoyed it, as one of the fundamental  
“ Constitutions of the Kingdom.” This unhappy method,  
of the King’s coming to the House, and declaring his Re-  
solutions before-hand, was certainly unparliamentary, and  
did the Church no Service; nor was there any occasion for it  
at this time, the House being in no disposition, as yet;  
to order a Bill to be brought in for subverting the Hie-  
rarchy.

In the Months of February and March several days  
were appointed for the Debate of these Petitions; and  
when the Bill for the utter extirpating the Episcopal Order  
was brought into the House in the Months of May and June,  
several warm Speeches were made on both sides; I will set  
the chief of them before the reader in one view, though they  
were spoken at different times.

Speeches for  
Root and  
Branch.  
Sir H.  
Vanes’s  
Speech.  
Nelson’s,  
p. 276.

Among those who were for Root and Branch, or the  
total extirpating of Episcopacy, were Sir Henry Vane, who  
stood up and argued, “ That since the House had voted  
“ Episcopal Government a great Impediment to the Re-  
“ formation and Growth of Religion, it ought to be  
“ taken away, for it is so corrupt in the Foundation (says  
“ he) that if we pull it not down, it will fall about the  
“ Ears of those that endeavour it within a few years. This  
“ Government was brought in by Antichrist, and has let  
“ in all kinds of Superstition into the Church——It has  
“ been the Instrument of displacing the most godly and  
“ conscientious Ministers, of vexing, punishing, and ba-  
“ nishing out of the Kingdom, the most religious of all  
“ Sorts and Conditions, that would not comply with their  
“ superstitious Inventions and Ceremonies. In a word, it  
“ has turned the edge of the Government against the very  
“ Life and Power of Godliness, and the Favour and Pro-  
“ tection of it, towards all profane, scandalous, and su-  
“ perstitious

“ perfitious Perfons, that would uphold their Party——  
 “ It has divided us from the foreign Proteftant Churches,  
 “ and has done what it could to bind the Nation in perpet-  
 “ tual Slavery to themfelves and their fuperftitious Inven-  
 “ tions, by the late Canons.——Further, this Govern-  
 “ ment has been no lefs prejudicial to the Civil Liberties  
 “ of our Country, as appears by the Bifhops preaching up  
 “ the Doctrine of arbitrary Power, by their encouraging  
 “ the late illegal Projects to raife Money without Parlia-  
 “ ment, by their kindling a War between England and  
 “ Scotland, and falling in with the Plots and Combinati-  
 “ ons that have been entered into againft this prefent Par-  
 “ liament.” Sir Harry concludes from thefe premifes,  
 “ that the Proteftant Religion muft always be in danger,  
 “ as long as it is in the Hands of fuch Governors ; nor  
 “ can there be any hopes of Reformation in the State,  
 “ while the Bifhops have Votes in Parliament ; “ That  
 “ the Fruit being fo bad the Tree muft be bad.” Let us  
 “ not then halt between two opinions (fays he) but with  
 “ one Heart and Voice give Glory to God, by complying  
 “ with his Providence, and with the Safety and Peace of  
 “ the Church and State, which is by paffing The Root  
 “ and Branch Bill.”

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Charles I.  
1640.

Mr. Serjeant Thomas gave the Houfe a long Historical Narration of the Vicioufnefs and Mifbehaviour of the Bifhops, in the times of Popery ; of their treafonable and rebellious conduct towards their Sovereigns ; of their Antipathy to the Laws and Liberties of their Country ; of their Ignorance, Pride, and Addictednefs to the Pomp of this World, to the apparent neglect of their fpiritual Functions ; and of their enmity to all methods of Reformation to this day.

Serjeant  
Thomas's.  
Nalfon, p.  
211, &c.

Mr. Bagshaw flood up to reply to the Objections made againft abolifhing the Order of Bifhops.

’Tis afferted, fays he, “ That it is of Divine Right,” which is contrary to the Statute 37 of Henry VIII. cap. 17, which fays, they have their Epifcopal Authority, and all other Ecclefiastical Jurifdiction whatfoever, folely and only, by and from, and under the King.

Mr. Bag-  
shaw's  
Speech for  
the Root  
and Branch  
Bill.

“ ’Tis argued, “ That Epifcopacy is infeparable from the Crown,” and therefore it is commonly faid, “ No Bifhop, no King ; which is very ridiculous, becaufe the Kings of England were long before Bifhops and may ftill depofe them.

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1640.

“ 'Tis said, That Episcopacy is a third State in Parlia-  
ment; but this I deny, for the three States are the  
King, the Lords Temporal, and the Commons. Kings  
of England have held several Parliaments without Bi-  
shops; King Edward I. in the 24th of his Reign,  
held a Parliament Excluse Clero; and in the Parliament  
of the 7th Richard II. there is mention made of the con-  
sent of the Lords Temporal and the Commons, but not a  
word of the Clergy; since therefore the present Hierar-  
chy was of mere human Institution, and had been found  
a very great Grievance to the Subject, he enclined to the  
Root and Branch Petition.”

And Mr.  
White's.

Mr. White entered more fully on the merits of the cause,  
and considered the present Bishops of the Church with re-  
gard to their Baronies, their Temporalities, and their Spiritu-  
alities.

“ The former (says he) are merely of the Kings Fa-  
vour, and began in this Kingdom the 4th of Wil-  
liam the Conqueror, by virtue whereof they have had  
place in the House of Peers in Parliament; but in the  
7th Henry VIII. (1846. Kel.) it was resolved by all  
the Judges of England, that the King may hold his Par-  
liament by himself, his Temporal Lords and Commons,  
without any Bishop, for a Bishop has not any place  
in Parliament by reason of his Spiritualities, but merely  
by reason of his Barony, and accordingly Acts of  
Parliament have been without them, as 2 Richard  
II. cap. 3. and at other times; nor were they ever cal-  
led Spiritual Lords in our Statutes, till 16 Richard II.  
cap. 1.

“ By the Bishop's Spiritualities I mean those spiritual  
Powers which raise him above the Order of a Presbyter;  
and here I consider, First, His Authority over Presby-  
ters, by the Oath of Canonical Obedience, by which he  
may command them to collect Tenth's granted in Convo-  
cation, according to 20 Henry VI. cap. 13. Secondly,  
His Office, which is partly judicial, and partly ministerial;  
by the former, he judges in his Courts of all matters  
Ecclesiastical and Spiritual within his Diocese, and of the  
fitness of such as are presented to him to be instituted  
into Benefices; by the latter he is to sacred Places  
dedicated to Divine Service. 9 Henry VI. cap. 17. he  
is to provide for officiating of Cures in the Avoidance of  
Churches, on neglect of the Patron's presenting there-  
unto. He is to certify Loyal Matrimony, general Ba-  
stardy,



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Charles I.  
1640.

sturdy, and Excommunication. He is to execute Judgments given in “Quare impedit,” upon the Writ “ad admittendum Clericum.” He is to attend upon Trials for Life, to report the sufficiency or insufficiency of such as demand Clergy; and lastly, he is to ordain Deacons and Presbyters.

“Now all these being given to those Bishops “Jure humano, says Mr. White, I conceive, may, for just reasons, be taken away. He affirms, that according to Scripture, a Bishop and Presbyter is one and the same Person; for, (1.) Their Duties are mentioned as the same, the Bishop being to teach and rule his Church, 1 Tim. iii. 2, 5. and the Presbyter being to do the very same, 1 Pet. v. 2, 3. (2.) Presbyters in Scripture are said to be Bishops of the Holy Ghost, Acts xx. 28. And St. Paul charges the Presbyters of Ephesus to take heed to the Flock over which the Holy Ghost had made them Bishops, or Overseers; and other Bishops the Holy Ghost never made. (3.) Among the Enumeration of Church-Officers, Eph. iv. 11. whereof the three former were extraordinary, and are ceased, there remains only the Pastor and Teacher, which is the very same with the Presbyter. The Bishop, as he is more than this is no Officer given by God; and it is an encroachment upon the Kingly Office of Christ, to admit other Officers into the Church than he himself has appointed.

“Seeing then Episcopacy may be taken away in all, wherein it exceeds the Presbyters Office, which is certainly Jure Divino, we ought to restore the Presbyters to their Rights which the Bishops have taken from them, as particularly to the Right of Ordination, Excommunication, and a Liberty to preach the whole Counsel of God, without restraint from a Bishop; they should have their share in the Discipline and Government of the Church; and, in a word, all superiority of order between Bishops and Presbyters should be taken away.”

Mr. White is further of opinion, that the Bishops should be deprived of their Baronies, and all intermeddling with Civil Affairs: That Institution and Induction, the Jurisdiction of Tithes, Causes Matrimonial and Testamentary, and other Usurpations of the Ecclesiastical Courts should be restored to the Civil Judicature, and be determined by the Laws of the Land.

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Speeches  
for the Mi-  
nisters Peti-  
tion.

In order to take off the force of these arguments, in favour of the Root and Branch Petition, the friends of the Hierarchy said, that the very best things might be corrupted; that to take away the order of Bishops was to change the whole constitution for they knew not what; they therefore urged the Ministers Petition for Reformation, and declaimed with vehemence against the corruptions of the late times.

Lord Falkland, who in the judgment of the noble Historian, was the most extraordinary person of his age, stood up and said;

Mr. Speaker,

Ld Falk-  
land's Speech  
for Reform-  
ation of  
the Hierarchy.  
Rushw.  
Vol. IV. p.  
184.

“ **H**E is a great stranger in our Israel, who knows not  
“ that this Kingdom has long laboured under many  
“ and great oppressions, both in Religion and Liberty; and  
“ that a principal cause of both has been some Bishops and  
“ their adherents, who under pretence of uniformity have  
“ brought in superstition and scandal, under the title of  
“ decency; who have defiled our Churches by adorning  
“ them, and slacken'd the strictness of that union that was  
“ between us and those of our Religion beyond the sea; an  
“ action both unpolitick and ungodly.

“ They have been less eager on those who damn our  
“ Church, than on those who on weak conscience, and,  
“ perhaps, as weak reason, only abstain from it. Nay, it  
“ has been more dangerous for Men to go to a neighbour-  
“ ing parish, when they had no Sermon in their own, than  
“ to be obstinate and perpetual Recusants. While Mass  
“ has been said in security, a Conventicle has been a crime;  
“ and which is yet more, the conforming to Ceremonies  
“ has been more exacted than the conforming to Christia-  
“ nity; and while Men, for scruples, have been undone,  
“ for attempts upon Sodomy they have only been admon-  
“ nished.

“ Mr. Speaker, they have resembled the Dog in the Fa-  
“ ble, they have neither practised themselves, nor employ-  
“ ed those that should, nor suffered those that would. They  
“ have brought in catechizing only to thrust out preaching;  
“ cried down Lectures by the name of faction, either be-  
“ cause other Men's industry in that duty appeared a re-  
“ proof to their neglect, or with intent to have brought in  
“ darkness, that they might the easier sow their Tares  
“ while it was Night.

‘ In

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“ In this they have abused his Majesty as well as his people, for when he had with great wisdom silenced on both parts those opinions, that will always trouble the Schools, they made use of this declaration to tie up one side and let the other loose. The truth is, Mr. Speaker, as some Ministers in our state first took away our money, and afterwards endeavoured to make our money not worth taking, by depraving it; so these Men, first depress’d the power of preaching, and then labour’d to make it such, as the harm had not been much if it had been depress’d; the chief subjects of their Sermons being the “*jus Divinum*” of Bishops, and tithes; the sacredness of the Clergy; the sacrilege of impropriations; the demolishing of Puritanism; the building up of the prerogative, &c. In short, their work has been to try how much of the Papist might be brought in without Popery, and to destroy as much as they could of the Gospel, without bringing themselves in danger of being destroyed by the law.

“ Mr. Speaker, these Men have been betrayers of our rights and Liberties, by encouraging such Men as Dr. Beal and Manwaring; by appearing for monopolies and ship-money; some of them have laboured to exclude all persons and causes of the Clergy from the temporal Magistracy, and by hindering prohibitions, to have taken away the only legal bounds to their arbitrary power; they have encouraged all the Clergy to suits, and have brought all suits to the Council Table, that having all power in ecclesiastical matters, they might have an equal power in Temporals; they have both kindled and blown the common fire of both Nations, and have been the first and principal cause of the breach since the pacification at Berwick.

“ Mr. Speaker, I have represented no small quantity, and no mean degree of guilt, but this charge does not lie against Episcopacy, but against the persons who have abused that sacred function; for if we consider, that the first spreaders of Christianity, the first defenders of it, both with their ink and blood, as well as our late Reformers, were all Bishops; and even now, in this great defection of the order, there are some that have been neither proud nor ambitious; some that have been learned opposers of Popery, and zealous suppressers of Arminianism, between whom and their inferior Clergy there has been no distinction in frequent preaching; whose



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“lives are untouched, not only by guilt, but by malice ; I say, if we consider this, we shall conclude, that Bishops may be good Men, and let us but give good Men good rules, and we shall have good Government and good Times.

“I am content to take away from them all those things which may in any degree of possibility occasion the like mischiefs with those I have mentioned ; I am sure, neither their Lordships, their judging of Tithes, Wills, and Marriages, no, nor their “Voices in Parliament, are Jure Divino.” If their revenues are too great, let us leave them only such proportion, as may serve in some good degree, for the support of the dignity of Learning, and the encouragement of Students. If it be found they will employ their laws against their weaker Brethren, let us take away those Laws, and let no Ceremonies which any number count unlawful, and no Man counts necessary, be imposed upon them ; but let us not abolish, upon a few days debate, an order that has lasted in most Churches these sixteen hundred years. I do not believe the order of Bishops to be “Jure Divino,” nor do I think them unlawful ; but since all great changes in Government are dangerous, I am for trying if we can’t take away the inconveniencies of Bishops, and the inconveniencies of no Bishops. Let us therefore go upon the debate of Grievances, and if the Grievances may be taken away, and the order stand, we shall not need to commit the London Petition at all ; but if it shall appear, that the abolition of the one can’t be but by the destruction of the other, then let us not commit the London Petition but grant it.”

Lord George Digby, an eminent Royalist, spoke with great warmth against the Root and Branch Petition, and with no less zeal for a reformation of Grievances.

Ld. Digby’s  
Speech on  
the same  
side.  
Rushw.  
p. 172.

“If the London Petition (says his Lordship) may be considered only as an Index of Grievances, I should wink at the faults of it, for no Man within these Walls is more sensible of the heavy Grievances of Church Government than myself ; nor whose affections are keener for the clipping those Wings of the Prelates, whereby they have mounted to such insolency ; but having reason to believe, that some aim at the total extirpation of Bishops, I can’t restrain myself from labouring to divert it.

“I look

“ I look upon the Petition with terror, as on a Comet  
 “ or Blazing Star, raised and kindled out of the poisonous  
 “ exhalations of a corrupted Hierarchy: Methoughts the  
 “ Comet had a terrible tail, and pointed to the North, and  
 “ I fear all the prudence of this House will have a hard  
 “ work to hinder this Meteor from causing such distempers  
 “ and combustions as it portends by its appearance; what-  
 “ ever the event be, I shall discharge my conscience free-  
 “ ly, unbiass’d both from popularity and Court Respect.”

His Lordship then goes on to argue the unreasonableness  
 of abolishing a thing, because of some abuses that attend  
 it; he complains of the presumption of the Petitioners, in  
 desiring the repeal of so many Laws at once, and not ap-  
 plying in a more modest manner for a redress of Grievances,  
 as the Ministers have done. On the other hand, he allows  
 the behaviour of the Prelates had given too just an occasion  
 for it: That no people had been so insulted as the people of  
 England had lately been, by the insolencies of the Prelates;  
 “ Their vengeance has been so laid, as if it were meant,  
 “ no Generation, no Degree, no Complexion of Man-  
 “ kind, should escape it. Was there a Man of tender  
 “ conscience (says his Lordship) him they loaded with un-  
 “ necessary impositions; was there a Man of a legal con-  
 “ science, him they nettled with Innovations, and fresh  
 “ introductions to Popery; was there a Man of an humble  
 “ Spirit, him they trampled to dirt in their pride; was  
 “ there a Man of proud Spirit, him they have bereft of  
 “ reason, with indignation at their superlative insolence;  
 “ was there a Man faithfully attached to the Rights of the  
 “ Crown, how has he been galled by their new Oath;  
 “ was there a Man that durst mutter against their insol-  
 “ encies, he may enquire for his Lugs. They have been  
 “ within the Bishops Visitation as if they would not only  
 “ derive their brandishment of the Spiritual Sword from  
 “ St. Peter, but of the material one too, and the right to  
 “ cut off Ears; for my part, I am so inflamed with these  
 “ things, that I am ready to cry with the loudest of  
 “ the fifteen Thousand, down with them to the ground.

“ But, Mr. Speaker, we must divest ourselves of passi-  
 “ on; we all agree a Reformation of Church Govern-  
 “ ment is necessary; but before I can strike at the Root,  
 “ and agree to a total extirpation of Episcopacy, it must  
 “ be made manifest to me, (I.) That the mischiefs we  
 “ have felt arise from the nature of Episcopacy, and not

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“ from its abuse. (2.) Such a form of Government must  
“ be set before us as is not liable to proportionable inconve-  
“ niencies. (3.) It must appear that the Utopia is practi-  
“ cable. Let us therefore lay aside the thoughts of ex-  
“ tirpating Bishops, but reduce them to their primitive  
“ Standard ; let us retrench their Dioceses ; let them go-  
“ vern by Assemblies of their Clergy ; let us exclude them  
“ from intermeddling in secular affairs, and appoint a stan-  
“ ding Committee to collect all the grievances of the  
“ Church, and no Man’s Votes shall be given with more  
“ zeal for redressing them than mine.”

Remarks.

Claren.  
Vol. I. p.  
203.

Surely the Bishops must have behaved very ill in the late times, that their very best friends could load them with such reproaches ! Sir Benjamin Rudyard, Surveyor of the Court of Wards ; Sir Harbottle Grimstone, with a great many others of unquestionable duty and loyalty to the King, spoke the same language, and it deserves to be remember’d (says Lord Clarendon) that in the midst of these complaints, the King was never mentioned but with great honour ; all the Grievances being laid at the door of his Ministers, and all hopes of redress being placed in his Majesty alone. At the close of the Debate it was ordered, that the Root and Branch Petition should remain in the hands of the Clerk of the House of Commons, with direction, that no copy should be delivered out ; but after the throwing out of the Bill to deprive the Bishops of their Votes in Parliament, it was revived, and a Bill brought in by Sir Edward Deering [May 20, 1641.] for the utter extirpating of the whole order, as will be seen hereafter.

It was in this Debate that some smart Repartees passed between the Members ; Mr. Grimstone argued thus, that Bishops are “ Jure Divino,” is a question ; that Archbishops are not “ Jure Divino,” is out of question ; now that Bishops, which are questioned whether “ Jure Divino,” or Archbishops, which out of question are not “ Jure Divino,” should suspend Ministers which are “ Jure Divino,” I leave to you to be considered——To which Mr. Selden answered, that the Convocation is “ Jure Divino” is a question ; that Parliaments are not “ Jure Divino” is out of question ; that Religion is “ Jure Divino” is no question ; now that the Convocation, which is questionable, whether “ Jure Divino,” and Parliaments, which out of question are not “ Jure Divino,” should meddle with Religion, which questionless is “ Jure Divino,” I leave to your consideration. In both



both which, I apprehend, there is more of a jingle of words than strength of argument.

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But the House was unanimous for a Reformation of the Hierarchy, which was all that the body of Puritans, as yet wished for or desired. The Ministers Petition was therefore committed to a Committee of the whole House, and on March 9, they came to this resolution, "That the legislative and judicial power of Bishops in the House of Peers, is a great hindrance to the discharge of their spiritual function, prejudicial to the Commonwealth, and fit to be taken away by Bill; and that a Bill be drawn up to this purpose." March 11, it was resolved farther, "That for Bishops, or any other Clergymen, to be in the commission of Peace, or to have any judicial power in the Star-chamber, or in any Civil Court, is a great hindrance to their spiritual Function, and fit to be taken away by Bill." And not many days after it was resolved, that they should not be Privy Counsellors, or in any temporal Offices.

Resolution  
of the H. of  
Commons.

While the House of Commons were thus preparing to clip the Wings of the Bishops, they were not unmindful of the Roman Catholicks; these were criminals of a higher Nature, and had a deep share in the present Calamities; their numbers were great, and their pride and insolence insufferable: They flocked in great numbers about the Court, and insulted the very Courts of Judicature; the Queen protected them, and the King and Archbishop countenanced them, as friends of the Prerogative. Andreas ab Harbernsfield, the Queen of Bohemia's Chaplain, advised his Grace of a popish Confederacy against the King and the Church of England; but when the names of Montague, Sir Kenelm Digby, Winter, Windebank and Porter, all Papists, and Officers about the Court, were mentioned as Parties, the whole was discredited and stifled. When the House of Commons petitioned the King to issue out a Proclamation, for putting the Laws in execution against Papists, it was done in so defective a manner, that the Committee reported it would avail nothing; for in the Clause which enjoins all popish Recusants to depart the City within fifteen Days, 'tis added, "Without special License had thereunto;" so that if they could obtain a License from his Majesty, or from the Lords of the Council, the Bishop, the Lieutenant, or Deputy Lieutenant of the County, then they were not within the Penalty. Besides, the disarming of all popish Recusants was limited to

Proceedings  
against Pa-  
pists.

Recusants

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Recusants convict ; so that if they were not convicted a Justice of Peace could not disarm them. They observed further, that many Recusants had Letters of Grace to protect their Persons and Estates ; that instead of departing from London there was a greater resort of Papists at present than heretofore ; and that their Insolence and threatening Language was insufferable and dangerous. A Gentleman having given Information in open Court, to one of the Judges of the King's Bench, that in one Parish of the City of Westminster there were above six thousand Recusants, the Committee appointed Mr. Heywood, an active Justice of Peace, to collect and bring in a list of the Names of all Recusants within that City and Liberties ; for which purpose all the Inhabitants were summoned to appear and take the Oaths in Westminster Hall : But while the Justice was in the execution of his office, and pressing one James a Papist to take them, the Wretch drew out his knife and stabbed the Justice in open Court, telling him, " He gave him that for persecuting " poor Catholicks." The old Gentleman sunk down with the wound, but by the care of Surgeons was recovered, and the Criminal taken into custody. This Mr. Heywood was the very person, who being commanded by King James I. to search the Cellars under the Parliament House, at the time of the Gun-Powder Plot, took Guy Vaux with his dark Lanthorn in his Hand, which Lanthorn is preserved among the Archives of Oxford, with Mr. Heywood's name upon it in Letters of Gold.

The King  
favours  
them.

The Parliament alarmed at this daring attempt, sent orders to all the Justices of Peace of Westminster, London and Middlesex, requiring them to command the Church-wardens, to make a return of the names of all Recusants within their parishes, in order to their being proceeded against according to law ; a few days after the like orders were sent to the Justices in the remoter Counties. The houses petition'd his Majesty to discharge all popish officers in garrisons, or in the army, that refused to take the oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and to fill up their places with Protestants. March 16, they petition'd his Majesty to remove all Papists from Court, and particularly Sir Kenelm Digby, Sir Toby Matthews, Sir John Winter, and Mr. Montague, and that the whole body of Roman Catholicks might be disarmed ; but all the answer they received was, that his Majesty would take care that the Papists about the Court should give no just cause of Scandal ; and as for disarming them, he was content it should be done according to Law. So that

that their Addreffes had no other effect, than to exasperate the Papiſts againſt themſelves, the King and Queen being determined to protect them as long as they were able.

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There was at this time one Goodman, a Seminary Priſt under Sentence of Condemnation in Newgate, but the King, inſtead of leaving him to the Law, reprieved him in the face of the Parliament; whereupon both Houſes agreed upon the following Remonſtrance.

Goodman  
a Priſt  
reprieved  
by the King.

“ That conſidering the preſent juncture, they conceived  
“ the ſtrict Execution of the Laws againſt Recuſants more  
“ neceſſary than formerly,

1. “ Becauſe by divers Petitions from ſeveral parts of  
“ the Kingdom, complaints are made of the great increaſe  
“ of Popery and Superſtition; Priſts and Jeſuits ſwarm in  
“ great abundance in this Kingdom, and appear as boldly as  
“ if there were no Laws againſt them.

Jan. 29.  
1640.  
Remon-  
ſtrance of  
the Parlia-  
ment a-  
gainſt it.

2. “ It appears to the Houſe, that of late years many  
“ Priſts and Jeſuits condemned for High Treason have  
“ been diſcharged out of Priſon.

3. “ That at this time the Pope has a Nuncio or Agent  
“ in this City; and Papiſts go as publickly to Maſs at Den-  
“ mark Houſe, and to St. James’s, and the Ambaſſadors  
“ Chapels, as others do to their Pariſh Churches.

4. “ That the putting the Laws in Execution againſt Papiſts,  
“ is for the Preſervation and Advancement of the true Re-  
“ ligion eſtabliſhed in this Kingdom; for the ſafety of their  
“ Majeſties Perſons, and the ſecurity of the Government.

5. ‘Tis found that Goodman the Priſt has been twice  
“ formerly committed and diſcharged; that his Reſidence  
“ now at London was in abſolute contempt of his Majeſty’s  
“ Proclamation; that he was formerly a Miniſter of the  
“ Church of England; and therefore they humbly deſire he  
“ may be left to the Juſtice of the Law.”

To this Remonſtrance the King replied.

“ That the increaſe of Popery and Superſtition, if any  
“ ſuch thing had happen’d, was contrary to his inclination;  
“ but to take off all occaſions of Complaint he would order  
“ the Laws to be put in Execution.

King’s  
Answer.

“ That he would ſet forth a Proclamation, to command  
“ Jeſuits and Priſts to depart the Kingdom within a Month,  
“ and in caſe they either failed, or returned, they ſhould be  
“ proceeded againſt according to Law.

As touching the Pope’s Nuncio Roſetti, his Commiſſion  
“ reached only to keep up a correſpondence between the  
“ Queen and the Pope, in things relating to the Exercife of  
“ Religion;



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“ Religion; that this correspondence came within the  
“ compass of the full liberty of Conscience, secured her by  
“ the Articles of Marriage; however, since Rosetti’s Cha-  
“ racter happened to be misunderstood, and gave offence,  
“ he had persuaded the Queen to consent to his being  
“ recalled.

“ Further his Majesty promised to take care, to re-  
“ strain his Subjects from going to Mass at Denmark  
“ House, St. James’s, and the Chapels of the Am-  
“ bassadors.

“ Lastly, Touching Goodman, he was content to re-  
“ mit him to the pleasure of the House; but he puts them  
“ in mind, that neither Queen Elizabeth, nor King James,  
“ ever put any to Death merely for Religion; and desired  
“ them to consider the inconveniencies that such a conduct  
“ might draw upon his Subjects, and other Protestants in  
“ foreign Countries.”

Remarks

How strange is this assertion! Let the Reader recollect  
the many Executions of Papists for denying the Supremacy;  
the burning the Dutch Anabaptists, for whom Mr. Fox the  
Martyrologist interceded in vain; and the hanging of Bar-  
row, Greenwood, Penry, &c. in Queen Elizabeth’s Reign;  
let him also remember, the burning of Bartholomew Le-  
gat, and Edward Wightman, for the Arian Heresy, by  
King James I. (of all which, and some others, the Com-  
mons, in their Reply, put his Majesty in mind;) and then  
judge of the truth of this part of his Declaration. Nor  
did the Jesuits regard the other parts of it, for they knew  
they had a friend in the King’s bosom that would protect  
them, and therefore instead of removing out of the Land,  
they lay concealed within the Verge of the Court. Even  
Goodman himself was not executed, though the King pro-  
mised to leave him to the Law, and tho’ he himself petiti-  
oned like Jonah the Prophet, to be thrown overboard to al-  
lay the Tempest between the King and his Subjects. Such  
was his Majesty’s attachment to this People! to the apparent  
hazard of the Protestant Religion and the Peace of his  
Kingdoms; and to the sacrificing all good correspondence  
between himself and his Parliament!

## C H A P. IX.

From the Impeachment of the Earl of Strafford, to the  
Recess of the Parliament upon the King's Progress into  
Scotland.

'TIS impossible to account for the prodigious changes of this, and the following years, without taking a short view of some civil Occurrences that led to them. In pursuance of "the Design of bringing corrupt Ministers to Justice," the Parliament began with Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, an able Statesman, but a most dangerous Enemy of the Laws and Liberties of his Country, whom they impeached of High Treason, November 11, 1640. and brought to his Trial the 22d of March following. The grand Article of his Impeachment was, "For endeavouring to subvert the fundamental Laws of England and Ireland, and to introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical Government." This was subdivided into several Branches, and proved by a multiplicity of Facts, none of which were directly Treason by Law, but being put together, were construed to be such by Accumulation. The Earl's Reply to the Facts consisted partly in excuses and evasions; with an humble acknowledgment, that in some things he had been mistaken; but his principal defence rested upon a point of Law, "Whether an endeavour to subvert the fundamental form of Government, and the Laws of the Land, was high Treason at common Law, or by any Statute in force". Mr. Lane, the Counsel for the Prisoner maintained, (1.) That all Treasons were to be reduced to the particulars specified in the 25th Edw. III. cap. 2. (2.) That nothing else was or could be Treason; and that it was so enacted by the 1st Henry IV. cap. 10. (3.) That there had been no Precedent to the contrary since that time. And, (4.) That by 1 Mary, cap. 12. an endeavour to subvert the fundamental Laws of the Land is declared to be no more than Felony.

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Charles I.  
1641.

Impeachment and  
Trial of the  
Earl of  
Strafford.

The Commons felt the weight of these arguments; but not being willing to enter into debate with a private Counselor, they changed their Impeachment into a Bill of Attainder, which they had a right to do by virtue of a Clause in the 25th Edw. III. cap. 12. which refers the Decision of what is Treason in all doubtful Cases, to the King and Parliament. The Attainder past the Commons April 19. Yeas 204, Noes 59. but 'tis thought would have been

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1641.

been lost in the House of Lords, had it not been for the following accident, which put it out of the power of the Earl's friends to save him.

Plot to bring  
the Army to  
London.  
Claren.  
Vol.I.p.248.

The King being weary of his Parliament, and desirous to preserve his Servant, consented to a project of some persons in greatest Trust about the Court, to bring the army that was raised against the Scots up to London, in order to awe the two Houses, to rescue the Earl, and to take Possession of the City of London. Lord Clarendon says, the last motion was rejected with abhorrence, and that the Gentleman that made it was the person that discovered the whole plot. The Conspirators met in the Queen's Lodgings at Whitehall, where a petition was drawn for the Officers of the Army to sign, and to present to his Majesty; with a tender of their readiness to wait upon him in defence of his Prerogative, against the turbulent Spirits of the House of Commons; the Draught was shewn to the King, and signed in testimony of his Majesty's Approbation, C. R. but the plot being discovered to the Earl of Bedford, to the Lords Say and Kimbolton, and to Mr. Pym, with the names of the Conspirators, all of them absconded, and some fled immediately into France.

Rapin,  
P. 120.

Mr. Pym opened the Conspiracy to the House of Commons, May 2, and acquainted them, that among other branches of the plot, one was to seize the Tower to put the Earl of Strafford at the head of the Irish Army of Papists, who were to be transported into England, and to secure the important town of Portsmouth, in order to receive Succours from France; Sir William Balfour, Lieutenant of the Tower, confessed that the King had sent him express orders, to receive a hundred Men into that Garrison, under the Command of Captain Billingsly, to favour the Earl's escape; and that the Earl himself offered him twenty thousand Pounds in money, and to advance his Son in marriage to one of the best fortunes in the Kingdom. Lord Clarendon has used all his Rhetorick to colour over this Conspiracy, and make posterity believe it was little more than the idle chat of some Officers at a Tavern; but they who will compare the depositions in Rushworth, with his Lordship's account of that matter (says Bishop Burnet) will find, that there is a great deal more in the one than the other is willing to believe. Mr. Eachard confesses, that the Plot was not wholly without a Foundation. The Court would have disowned it, but their keeping the Conspirators

Rushw.  
p. 291.  
May's Hist.  
p. 98.



tors in their places, made the Parliament believe that there was a great deal more in it than was yet discovered; they therefore sent orders immediately to secure the Town and Haven of Portsmouth, and to disband the Irish Army; they voted that all Papists should be removed from about the Court; and directed Letters to Sir Jacob Ashley, to induce the Army to a dutiful Behaviour, and to assure them of their full pay.

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The consequences of this Plot were infinitely prejudicial to the King's affairs, the Court lost its reputation; the reverence due to the King and Queen was lessened; and the House of Commons began to be esteemed the only Barrier of the People's Liberties; for which purpose they entered into a solemn Protestation to stand by each other with their Lives and Fortunes; the Scots Army was continued for their Security; a bill for the continuance of the present Parliament was brought in, and urged with great advantage; and last of all, by the discovery of this plot, the fate of the Earl of Strafford was determined; great numbers of people crouded in a tumultuous manner to Westminster, crying Justice! Justice! and threatening violence to those Members of the House of Commons that had voted against his attainder. In this situation of Affairs, and in the absence of the Bench of Bishops (as being a case of Blood) the bill passed with the dissent only of eleven Peers. The King had some scruples about giving it the Royal Assent, because, though he was convinced the Earl had been guilty of "High Crimes and Misdemeanors," he did not apprehend, that an "Endeavour to subvert the fundamental Form of Government, and to introduce an arbitrary Power was High Treason;" his Majesty consulted his Bishops and Judges, but was not satisfied, till he received a Letter from the Earl himself, beseeching his Majesty to sign the Bill, in order to make way for an happy Agreement between him and his Subjects. Mr. Whitlock insinuates, that this Letter was but a feint of the Earl's; for when Secretary Carlton acquainted him with what the King had done, and with the Motive, which was "his own Consent," he rose up in a great Surprise, and lifting up his eyes to Heaven, said, "Put not your Trust in Princes, nor in the Sons of men, for in them there is no Salvation." Two days after this [May 12,] he was executed upon Tower Hill, and submitted to the Ax with a Roman Bravery and Courage; but at the Restoration of King Charles II. his Attainder was reversed, and the Article

Mischievous  
Consequences  
of it.

Nelson,  
p. 203.

of

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Charles I.  
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Character of  
the Earl of  
Strafford.

of Accumulative Treason declared null, because what is not Treason in the several parts cannot amount to Treason in the whole.

This was the unhappy end of Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, once a great Patriot, and defender of the Liberties of his Country, but after he was called to Court, the most arbitrary Minister of State that this Nation has produced. He was certainly a Gentleman of great abilities, as appears by the incomparable defence he made for his life, which gained him more reputation and esteem with the people, than all the latter actions of his life put together; but still he was a publick enemy of his Country, and had as great a share in those fatal Counsels that brought on the Civil War as any Man living. “The Earl (says Mr. Eachard) was of a severe Countenance, insufferably proud and haughty, having a Sovereign Contempt of the People, whom he never studied to gratify in any thing; the ancient Nobility looked upon his sudden rise, and universal influence in publick affairs, with envy; so that he had but few friends, and a great many enemies.”

Lord Digby, in his famous Speech against the bill of Attainder, wherein he washes his Hands of the blood of the Earl of Strafford, has nevertheless these Expressions; “I confidently believe him the most dangerous Minister, and the most insupportable to free Subjects that can be charactered. I believe his practices in themselves have been as high and tyrannical as any Subject ever ventured upon; and the malignity of them are greatly aggravated by these Abilities of his, whereof God has given him the use, but the Devil the Application. In a word, I believe him still that “grand Apostate to the Commonwealth, who must not expect to be pardoned in this world, till he be dispatched to the other.”

Lord Falkland says. “That he committed so many mighty, and so manifest Enormities and Oppressions in the Kingdom of Ireland, that the like have not been committed by any Governor, in any Government, since Verres left Sicily; and after his Lordship was called over from being Deputy of Ireland, to be in a manner Deputy of England, he and the Junctillo gave such Counsels, and pursued such courses, as ’tis hard to say, whether they were more unwise, more unjust, or more unfortunate.”

Lord

Lord Clarendon says, " That he had been compell'd, for reasons of State, to exercise many Acts of Power, and " had indulged some to his own appetite and passion, as in " the case of the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and the Lord Mount Norris, the former of which was " Satis pro " Imperio," but the latter the most extravagant piece of " Sovereignty that in a time of peace had been executed " by any Subject." From whence the Reader may conclude, that whatever encomiums the Earl might deserve as a Gentleman and a Soldier, yet as a Statesman he deserved the fate he underwent.

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p. 250.

The execution of this great person struck terror into all the King's late Ministers; some of them laid down their places, and others retired into France; among the latter was the Lord Keeper Finch and Secretary Windebank. Six of the Judges were impeached of high crimes and misdemeanors, " for interpreting away the Laws of their Country;" but the Parliament had too much business upon their hands to attend their prosecution at present. Thus the unhappy King was deprived of those Counsellors who were in his own arbitrary Sentiments, and left as in a manner to himself, and the powerful influences of his bigotted Queen and her cabal of Papists; for the new Ministers that succeeded, were such in whom the King would place no Confidence. So that most men expected that these vigorous proceedings would oblige the King to put a speedy end to the Session.

The King's  
late Mini-  
sters terrified

But that which hindered it was the want of money to pay off the armies in the North; his Majesty pressed the Houses to dispatch this affair, and relieve the Country from the Burden of Contribution; but the Commons looked upon the Scots as their security, and that if they were sent home, they should again be at the mercy of the Prerogative supported by a standing Army. However, they began to borrow money of the City of London towards the expence; but when the Plot to dissolve the Parliament broke out, the Citizens declared, they would lend nothing upon Parliamentary Security, because their sitting was so precarious. This gave rise to a motion " for the Continuance of the " present Parliament, till they should dissolve themselves," which was presently turned into a short Bill, and past both Houses with very little opposition, as the only expedient " that could be thought of to support the publick Credit: It enacts, " That this present Parliament shall not be adjourned, prorogued, or dissolved, without their own Consent: " sent: " Act for its Continuance.



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Remarks.

"sent:" And was signed by Commission with the Bill of Attainder against the Earl of Strafford.

All men stood amazed at the King's great Weakness in this Affair, for by this hasty and unadvised Action he changed the whole Constitution, giving the two Houses a co-ordinate power in the Legislature with himself, for as long Time as they pleased: If his Majesty had fixed their Continuance to a limited time, it might have satisfied the People and have saved the Prerogative; but by making them perpetual he parted with the Scepter out of his own hands, and put it into the hands of the Parliament. "This (says Mr. Eachard) has made some Writers doubt, whether those who afterwards took up Arms against the King could be legally termed Rebels? For by passing this Act his Majesty made the two Houses so far independent upon himself, that they immediately acquired an uncommon authority, and a sort of natural right to inspect and censure his actions, and to provide for the safety of the Kingdom."

While the Commons were alarmed with the discovery of the Plot, and the flight of the Conspirators, Mr. Pym moved, That both Houses might join in some band of defence, for the Security of their Liberties, and of the Protestant Religion; accordingly the following Protestation was drawn up, and subscribed the very next day by the whole House, [May 3.]

Solemn  
Vow and  
Protestation  
taken by  
both Houses.  
Claren.  
Vol. I.  
p. 251, &c.

"I A. B. do in the Presence of Almighty God vow  
"and protest, to maintain and defend, as far as law-  
"fully I may, with my Life, Power and Estate, the true  
"reformed Protestant Religion, expressed in the Doc-  
"trine of the Church of England, against all Popery  
"and Popish Innovations in this Realm, contrary to the  
"said Doctrine; and according to the duty of my Alle-  
"giance, I will maintain and defend his Majesty's Royal  
"Person, Honour and Estate; also the Power and Privi-  
"ledge of Parliament, the lawful Rights and Liberties of  
"the Subject, and of every Person who shall make this  
"Protestation in whatsoever he shall do, in the lawful pur-  
"sue of the same. And to my power, as far as law-  
"fully I may, I will oppose, and by all good ways and  
"means, endeavour to bring to condign Punishment all  
"such, who shall by Force, Practice, Counsel, Plot,  
"Conspiracy, or otherwise, do any thing to the contrary  
"in this protestation contained. And further, that I shall  
"in

“ in all just and honourable ways endeavour to preserve  
 “ the Union and Peace between the three Kingdoms of  
 “ England, Scotland, and Ireland; and neither for hope,  
 “ fear, or any other respect, shall relinquish this Promise,  
 “ Vow and Protestation.

King  
 Charles I.  
 1641.

May 4: This Protestation was taken by all the Peers present in Parliament, except the Earl of Southampton and Lord Roberts; even by the Bishops themselves, though (as Lord Clarendon observes) it comes but little short of the Scots Covenant. Their Lordships, indeed, would have interpreted those Words, “ The true reformed Protestant Religion, express’d in the Doctrine of the Church of England,” to have included the Government or Hierarchy of the Church; but both Houses declared, that by those words was and is meant, “ only the publick Doctrine professed in the said Church, so far as it is opposite to Popery and Popish Innovations; and that the said words are not to extend to the maintenance of any Form of Worship, Discipline or Government, nor of Rites and Ceremonies. Within two days the Protestation was taken by eighty Temporal Lords, seventeen Bishops, nine Judges, and four hundred and thirty eight of the House of Commons. Next day it was printed, and sent to the Sheriffs and Justices of the Peace in the several Counties of England, to be taken by the whole Nation with the following Directions.

Vol. I.  
 p. 253.

Rushw.  
 Vol. IV.  
 p. 250.

-----“ That it be taken in the Afternoon of some Lord’s Day after Sermon, before the Congregation be dismissed, by all Masters of Families, their Sons that are of a proper age, and Men Servants in the manner following. First, that notice be given to the Minister by the Church-Wardens of the Intention.-----Secondly, That the Minister acquaint the people in his Sermon of the nature of the Protestation.-----Thirdly, That the Minister first take it himself, reading it distinctly with an audible Voice, that all present may hear it; then the Assembly shall take the Writing in their Hands, saying with a distinct and audible Voice, “ I A. B. do in the Presence of Almighty God vow and protest the same, which the leading person that reads it did, naming the person.” Fourthly, The Names of all that take it shall be subscribed in a Register; and the names of those that refuse shall be entered.”

Ordered to  
 be taken all  
 over Eng-  
 land.

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Charles I.  
1641.

But pre-  
vented by  
the Bishops.

The Cities of London and Westminster observed these directions, but the remoter Counties were complained of for neglect; upon which the House of Commons past a Bill, to oblige all persons to take it throughout the Kingdom; but it was lost in the House of Lords, the whole bench of Bishops opposing it; whereupon the Commons came to this resolution, that “whosoever would not take “the Protestation, was unfit to bear offices in the Church “or Commonwealth.”

Remarks.

This was carrying matters to a very great length; there had been a Parliamentary Association in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, which her Majesty confirmed, and a solemn League and Covenant in Scotland, which the King complied with; but the enforcing a Protestation or Vow upon his Majesty's subjects, without his consent, was assuming a power, which nothing but the dangerous crisis of affairs, and the uncommon authority with which this Parliament was invested by the late Act of Continuance, can support or countenance. The odium of putting a stop to the Protestation, fell upon the Bench of Bishops, who were already sinking under their own weight; and his Majesty's not interposing in this affair at all, was afterwards made use of as a President for imposing the solemn League and Covenant upon the whole Nation without his consent.

Bills against  
the Bishops  
Vote in Par-  
liament.

The Puritans had always objected to the lordly titles and dignities of the Bishops, but their votes in the House of Peers were now found a very great grievance, and an effectual bar to the Proceedings of Parliament. It was remember'd, that they had been always averse to Reformation; that they had voted unanimously against the Supremacy in King Henry the VIIIth's reign; and against the Act of Uniformity in Queen Elizabeth's. It was now observed, that they were the Creatures of the Court, and a dead Weight against all reformation in Church or State; twenty six Votes being sufficient at any time to turn the scale in that House, whose full number was not above an hundred; it was therefore moved, that a Bill might be brought in to take away their Seats in Parliament, which was readily agreed to. The Bill (says Lord Clarendon) was drawn up with great deliberation, and was entuled, an Act for “restraining Bi- “shops, and others of the Clergy in holy Orders, from in- “termeddling in secular affairs.” It consisted of several Branches, as, that “no Bishop should have a vote in Par- “liament, nor any judicial power in the Star-Chamber, “nor be a Privy-Counsellor, nor a judge in any temporal “Courts;”

Vol. I.  
P. 234, 246.



“ Courts ; nor should any Clergyman be in the Commission  
 “ of Peace.” To make way for the passing of this Bill, it  
 was said, that if this was granted the Commons would be  
 satisfied, and little or nothing further attempted to the pre-  
 judice of the Church. It therefore pass’d the House of Com-  
 mons without opposition, and was sent up to the Lords  
 May 1. Mr. Fuller says, that Lord Kimbolton would have  
 persuaded the Bishops to resign their Votes in Parliament,  
 adding, that then the Temporal Lords would be obliged in  
 honour to preserve their jurisdiction and revenues. The  
 Earl of Essex also employed some body to deal privately  
 with the Bishops on the same head ; but they rejected all  
 methods of accommodation, resolving to make their utmost  
 efforts, and to keep possession of their Seats till a superior  
 strength should turn them out ; accordingly the Bill met  
 with a vigorous opposition in their House, and after a second  
 reading was thrown out, without so much as being commit-  
 ted ; ( a countenance frequently given to Bills they never  
 intend to pass) but the whole bench of Bishops voting for  
 themselves, ’tis no wonder it was lost by a considerable ma-  
 jority. Mr Fuller says, it would have been thrown out if  
 the Bishops had not voted at all ; for though the Temporal  
 Lords were content to exclude them from all secular offices  
 and employments in the State, they were in no disposition  
 to take away their Suffrages in the House of Peers.

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 Charles I.  
 1641.

B. XI. }  
 p. 183.

Many learned Speeches were made in both Houses upon  
 this occasion ; the reasons of the Commons for passing the  
 Bill were these, (1.) Because their attendance on secular af-  
 fairs, not relating to the Church, is a great hindrance to  
 their spiritual Function. “ No man that warreth (saith St.  
 “ Paul to Timothy) entangleth himself with the affairs of  
 “ this life.” (2.) Because ’tis contrary to their Ordination  
 Vow ; for when they enter into holy Orders they promise  
 to give themselves Wholly to that vocation. (3.) Because  
 Councils and Canons in several Ages have forbid their med-  
 dling in secular affairs. (4.) Because the twenty four Bi-  
 shops depend on the two Archbishops, and take an oath of  
 Canonical Obedience to them. (5.) Because their Peerage  
 is not of the same nature with the Temporal Lords, being  
 but for life. (6.) Because they depend on the Crown for  
 translation to greater Bishopricks. (7.) Because ’tis not fit  
 that twenty six of them should set as Judges upon com-  
 plaints brought against themselves, and their order.

Arguments  
 for the Bill.  
 Rushw.  
 p. 281.  
 Nalson,  
 p. 260.

Bishop Williams published an answer to these Reasons,  
 intituled, “ The Abstract,” to which there presently came

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Arguments  
in favour of  
the Bishops  
with the Re-  
plies.  
Nalson, p.  
254. &c.

out a Reply. The chief Speakers on behalf of the Bishops, in the House of Peers, were the Lord Viscount Newark, afterwards Earl of Kingston, Dr. Williams, Lord Bishop of Lincoln, afterwards Archbishop of York, the Marquis of Hertford, the Earls of Southampton, Bath, and Bristol. But instead of transcribing their Speeches, I will give the reader a summary of their Arguments and of their adversaries Reply.

First, It was argued, that "the Bishops had voted in Parliament almost ever since the Conquest, according to Matthew Paris, Sir Henry Spelman, and others." To which it was replied, that Time and Usage ought to be of no weight with Law Makers, on the behalf of things which are allowed to be inconvenient: Abbots had voted as antiently in Parliament as Bishops, and yet their votes were taken away.

Secondly, It was said, that "the Bishops voting was no considerable hindrance to their spiritual function; for Parliaments were to sit but once in three years, and then but for a month or two together; that though no Clergyman should entangle himself with the affairs of this life, the Apostle does not exclude him from intermeddling." To which it was answered, that the Episcopal Function, if well discharged, was enough for all their time and thoughts; and that their Dioceses were large enough to employ all their labours, in Visitation, Confirmation, Preaching, &c. The design of the Apostle Paul was certainly to exhort Timothy to withdraw himself as much as possible from the affairs of this life, that his thoughts might be more entire for his evangelical Work; and therefore in another place he exhorts him "To give himself Wholly to these things."

Thirdly, It was said, that "Clergymen had always been in the Commission of the Peace, from the first planting of Christianity, and that they were best qualified for it." To which it was answered, That they were most unfit for this employment, because it had a direct tendency to hinder their usefulness in their Pulpits; and to the fact it was replied, that the first Clergymen that were made Justices of the Peace, or had power in temporal Jurisdiction, were the Bishops of Durham and York, 34 Edw. III. That before the Act of Conformity, 1 Edw. VI. the Clergy were not put in Commission for the Peace; and that the reason of their being then admitted was, that they might persuade the People to Conformity; but if in conscience they held it not consistent with their spiritual Calling, they might refuse,

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It was further said, that “the taking away one whole Bench out of the House of Peers was an ill precedent, and might encourage the Commons one time or other to cut off the Barons, or some other degree of the Nobility.” To which it was replied, that the Peerage of the Bishops did not stand upon the same foot with the rest of the Nobility, because their Honour does not descend to their Posterity, and because they have no right to vote in cases of Blood; if they had the same right of Peerage with the temporal Lords, no Canon of the Church could deprive them of it; for it was never known, that the Canons of the Church pretended to deprive the Barons of England of any part of their inherent Jurisdiction.

It was argued further, that “if the Bench of Bishops were deprived of their Votes, they would be left under very great disadvantages; for whereas the meanest Commoner is represented in the lower House, the Bishops will be thrown out of this common Benefit; and if they have no share in consenting to the Laws, neither in their Persons nor Representatives, what justice can oblige them to keep those laws?” To which it was replied, that they have the same share in the Legislature with the rest of the Freeholders of England; nor is there any more reason that the Bishops, as Bishops, should be a part of the Legislature, than the Judges, as such, or the Lawyers, or any other incorporated Profession of learned Men.

But the principal Argument that was urged in favour of the Bishops was, that “they were one of the three States in Parliament; that as such they were the representatives of the whole Body of the Clergy, and therefore to turn them out would be to alter the Constitution, and to take away one whole Branch of the Legislature: the Parliament would not then be the compleat representative Body of the Nation, nor would the Laws which were enacted in their absence be valid.” To support this Assertion it was said, (1.) That the Clergy in all other christian Kingdoms of these northern parts, make up a third Estate, as in Germany, France, Spain, Poland, Denmark, Scotland; and therefore, why not in England? (2.) When King Henry V. was buried, ’tis said, the three Estates assembled, and declared his Son Henry VI. his Successor. The Petition to Richard Duke of Gloucester, to accept the Crown, runs in the name of the three Estates; and in his Parliament ’tis said expressly, that at the request of the three Estates, i. e. the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in Parliament assembled, he

Whether  
Bishops are  
one of the  
three Estates  
in Parlia-  
ment.



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was declared undoubted King of these Realms; to which may be added, the Statute of 1 Eliz. cap. 3. where the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons are said to represent the three Estates of this Realm.

It was replied to this, that the Bishops did not sit in the House as a Third State, nor as Bishops, but only in right of their Baronies annexed to their Bishopricks, 5 Will. I. All the Bishops have Baronies except the Bishop of Man, who is as much a Bishop, to all intents and purposes of Jurisdiction and Ordination, as the others, but has no place in Parliament, because he does not hold "Per integram Baroniam." It must be admitted, that in ancient times the Lords Spiritual are sometimes mentioned as a Third State of the Realm, but it could not be intended by this, that the Clergy, much less the Bishops, were an essential part of the Legislature; for if so, it would then follow, that no Act of Parliament could be valid without their consent; whereas divers Acts are now in force, from which the whole bench of Bishops have dissented, as the Act of Conformity, 1 Edw. VI. and the Act of Supremacy, 1 Eliz. If the major part of the Barons agree, and the House of Commons concur, any Bill may pass into an Act with the consent of the King, though all the Bishops dissent, because their votes are over-ruled by the major part of the Peers. In the Parliament of Northampton under Henry II. when the Bishops challenged their Peerage, they said, "Non sedimus hic Episcopi sed Barones, We sit not here as Bishops, but as Barons; We are Barons, and you are Barons here, therefore we are Peers." Nor did King Charles himself apprehend the Bishops to be one of the three States, for in his Declaration of June 16. 1642. he calls Himself one, and the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, the other two. In ancient time the Prelates were sometimes excluded the Parliament, as in 25 King Edw. I. when they would not agree to grant an Aid to his Majesty in the Parliament at Carlisle; and before that time several Acts had passed against the oppressions of the Clergy, in which the Entry in the Records stands thus, "the King having consulted with the Earls, Barons, and other the Nobles; or, by the assent of the Earls, Barons, and other Lay People;" which shews the Bishops did not consent, for if they had, they would have been first named, the Order of the Nobility in all ancient Records being Prelates, Earls, and Barons. When the Coevocation had cited Dr. Standish before them,

Nelson, p.  
502, &c.

Fuller's Ap-  
peal.

Rushw.  
p. 396.

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them for speaking words against their power and privilege, in the 7th of King Henry VIII. it was determined by all the Judges of the Land, in presence of the King, that his Majesty might hold his Parliament without calling the Bishops at all. It appears therefore from hence, that the Bishops never were accounted a third State of the Realm, in such a sense as to make them an essential branch of the Legislature; nor are they the Representatives of the Clergy, because then the Clergy would be twice represented, for as many of them as are Freeholders, are represented with their Fellow-Subjects in the House of Commons; and as Clergymen they are represented in convocation, the Writ of election to convocation being, to send two Clerks Ad consentiendum, &c. Besides, none can properly be called Representatives of others, but such as are chosen by them; the Bishops therefore not being chosen for this purpose, cannot properly be the Representatives of the Clergy in Parliament; they sit there not in their spiritual Character, but by virtue of the Baronies annexed to their Bishopricks; and if the King, with consent of Parliament, should annex Baronies to the Courts of Justice in Westminster-Hall, or to the supreme magistracy of the City of London, the Judges and the Lord Mayor, for the time being, would have the same right of Peerage. But none of these arguments were of sufficient weight with the Lords to vote them out of the House.

The loss of this Bill, with the resolute behaviour of the Bishops, who were determined to part with nothing they were in possession of, inflamed the Commons, and made them conclude, that there was no hopes of Reformation while they were a Branch of the Legislature. It was observed, that the Bishops were unusually diligent in giving their attendance upon the house at this time, and always voted with the Court. Some of the leading Members therefore, in the warmth of their resentments, brought in a Bill in pursuance of the Root and Branch Petition, which had been laid aside for some time, for "the utter extirpation of all Bishops, Deans and Chapters, Archdeacons, Prebendaries, Chantors, with all Chancellors, Officials, and Officers belonging to them; and for the disposing of their Lands, Manors, &c. as the Parliament shall appoint." A rash and inconsiderate attempt! For could they expect, that the Bishops should abolish themselves? Or, that the temporal Lords should consent to the utter extirpating an Order of Churchmen, when they would not so much as give up one branch

Bill for the  
Extirpation  
of Bps.  
Deans and  
Chapters,  
and Preben-  
daries,  
brought in  
by Sir  
Edward  
Deering.  
Nelson,  
P. 248,  
295, 300.

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Claren.  
Vol I.  
p. 237.  
Nelson  
p. 248.

branch of their privilege? The Bill being drawn up by Mr. St. John, was delivered to the Speaker, by Sir Edward Deering, with a short Speech in which he took notice of the moderation of the House in the late Bill, hoping, that by pruning and taking off a few unnecessary branches from the Bishops, the tree might prosper the better; but that this soft method having proved ineffectual, by reason of their incorrigible obstinacy, it was now necessary to put the Ax to the Root of the Tree. "I never was for ruin (says he) as long as there was any hopes of reforming; and I now profess, that if those hopes revive and prosper, I will divide my sense upon this Bill, and yield my Shoulders to underprop the primitive lawful and just Episcopacy." He concluded with a Sentence in Ovid;

"Cuncta prius tentanda, sed inmedicabile vulnus  
"Ense recidendum est, ne pars sincera trahatur.

The reading this Bill was very much opposed, because it was brought in contrary to custom, without first asking leave; however, it was once read, and then laid aside for almost two Months; a little before the King went to Scotland it was carried by a Majority of thirty one Voices to read it a second time, and commit it to a Committee of the whole House, of which Mr. Hyde [Lord Clarendon] was Chairman, who made use of so much art and industry to embarrass the affair, that after twenty days the Bill was dropt.

His Speech  
in the  
Committee.  
Nelson,  
p. 295,  
&c.

Sir Edward Deering's Speech in the Committee will give light into the sentiments of the Puritans of these times; "The ambition of some Prelates (says he) will not let them see how inconsistent two contrary functions are in one and the same Person, and therefore there is left neither Root nor Branch of that so good and necessary a Bill which we lately sent up, and consequently no hope of such a Reformation as we all aim at; what hopes then can we have, that this Bill which strikes at Root and Branch, both of their seats of justice, and of their episcopal Chairs in the Church, will pass as it is, and without a tender of some other Government in lieu of this, since the voices are still the same which threw out your former Bill——" Sir Edward therefore proposed another form of Government, if the House should think fit to abolish the present, which was in a manner the same with Archbishop Usher's, hereafter mentioned, "As, First, That every Shire should be a distinct Diocese or Church. Secondly, That in every Shire or Church twelve or more able Di-

"vines



“ vines should be appointed, in the nature of an old primitive, constant Presbytery. Thirdly, That over every Presbytery there should be a President, let him be called Bishop, or Overseer, or Moderator, or Superintendent, or by what other name you please, provided there be one in every shire, for the government and direction of the Presbytery, in the nature of a Speaker in the House of Commons, or Chairman of a Committee.” Accordingly it was resolved, July 10. “ That Ecclesiastical power for the government of the Church be exercised by Commissioners.” July 31. resolved, “ That the members for every county bring in the names of nine persons to be Ecclesiastical Commissioners, on whom the power of Church Government shall be devolved ; but that no Clergyman be of the Commission.” This was to be only a temporary provision, but shews, that the Puritans of these times did not intend the Presbyterian government, but only a reduction of Episcopacy to what they apprehended a more primitive standard ; and if the Bishops would have yielded up some part of their jurisdiction, the mischiefs that befel them afterwards might have been prevented ; however, for the present, the prosecution of it was laid aside.

But the House went more readily into the debate “ for abolishing Deans and Chapters,” and applying their revenues to better purposes. This alarmed the Cathedral men, and put them upon consulting how to ward off the danger that threaten’d them ; for this purpose one Divine was deputed from every Cathedral in England to solicit their friends in the houses on behalf of their several foundations ; and it must be owned, they did all that men could do, leaving no stone unturned that might be for their advantage. Addresses were presented from both Universities in their favour : The Address from Oxford prays “ for the continuance of the present Form of Church Government, as the most ancient and apostolical ; and for the continuance of Cathedral Churches, with their lands and revenues, as dedicated to the service of God, soon after the first plantation of Christianity here ; as Foundations thought fit to be preserved, when the nurseries of superstition were demolished at the Reformation ; as confirmed by the laws of the land ; as nurseries of students and learned men in divinity ; as the upholders of divers schools, hospitals, highways, bridges, and other pious works ; as beneficial to those cities where they are situate, by hospitali-  
“ tality,

Debates about Deans and Chapters.  
Fuller. B. XI. p. 176.

Nelson, p. 305.

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“tality, by relief of the poor, and by occasioning the  
“resort of many strangers, to the benefit of the tradesmen  
“and inhabitants of the places where they are built; as  
“the chief support of many thousand families of the laity,  
“who enjoy estates from them in a free way, and as yield-  
“ing an ample revenue to the Crown, and a maintenance  
“to many learned professors in the University.” The ad-  
dress of the University of Cambridge was to the same pur-  
pose, and therefore prays, “That the religious bounty of  
“their ancestors, for the advancement of learning, and  
“of learned men, may be preserved from ruin and aliena-  
“tion; but withal, to take order, that they may be redu-  
“ced to the due observation of their statutes, and that all  
“innovations and abuses may be reformed.” The depu-  
ties from the several Cathedrals drew up a petition to the  
Lords and Commons for Council; but being informed,  
that the House would not allow them that benefit, but that  
if they had any thing to offer they should appear and plead  
their own cause; they made choice of Dr. John Hackett,  
Prebendary of Paul’s, and Archdeacon of Bedford for  
their Counsel, who being admitted to the bar of the House,  
May 12. after the petitions from the two Universities had  
been read, made a laboured speech in their behalf, insisting  
chiefly on the topicks of the Oxford Address.

Dr. Hack-  
ett’s Def. of  
Dean’s and  
Chaplers.  
Fuller, 3.  
XI. p. 177.

He recommended Cathedrals, “as fit to supply the de-  
“fects of private prayer;” the publick performance  
whereof should be in some place of distinction. And where-  
as the exquisiteness of the musick gave offence to some ears,  
as hindring their devotion, he requested, in the name of his  
brethren, that it might be moderated to edification, and  
reduced to the form that Athanasius recommends, “Ut le-  
“gentibus sint quam cantantibus similiores.”

He alledged, that “at the Reformation, preaching be-  
“gan in Cathedrals;” and whereas some have said, that  
Lecture Preachers were an upstart Corporation; the Dr.  
observed, that the local Statutes of all the Cathedrals re-  
quired lectures on the week days; and he requested, in the  
name of his brethren, that the godly and profitable per-  
formance of preaching might be more exacted.

He urged, “that Cathedrals were serviceable for the  
“advancement of Learning, and training up persons for  
“the defence of the Church;” and that, the taking them  
away would disserve the cause of Religion, and be a plea-  
sure to their adversaries.

He

He added, that “ the ancient and genuine use of “ Deans and Chapters was as *Senatus Episcopi*,” to assist the Bishop in his jurisdiction ; and whereas some of his reverend Brethren had complained, that Bishops had for many years usurped the sole Government to themselves and their Consistories ; the continuing of Chapters rightly used would bring it to a plurality of Assistants.

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He then put them in mind of “ The antiquity of the “ Structures, and the number of Persons maintained by “ them,” amounting to many thousands ; he instanced in their Tenants, who by their Leases enjoyed six parts in seven pure gain, and had therefore petitioned for their Landlords ; and shewed, that the Cities in which Cathedrals were built, were enriched by the hospitality of the Clergy, and the resort of Strangers.

He enlarged further, “ Upon their Endowments, as encouragements to Industry and Virtue ;” that several famous Protestants of foreign Parts had been maintained by being installed Prebendaries, as Casaubon, Saravia, Dr. Peter Du Moulin, Vossius, and others ; that the Crown had great benefit from these Foundations, paying greater sums into the Exchequer for first Fruits and Tenths, according to proportion, than other Corporations.

And lastly, he put them in mind, “ That these Structures and Estates were consecrated to Divine Service, “ and barred all Alienation with the most dreadful Imprecations.”

In the Afternoon Dr. Cornelius Burges appeared on the other side of the Question, and made a long Speech concerning the unprofitableness of those Corporations ; he complained of the debauchery of singing Men, and of their vicious Conversation ; he spoke against Musick in Churches as useles and hurtful. He made a large answer to the Particulars of Dr. Hackett’s Speech ; and in conclusion said, “ Though he apprehended it necessary to apply these foundations to better Purposes, it was by no means lawful to “ alienate them from publick and pious Uses, or to convert “ them to any private person’s Profit.”

Dr. Burges’s  
Speech  
against  
them.

The further debate of this Bill was adjourned for a week, and then committed to a Committee of the whole House, when the two following remarkable Speeches were made against these Foundations.

Rushw.  
p. 285.  
Nelson, p.  
282.



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Serjeant  
Thomas's  
Speech a-  
gainst Deans  
and Chap-  
ters.  
Original of  
Deans, &c.

The first by Mr. Serjeant Thomas, who admits, " That there were Deans in St. Austin's time, but that they were not Officers of the Church 'till some Centuries after. St. Austin gives this account of their Original; that the Monks, for their more convenient retirement and contemplation, appointed Officers, whom they called Deans, *Eo quod Denis sunt præpositi*;" because every Dean had the care of ten Monks, and was to provide them with all necessaries of Life, that their devotions might not be interrupted with worldly cares. In the following ages of darkness and superstition, Princes, and others, bestowed large revenues upon these Monks, from the opinion they had of the austerities and sanctity of their Lives; and as the Monks grew rich, the Office of the Dean, who was the *Præpositus* or Steward, grew more considerable, till in St. Bernard's time it was ordained, that none but a Presbyter should be a Dean: "*Ne sit Decanus nisi Presbyter.*" At the reformation of Religion, when many other religious Foundations were broke up, these were preserved, and in the Constitutions of King Henry VIII. and Edward VI. 'tis ordained, that all Deans should be Presbyters, Men of gravity, learning and prudence, that they should govern the Cathedral Churches according to their several Statutes; that they should preserve discipline, and see that the holy Rites be performed in a grave and decent manner; that they be assistants to the Bishops within their several Cathedrals, as the Archdeacons are abroad, for which reason they should not be absent from their Cathedrals without the most urgent necessity, to be allowed by the Bishop, but one or other of them is to preach in their Cathedrals every Lord's Day." The Serjeant then observed, how unlike our present Deans were to their Ancestors; how little they observed the Statutes of their Institution, and gave it as his opinion, that it was not reasonable that such vast revenues should be allowed to persons who were of so little use to the Church or Commonwealth.

Ald. Pury's  
Speech a-  
gainst them.  
Nelson p.  
289.

Mr. Pury, Alderman of Gloucester, pursued the same argument; he produced a copy of the Statutes of the Dean and Chapter of Gloucester, with their original Grant about the time of the Reformation, " We have erected (says the King) Cathedrals and Colleges in the place of Monasteries, that where ignorance and superstition reigned, the sincere Worship of God might flourish, and the Gospel of Christ Jesus be purely preached; and further, that the

" en-

King  
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“ encrease of the Christian Faith and Piety, the instruction of Youth in good learning, and the sustentation of the Poor may be for ever kept, maintained, and continued.” He then produced the Statutes, which ordained, “ That the said Deans, Prebends, and Canons, shall always reside and dwell in the Houses of the said Cathedrals, and there keep a Family, with good hospitality to feed the Poor, and to distribute Alms. That they should preach the Word in season and out of season, especially in the Cathedral Church, and have Youth profitably taught there. To this end they are to have a common Table in the common Hall of the Cathedral, where the Canons, Scholars, Choristers, and under Officers, are to eat together. The said Dean and Chapter are to give yearly 20 l. to the Poor, besides what is given to their own poor Alms-men, and 20 l. more to the repairing Bridges and Highways thereabouts. For the performance of the said Statutes and Premises, the Deans, Prebendaries, Canons, and other Ministers of the Cathedral, are obliged to take an Oath, and every one of them doth swear, that to the utmost of his power, he will observe them inviolably.”

The Alderman observes from hence, “ That not one of the above-mentioned Statutes are, or have been kept, or the matters in any of them contained, performed by any of the Deans or Prebendaries of the said Cathedral in his Memory. That they come once a year to receive the Rents and Profits of the Lands, but do not distribute to the Poor their proportion; nor do they mend the Highways and Bridges; nor do they keep any common Table; and instead of preaching in season and out of season, they neither practise it themselves, nor encourage it in others. Infinite are the pressures that many Cities near unto Deans and Chapters, have endured by them, and their procurement; so far have they been from a common benefit. Since then the said Deans and Chapters are but Trustees, and the profits of the said Lands have been so ill employed, contrary to the trust in them reposed, the Alderman was of Opinion, that by a legislative Power in Parliament it was fit to take them away, and to put them into the hands of Feoffees, to be disposed of, to such pious and charitable uses as they were first intended for; by which means the preaching of the Gospel might be effectually encouraged, smaller Livings  
“ augmented,

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Resolutions  
of the house,  
but the Bill  
lost.

“ augmented, and the necessities of the Poor better supplied.”

These Speeches made such an impression upon the House, that after a long Debate they came to these Resolutions, “ That all Deans, Deans and Chapters, Archdeacons, Prebendaries, Chaunters, Canons, and petty Canons, and their Officers, shall be utterly abolished and taken away out of the Church ; and that all the Lands taken by this Bill from Deans and Chapters, shall be put into the hands of Feoffees, to be employed for the support of a fit number of preaching Ministers for the service of every Church, and for the reparation of the said Churches, provision being made, that his Majesty be no loser in his Rents, first Fruits, and other Duties ; and that a competent Maintenance shall be made to the several persons concern’d, if they appear not Delinquents to this House.” But none of these Votes passed into a Law ; nor was there the least prospect of their being received by the Lords, as long as the Bishops were in that House, who stood together like a wall against every attempt of the Commons for alterations in the Church, till, by an unexpected providence, they were broken in pieces, and made way for their own ruin.

Committee  
of Accom-  
modation.

The Firmness of the Bishops against all abatements or relaxations in favour of the Puritans, exasperated the people, and put an end to all prospects of agreement. A Committee of Accommodation had been appointed by the House of Lords, March 12, to consider of such Innovations in Religion as were proper to be taken away, which by the Plot of the Court to bring up the army, and the loss of the late Bills for Reformation of the Hierarchy, was now broken up. It consisted of ten Earls, ten Bishops, and ten Barons. “ This Committee, says Archbishop Laud in his Diary, “ will meddle with Doctrine as well as Ceremony, and “ will call some Divines to them to consider of the business, “ as appears by a letter hereunto annexed, sent by the “ Lord Bishop of Lincoln to some Divines to attend this “ service. Upon the whole, I believe this Committee will “ prove the national Synod of England, to the great dishonour of the Church, and what else may follow upon it, “ Gods knows.” At their first meeting they appointed a Sub-committee of Bishops, and Divines of different persuasions, to prepare matters for their debate ; the Bishop of Lincoln was Chairman of both, and was ordered to call together

The Sub-  
Committee.



together the Sub-committee with all convenient speed ; which he did, by a letter directed to each of them, in the following words :

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“ I Am commanded by the Lords of the Committee for  
“ Innovations in matters of Religion, to let you know,  
“ that their said Lordships have assigned and appointed you  
“ to attend them, as assistants in that Committee ; and to  
“ let you know in general, that their Lordships intend to  
“ examine all innovations in Doctrine and Discipline intro-  
“ duced into the Church, without Law; since the Refor-  
“ mation ; and (if their Lordships, shall find it behoveful  
“ for the good of the Church and State) to examine after  
“ that, the degrees and perfection of the Reformation it-  
“ self, which I am directed to intimate to you, that you may  
“ prepare your thoughts, studies, and meditations, accord-  
“ ingly, expecting their Lordships pleasure for the particu-  
“ lar points, as they shall arise. Dated March 12th,  
“ 1640-1.”

Their Names were these :

|                               |                 |
|-------------------------------|-----------------|
| Dr. Williams, Bp. of Lincoln, | Dr. Brownrigge, |
| Dr. Usher, Abp. of Armagh,    | Dr. Holdsworth, |
| Dr. Morton, Bp. of Dur-       | Dr. Hacket,     |
| ham,                          | Dr. Twisse,     |
| Dr. Hall, Bp. of Exeter,      | Dr. Burges,     |
| Dr. Samuel Ward,              | Mr. White,      |
| Dr. John Prideaux,            | Mr. Marshall,   |
| Dr. Sanderfon,                | Mr. Calamy,     |
| Dr. Featly,                   | Mr. Hill.       |

Their  
Names.

Some others were named, but these were all that appeared ; they consulted together six several days in the Jerusalem Chamber at Westminster, the Dean entertaining them all the while at his Table. The result of their conferences was drawn up for the debate of the Committee, in certain Propositions and Queries, under the following heads :

#### I. Innovations in DOCTRINE.

1. “ Quære, Whether in the 20th Article these words  
“ are not inserted, “ The Church hath authority in con-  
“ troversies of Faith ?”

Their Pro-  
positions  
and Queries.

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2. “ Se-

King  
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2. "Several false Doctrines have been preached, even all the Doctrines of the Council of Trent, abating only such points of State Popery against the King's Supremacy, as were made treason by the Statute; for example, some have preach'd justification by Works; others, that works of penance are satisfactory before God; that private confession is necessary to salvation, Neceffitate medii; that absolution of a Priest is more than declaratory; that the Lord's Supper is a true and proper Sacrifice. Some have defended prayer for the dead, and the lawfulness of monastic Vows; some have denied the morality of the Sabbath; some have preached, that Subjects are bound to pay taxes, contrary to the laws of the Realm; some have defended the whole substance of Arminianism; and others have given just occasion of being suspected of Socinianism.

3. "Several dangerous and reproveable Books have been printed," which are mentioned in the copy of their proceedings, now before me.

## II. Innovations in DISCIPLINE.

As, 1. "Turning the holy Table into an Altar.

2. "Bowing towards it, or to the East many times, with three Congees, at access or recess in the Church.

3. "Placing candlesticks on Altars in parochial Churches in the day time, and making canopies over them, with curtains, in imitation of the Vail of the Temple; advancing Crucifixes and Images upon the Parafront or Altar-cloth, and compelling all communicants to come up before the rails.

4. "Reading the Litany in the body of the Church, and some part of the Morning Prayer at the Altar, when there is no Communion; and the Minister's turning his Face to the East when he pronounces the Creed, or reads Prayers.

5. "Offering Bread and Wine by the hands of the Church-Wardens, or others, before the Consecration of the Elements. Having a Credentia or Side-table for the Lord's Supper. Introducing an Offertory before the Communion, besides the giving Alms to the Poor afterwards.

6. "Prohibiting Ministers to expound the Catechism; suppressing Lectures on the week day, and Sermons on Sunday Afternoon. Prohibiting a direct Prayer before Sermon; and Bidding of Prayer.

7. "Sing-

7. " Singing Te Deum in prose in Parish Churches.  
" Standing up at the hymns of the Church; and always  
" at Gloria Patri. Carrying children from Baptism to the  
" Altar, to offer them to God; and prohibiting the build-  
" ing Galleries in Churches, where the Parishes are very  
" populous.
8. " Introducing Latin Service in the Communion at  
" Oxford; and into Morning and Evening Prayer in Cam-  
" bridge.
9. " Pretending for their Innovations the Injunctions and  
" Advertisements of Queen Elizabeth, which are not in  
" force, but appertain to the Liturgy, printed in the 2d  
" and 3d of Ed. VI. which the Parliament hath reformed  
" and laid aside."

Memorandum for Reformation.

1. " That in all Cathedral and Collegiate Churches two  
" Sermons be preached every Sunday, and likewise every  
" Holiday; and one Lecture at least on working days every  
" week in the year.
2. " That the musick used in the Cathedral and Collegi-  
" ate Churches be framed with less curiosity; and that no  
" hymns or anthems be used where ditties are framed by  
" private Men, but such as are contained in the holy Scrip-  
" tures, or in our Liturgy or Prayers, or have publick al-  
" lowance.
3. " That the Reading Desk be placed in the Church,  
" where Divine Service may be best heard of the Peo-  
" ple."

III. Considerations upon the Book of Common Prayer.

1. " Whether the names of some departed Saints should  
" not be struck out of the Calendar?
2. " Whether the Rubrick should not be mended, where  
" all those Vestments are commanded which were used in  
" the 2d year of Edw. VI.?
3. " Whether Lessons of Canonical Scripture should  
" not be inserted into the Calendar instead of Apocry-  
" pha?
4. " In the Rubrick for the Lord's Supper, whether  
" it should not be inserted, that such as intend to com-  
" municate shall signify their names to the Curate over  
" Night, or in the Morning before Prayers?



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5. "The next Rubrick to be explained, how far a Minister may repulse a scandalous and notorious sinner from the Communion ?
6. "Whether it be not fit to insert a Rubrick, touching kneeling at the Communion, that it is to comply in all humility with the Prayer which the Minister makes, when he delivers the Elements ?
7. "Whether there should not be a Rubrick to take away all offence from the Cross in Baptism ? or, whether it be more expedient that it be wholly disused ? and, whether this reason shall be published, that in ancient Liturgies no Cross was signed upon the party but where Oil also was used, and therefore Oil being now omitted, so may that which was concomitant with it, the sign of the Cross ?
8. "Whether the Catechism may not receive a little more enlargement ?
9. "Whether the times prohibited for Marriage are quite to be taken away ? whether those words in the Office, "With my Body I thee worship," should not be thus altered, "I give thee power over my Body ?" and, whether that part of the Rubrick, which obliges the new married persons to receive the Communion the same day of their marriage, might not be changed for the next Sunday, when the Communion is celebrated ?
10. "Whether in the Absolution for the Sick it were not better to say, "I pronounce thee absolved ? and in the Office for the Dead, instead of those words, "In sure and certain hope of the Resurrection to Eternal Life," whether it were not better to say, "Knowing assuredly, that the Dead shall rise again ?"

Some other amendments of smaller moment were proposed, but these were the chief. No mention was made of a Reformation of Episcopacy, because their Chairman, the Bishop of Lincoln, had undertaken that Province, and accordingly presented the House of Lords with a reconciling Scheme, which was dropt after the first Reading. It consisted of ten Articles.

Ep. William's  
Scheme of  
Church Discipline.

1. "That every Bishop being within his Diocese, and not disabled by ill health, shall preach once every Lord's Day, or pay five Pounds to the Poor, to be levied by the next Justice of Peace.

2. "That

2. " That no Bishop shall be a Justice of Peace, except the Dean of Westminster in Westminster and St Martin's. King Charles I. 1641.  
 " [This seems to be a proviso for himself.]
3. " That every Bishop shall have twelve Assistants besides the Dean and Chapter; four to be chosen by the King, four by the Lords, and four by the Commons, for Jurisdiction and Ordination.
4. " That in all Vacancies, these Assistants, with the Dean and Chapter, shall present to the King, three of the ablest Divines in the Diocese, who shall choose one to be Bishop.
5. " That Deans and Prebendaries shall not be Non-residents at their Cathedrals above sixty days.
6. " That Sermons shall be preached in the Cathedrals twice every Lord's Day, once every Holiday, and a Lecture on Wednesdays, with a Salary of one hundred Marks per Annum.
7. " That all Archbishops, Bishops, and Collegiate Churches, &c. shall be obliged to give a fourth part of their fines, and improved rents, to buy in impropriations.
8. " That all double beneficed Men shall pay the value of half their Living to the Curate.
9. " No Appeal shall be made to the Court of Arches, or Court of Audience.
10. " It is proposed, that Canons and Ecclesiastical Constitutions shall be drawn up, and suited to the Laws of the Realm, by sixteen learned Persons, six to be nominated by the King, five by the Lords, and five by the Commons."

Archbishop Usher offered another scheme, " For the reduction of Episcopacy into the Form of Synodical Government, received in the ancient Church;" in which his Grace supposes, that of the many Elders that ruled the Church of Ephesus, there was one stated President whom our Saviour calls the Angel; and whom Ignatius, in one of his Epistles, calls the Bishop, to whom, in Conjunction with the Elders or Presbyters, the whole Government of the Church, both as to Doctrine and Discipline, was committed. He therefore proposes, that these be continued; and for a regulation of their Jurisdiction, that Suffragans should be appointed to hold monthly Synods of Presbyters, from whom there should be an Appeal to Diocesan, Provincial, and National ones; and more particularly,

Archbishop Usher's Reduction of Episcopacy to Synodical Government.

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1. "That the Rector of every Parish, with the Church-Wardens should admonish and reprove such as live scandalously, according to the quality of their offence; and if by this means they are not reclaimed, to present them to the next monthly Synod, and in the mean time debar them the Lord's Table.

2. "Whereas by a Statute of 26th Henry VIII. Suffragans are appointed to be erected in twenty six several places of this Kingdom, the number of them may be conformed to the number of the several Rural Deanries, into which every Diocese is subdivided; which being done, the Suffragan may every Month assemble a Synod of the several Rectors or incumbent Pastors within the Precinct, and according to the major Part of their Votes conclude all matters that should be brought into Debate before them.

3. "A Diocesan Synod might be held once or twice a year, wherein all the Suffragans, and the rest of the Rectors and incumbent Pastors, or a certain select number out of every Deanry, within that Diocese, might meet, with whose consent all things might be concluded by the Bishop or Superintendent; or in his Absence by one of his Suffragans, whom he should appoint as Moderator in his room; and here the Transactions of the monthly Synods may be revised and reformed.

4. "The Provincial Synod may consist of all the Bishops and Suffragans, such of the Clergy as should be elected out of every Diocese within the Province: The Primate of either Province might be Moderator, or in his room, one of the Bishops appointed by him. This Synod might be held every third year, and if the Parliament be fitting, both the Primates and Provincial Synods might join together, and make up one National Synod, wherein all Appeals from inferior Synods might be received, and all their Acts examined, and all Ecclesiastical Affairs relating to the State of the Church in general, established."

Several other Proposals were made to the House of Commons by these Puritans, who were for altering some things in the Church, but not for Root and Branch; as that his Majesty should be moved to call a National Synod, or a select number of Divines of the three Nations under his Majesty's Government; with an intimation to all the reformed Churches to send their Deputies, to settle an uniform model



del of Government for the Church of England, to be confirmed by Parliament, leaving to other Nations a Christian Liberty in those Forms of Discipline which are most agreeable to their Civil Government.

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Others proposed, " That the present Liturgy might be continued, but that the Apocryphal Lessons be entirely omitted ; that all Sentences of Holy Scripture be according to the last Translation ; that the Word Minister be used instead of Priest ; with some other Amendments——That, with regard to Episcopal Government, Bishops be obliged to constant preaching in their Metropolitan or Parochial Churches ; ——that they never ordain without consent of three or four Presbyters at least ; ——that they do not suspend by their sole Authority, but with consent of Presbyters, and that for weighty causes ; ——that none may be excommunicated but by the Bishop himself, with consent of the Pastor in whose Parish the Delinquent dwells ; and that for heinous and very scandalous crimes only. ——That the fees of Ecclesiastical Courts be regulated, and that Bishops, Chancellors, and their Officials, may be subject to the censure of Provincial Synods and Convocations."

But all these attempts for Accommodation were blasted, by the stiffness of the Bishops against all Relaxations, and by the discovery of the plot to bring the Army to London to dissolve the Parliament ; this put the Nation into a Ferment, and widened the distance between the King and the two Houses, upon which the Committee broke up about the middle of May, without bringing any thing to Perfection. Mr. Fuller has observed very justly, " That the moderation and mutual compliance of these Divines, might have saved the Body of Episcopacy, and prevented the Civil War ; but the Court Bishops expected no good from them, suspecting the doctrinal Puritans (as they nick-named those Bishops and Episcopal Divines) joined with the Disciplinary Puritans, would betray the Church between them. Some hot Spirits would abate nothing of Episcopal Power or Profit, but maintained, that the yielding any thing was granting the day to the opposite party." 'Tis the Observation of another learned Writer, upon the Committee's agreeing to have the Psalms in the Liturgy printed according to the new Translation ; to expunge all Apocryphal Lessons ; to alter certain passages in the Book of Common Prayer ;

The Committee of Accommodation breaks up.

Bishop Kennet.

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and some other things, with which divers of the Presbyterians said they were satisfied, " That if the Episcopal Men " had made these concessions when they were in full Power, they had prevented the mischiefs that were coming " upon them ; but as things were at present, neither side " appeared very well satisfied,"

Remarks.

There were deep Resentments in the Breasts of both Parties ; the Bishops were incensed at the bold attacks of the House of Commons upon their Peerage and Spiritual Jurisdiction ; and the Puritans had a quick sense of their former Sufferings, which made them restless till they had clipt their wings. 'Tis very remarkable, and looks like an Appearance of the Divine Displeasure against " the Spirit of these " Times," that Archbishop Usher's scheme, for the Reduction of Episcopacy, which would have satisfied the chief Body of the Puritans, could not be obtained at this time from the King and the Bishops ; that afterwards, when the King offered this very Scheme at the Treaty of the Isle of Wight, the Parliament and Puritan Divines would not accept it, for fear of breaking with their Scots Brethren. Again, when the Presbyterian Ministers, at the Restoration of King Charles II. presented it to his Majesty as a Model with which they were satisfied, and which would comprehend in a manner their whole Body, both the King and Bishops rejected it with contempt, and would not suffer it to be debated.

Remarks.  
upon Mr.  
Rapin.

It may not be improper in this place, to make a few Remarks upon this part of Mr. Rapin's Accurate and judicious History of England, who in his Account of these Times seems to represent the Body of the Puritans to be Presbyterians, and as having formed a Conspiracy against the whole Fabrick of the Church, from the very beginning of the Parliament ; whereas the State of the Controversy was now changed: In the Reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James I. the Puritans were for the most part Presbyterians, though even then there were many Episcopalians among them ; but from the time that Arminianism prevailed in the Church, and the whole Body of the Calvinists came to be distinguished by the name of Doctrinal Puritans, both Parties seemed to unite in a moderate Episcopacy, for there was little or no mention of the old Book of Discipline for twenty years before the beginning of the Civil War, all the Controversy being upon Points of Calvinism ; upon a Reduction of the exorbitant Power of the Bishops ; and

upon

upon Innovations (as they were called) and Ceremonies. There were few either among the Clergy or Laity, that had a zeal for Presbytery, or desired any more than to be rid of their oppressions. But Mr. Rapin is of opinion, that “ among “ the Members of Parliament there were real Presbyterians, “ who thought, no doubt, of altering the whole government “ of the Church. These are represented as deep Politi- “ cians, as working under ground, and making use of all “ kinds of artifices to accomplish their designs, which they “ took care not to discover.” He owns, indeed, that “ the “ Presbyterians were not very numerous in the House, but “ that they were supported by a pretty great Party in the “ Kingdom, and particularly by the Scots.” All which seems to me to require stronger Evidence than he has been able to produce. I have shewn from Lord Clarendon, that both Houses of Parliament at their first sitting down, were almost to a Man for the constitution of the Church; that they aimed at no more than a Redress of Grievances; and that there were not above two or three in both Houses that were for Root and Branch. That all the Members received the Communion according to the usage of the Church of England, at their first setting down, and brought a certificate of their having so done. That the Petition of the Puritan Ministers was not for setting up Presbytery, but only for reforming the grievances of the Hierarchy; the controversy between Bishop Hall and the Smectymnuan Divines, proceeded on the same foot, as did the Committee of Accommodation. In short, when the Parliament was obliged to fly to the Scots for their Assistance in the War, and to receive their Covenant; and when afterwards they found it necessary to pay the utmost deference to their advices, lest they should withdraw their Army, and leave them to the mercy of an enraged King; they could never, in the worst of times, be induced to establish their Discipline in the Church of England, without a reserve of the Ecclesiastical Power to themselves. And as to the Ministers that made up the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, though in a course of time they carried things very high, yet I am of opinion with Mr. Fuller, that at first “ they rather favoured the “ Presbyterian Discipline, or were brought over to em- “ brace it by the Scots,” than that they came thither possessed with sentiments of its Divine Authority. However ’tis certain, that at the Restoration these very Divines offered to give it up for Archbishop Usher’s Model of Primitive Episcopacy.

King  
Charles I.  
1641.

Vol. XI.  
p. 63, 65,  
560.

B. IX.  
p. 198.



King  
Charles I.  
1641.

It must be confessed, that soon after the beginning of the Parliament there were many among the common People that were for Root and Branch, being supported by the Scots Commissioners, who had conceived an implacable antipathy against the Order of Bishops, which they had voted contrary to the Word of God. But this was not the case with the Puritan Clergy, who wanted only to get rid of the tyranny of the Bishops, and were willing to leave the Parliament to model the government of the Church as they pleased. But as the influence of the Scots over the two Houses encreased, Presbytery prevailed; and when the Parliament were at their mercy, and forced to submit to what conditions they would impose upon them for their assistance, the Kirk Discipline was in its ascendant, and at length advanced into a Divine Right in the assembly of Divines; but the Parliament would never come into it, and when the Scots were gone home it dwindled by degrees, till it was almost totally eclipsed by the rising greatness of the Independants.

It appears therefore to me, that there was no formed design as yet, either in the House of Commons, or among the Puritan Clergy, to subvert the Hierarchy, and erect the Presbyterian Government upon its Ruins; there were no considerable number of Presbyterian Ministers in the Nation and the leading Members in both Houses were known to be of another Stamp. "We are confident (says the King, in his Letter to the Council of Scotland, Aug. 26.) "that the most considerable persons in both Houses of Parliament, and those who make the fairest pretensions to "you of uniformity in Church Government, will no sooner "embrace a Presbyterial than you an Episcopal." And Bishop Burnet speaks the same language. So that what was done in the House of Commons afterwards, was the result of the situation of their affairs, and not of any formed design: As that changed, so did their Councils and Measures. The contrary to this ought not to be supposed, but proved by incontestible matters of fact, which neither Mr. Rapin, nor any other Historian that I have read, has yet done. And I will venture to say, that if there were such invisible Presbyterians behind the curtain, that designed the subversion of the Hierarchy, and blew it up as it were without hands, they must have been abler Statesmen, and masters of much more worldly Politicks, than their Posterity have ever been remarkable for.

To

Harr. Mein.  
B. IV. p.  
137.

To return to the Parliament ; there were two Bills that affected the Prerogative now ready for the Royal Assent ; one “ to abolish the Court of High Commission, and regulate the Privy Council ; the other, “ to take away the “ Star Chamber.” To induce the King to pass them more readily, the Commons sent up a Money Bill with them ; but when the King came to the House [July 3.] he passed the Money Bill, but told the Houses, he must take some time to consider of the others ; which disgusted the Commons so much, that they returned to their House and immediately adjourned. At their next meeting, they fell into new heats, which his Majesty being informed of, came to the House of Peers, and having sent for the Commons, reprimanded them for their jealousies, and then passed the Bills ; he also put them in mind what he had done this Session ; “ That he had yielded, that the Judges should “ hold their places *Quam diu se bene gesserint* ; that he “ had given away his Right to Ship Money ; granted a law “ for Triennial Parliaments, and for securing the money “ borrowed for disbanding the Armies ; in a word, that he “ had hitherto given way to every thing, and therefore they “ should not wonder, if in some things he began now to “ refuse.” Lord Clarendon insinuates, that the King passed these Bills with reluctance ; from whence another ingenious Writer concludes, that if ever the Ministry could regain their power, ’twas likely they would advise his Majesty to declare them void, as being extorted from him by force and violence,

King  
Charles I.  
1641.  
King's Con-  
duct at pas-  
sing the Bills  
for abolish-  
ing the High  
Commission  
and Star  
Chamber.

Nelson,  
P. 327.

The Act for abolishing the High Commission Court repeals that branch of the Statute, 1 Eliz. cap. 1. upon which this Court was founded, and then enacts, “ That no Arch-  
“ bishops, Bishops, Vicars General, Chancellor, or Offi-  
“ cial, nor Commissary of any Archbishop, Bishop, or  
“ Vicar General, or any other spiritual, or ecclesiastical  
“ Officer, shall by any grant, license or commission from  
“ the King, his Heirs or Successors, after the 1st of August,  
“ 1641. award, impose, or inflict any pain, penalty, fine,  
“ amercement, Imprisonment, or other corporal punish-  
“ ment, upon any of the King's subjects, for any contempt,  
“ misdemeanor, crime, matter or thing whatsoever, be-  
“ longing to spiritual, or ecclesiastical jurisdiction, or shall  
“ Ex Officio tender or administer to any person, any cor-  
“ poral oath, to make any presentment of any crime, or  
“ to confess or accuse himself of any crime, offence, delin-  
“ quency, or Misdemeanor, whereby he or she may be  
“ liable

Act for abo-  
lishing the  
Court of  
High Com-  
mission.

King  
Charles I.  
1641.

“ liable to any punishment whatsoever, under penalty of tre-  
“ ble charges, and one hundred pounds to him or them who  
“ shall first demand or sue for the same. And it is further  
“ enacted, that after the said first of August, 1641. no new  
“ Court shall be erected, or deemed, or appointed, that  
“ shall have the like power, jurisdiction, or authority, as  
“ the High Commission Court had, or pretended to have,  
“ but all such Commissions, Letters Patents, &c. from the  
“ King, or his Successors; and all Acts, Sentences and De-  
“ crees, made by virtue thereof, shall be utterly void.”

Remarks.

By the passing this Bill all coercive power of Church Con-  
fistories was taken away, and the Spiritual Sword, that had  
done such terrible execution in the hands of some Bishops,  
was put into the Scabbard. It was very extraordinary that  
the Bishops, who were then in the House of Lords, should  
so supinely suffer themselves to be surprized out of their  
power. Some were ready to observe a hand of justice, (says  
Mr. Fuller) that seeing many simple souls, by captious inter-  
rogatories, had been circumvented by the High Commission  
Court into a self accusation, an unsuspected clause in this  
Statute should abolish all their lawful authority; for there is  
no proviso in the Act to confine it only to the High Commis-  
sion, but it extends to all Archbishops, Bishops, and all spi-  
ritual or ecclesiastical Officers in any of their Courts. Lord  
Clarendon says, that the King was apprehensive that the  
body of the Bill exceeded the title, and therefore made a  
pause in consenting to it, but that some Bishops prevailed  
with his Majesty to sign it, to take off the odium from that  
Bench, of their being enemies to all Reformation; for it was  
insinuated (says the noble Historian) that since they opposed  
a due regulation of their power, there would be no way but  
to cut them off Root and Branch.

Book XI.  
p. 181.

Clarend.  
Vol I. p.  
284.

Star Cham-  
ber abolished

The Act for taking away the Star Chamber, and regu-  
lating the Privy Council, dissolves the said Court from the  
first of Aug. 1641. “ and repeals all those Acts, or clauses  
“ of Acts of Parliament, by which any jurisdiction, Power,  
“ or authority, is given to the said Court, or to any of  
“ the Officers or Ministers thereof. And it ordains fur-  
“ ther, that neither his Majesty, nor his Privy Council,  
“ have, or ought to have, any jurisdiction, power, or au-  
“ thority, by English Bill, Petition, Articles, Libel, or  
“ other arbitrary way, to examine or draw in question,  
“ determine, or dispose of the lands, tenements, heredita-  
“ ments, goods or chattles, of any of the Subjects of this  
“ Kingdom.”

Thus



Thus fell the two chief Engines of the late arbitrary proceedings in Church and State, which had the Liberties and Estates of many religious and pious Families to answer for. By the Proviso in the Act for abolishing the High Commission, that "no new Court shall be erected with like power for the future:" It appears how odious their Proceedings were in the eyes of the Nation. Lord Clarendon admits, that the taking away the Star Chamber at this time was very popular; but is of opinion, that it would be no less politic in the Crown to revive it when the present distempers are expired; but I should hope an English Parliament would never consent to it.

King  
Charles I.  
1641.

Vol. I.  
p. 285.

When the King had signed the two Bills, he desired the advice of his Parliament, concerning a Manifesto which he intended to send to the Diet of Ratisbon in favour of the Palatine Family, in which he declares, that he will not abandon the interests of his Sister and Nephews, but will employ all his force and power in their behalf unless they are restored. This was highly acceptable to the Puritans, who had always the Interest of that House at heart. The Manifesto was read July 7, when the Commons declared their approbation of it, and resolved, to give his Majesty such assistance therein, as shall stand with the Honour of his Majesty, and the Interest and Affections of his Kingdom, if the present Treaty does not succeed. The Peers concurred in the same Vote, and both Houses desired the King to recommend it to the Parliament of Scotland; which his Majesty promised. Many warm Speeches were made on this occasion in favour of the Queen of Bohemia, by Sir Simon D'Ewes, Mr. Denzil Hollis, and Sir Benjamin Rudyard. "The restoring the Prince to his Electorate (says Sir Benjamin) will restore the Protestant Religion there; it will strengthen and encrease it in Germany, which is of great and vast consequence. It will likewise refresh and comfort the needful heart of that most noble, virtuous, and magnanimously suffering Queen of Bohemia his Majesty's Sister, and his Highness's Mother, who is ever to be highly and tenderly regarded by this House, and by this Kingdom.-----Mr. Denzil Hollis said, "The House of Commons looks upon those distressed Princes of so glorious an Extraction, with an eye of tenderness, wishing every drop of that Princely Blood may ever be illustrated with honour and happiness.-----To hear that these Princes should have their patrimony taken from them, and suffer things so unworthy of their Birth

Manifesto in  
favour of the  
Palatine Family.

Rushw.  
p. 319.

Nelson,  
p. 368, 373.

King  
Charles I.  
1641.

“ Birth and Relation, is a thing that makes our ears to tingle, and our hearts to rise within us---But there is another motive which has an irresistable operation with us, which is the advancement of the Protestant Religion---The Protestant Religion and this Kingdom must live and die together; and 'tis madness to suppose the Protestant Religion can continue here, if we suffer it to be destroyed and eradicated out of the Neighbour Countries-----Religion is the heart of England, and England is the heart of the Protestant Religion in all the other parts of Christendom; let us therefore, like wise men, that foresee the evil afar off, rather meet it at a distance, than stay till the Austrian Ambition and Popish Power comes to our door.” These were the sentiments of the Puritans in this Parliament, with respect to the Ancestors of his present Majesty, and the Protestant Religion. The Queen of Bohemia was so sensible of their particular regards for her family, that she sent them her thanks; but the Manifesto came to nothing.

Rushw.  
p. 316.

Ibid. p. 357.

Further At-  
tacks upon  
the Bishops.

The Commons not being able to come at their intended alterations in the Church, while the Bench of Bishops remained intire in the House of Peers, formed several schemes to divide them: It was first proposed to set large fines upon both Houses of Convocation for compiling the late Canons, and a bill was brought in for that purpose; but upon better consideration it was thought more effectual for the present, to make examples of those Bishops only, that were the principal movers in that affair; agreeably to this Resolution a Committee was appointed, July 31, to draw up an Impeachment against one half of the Bench, (viz.) Dr. Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Curle Bishop of Winchester, Dr. Wright Bishop of Coventry and Litchfield. Dr. Goodman Bishop of Gloucester, Dr. Hall Bishop of Exeter, Dr. Owen Bishop of St. Asaph, Dr. Pierse Bishop of Bath and Wells, Dr. Wren Bishop of Ely, Dr. Roberts Bishop of Bangor, Dr. Skinner Bishop of Bristol, Dr. Warner Bishop of Rochester, Dr. Towers Bishop of Peterborough, Dr. Owen Bishop of Landaff. The Impeachment was of High Crimes and Misdemeanors, “ For making and publishing the late Canons, contrary to the King’s Prerogative, to the fundamental Laws of the Realm, to the Rights of Parliament, and to the propriety and liberty of the Subject; and containing matters tending to Sedition, and of dangerous consequence; and for granting a Benevolence or Contribution to his Ma-  
“ jesty;

Thirteen  
Bishops im-  
peached for  
compiling  
the Canons.  
Rushw.  
p. 359.

"jesty, to be paid by the Clergy of that Province, contrary to Law." It was carried up to the Lords August 4, by Serjeant Wild, who demanded, in the name of all the Commons of England, the Bishops might be forthwith put to answer the Crimes and Misdemeanors abovementioned, in the presence of the House of Commons; and that such further proceedings might be had against them as to Law and Justice appertained. The Commons were in hopes, that the Bishops would have quitted their Votes in Parliament to be discharged of the Præmunire; but they resolved to abide by their right, and therefore only desired time to prepare their answer, and Council for their assistance; accordingly they were allowed three months time to put in their answer, and Council of their own Nomination, (viz.) Serjeant Jermin, Mr. Chute, Mr. Herne, and Mr. Hales.

King  
Charles I.  
1641.

Fuller,  
B. XI.  
p. 183.

But from this time the Bishops fell under a general disregard; the cry of the populace was against them, as the chief Impediments of all Reformation in Church and State; and even the Temporal Peers treated them with neglect, expressing their dislike at the Bishop of London's being stiled Right Honourable. Besides the Lords Spiritual were not distinctly mentioned in the Bills that passed this Session, according to the ancient usage; the Clerk of the Parliament, in reading the Bills to the House, turned his back upon the Bench of Bishops; and when the Houses went in a body to Church on a Fast Day, the Temporal Barons gave themselves precedency of the Bishops. These were the preludes to their downfall, which happened about six months forward, though from this time they were little better than Cyphers in the House.

They fall  
into neglect.

These resolute proceedings against the Bishops put the Court upon forming new projects to break up the Parliament. It was observed, that the strength and courage of the House of Commons rose from their Confederacy with the Scots, whose Army in the North was entirely in their interest; it was therefore resolved in Council, to disunite that Nation (if possible) from the Parliament, and to bring them over to the King, by yielding every thing they should desire; for this purpose his Majesty declared his Resolution to the two Houses, to visit his native Country in person within fourteen days, and desired them to finish the Bills that were before them by that time. The Commons being aware of the design, and apprehensive of danger, if the King should put himself at the head of the English Army

The King  
resolves upon  
a Progress  
into Scotland  
to disunite that  
Nation from  
the Parliament.



King  
Charles I.  
1641.

Army in the North, sent away the Earl of Holland immediately with money to pay them off, which was done without mutiny or disturbance; but the business of the Houses being very urgent, and the time short, they voted, that in this case of great necessity, concerning the peace of the Kingdom, they would sit the next day, being Sunday, by six a clock in the morning; which they did, and having heard a Sermon, returned to the House about nine, and sat all day long on the Lord's Day, commonly called Sunday, [August 8, 1641.] But lest this might be misconstrued as a profanation, or be drawn into example, they published the following declaration;

Rushw.  
p. 362.  
Nalson,  
p. 426.

“ **W** Hereas both Houses of Parliament upon the 8th of August, being Lord's Day, for many urgent occasions, being straiten'd in time, by his Majesty's Resolution to go within a day or two to Scotland, they think fit to declare, that they would not have done this but upon inevitable necessity; the peace and safety of both Church and State being so deeply concerned, which they do hereby declare, to this end, that neither any other inferior Court or Council, or any other person, may draw this into example, or make use of it for their encouragement, in neglecting the due observation of the Lord's Day.”

The same Vote passed the House of Lords *Nemine Contradicente*, and was ordered to be printed.

August 10, his Majesty came to the House, and gave his Assent to a Bill concerning Knighthood; against the oppressions of the Stannary Courts; for regulating the Clerks of Markets; and for confirming and ratifying the peace [or pacification] with the Scots. This last being an affair of great consequence, I shall give the reader an abstract of the Treaty, which had been depending ever since Nov. 23, 1640, between the Commissioners of both Nations, who agreed to the following conclusions [August 7.] which the King ratified and confirmed, the very day he set out for Scotland.

Abstract of  
the Pacifica-  
tion with  
Scotland.

“ That the Acts of Parliament held at Edinburgh, June 2. be published by his Majesty's Authority, and have in all time to come the full strength of Laws.

“ That

“ That the Castle of Edinburgh, and other Forts of Scotland, should be furnished and used for the defence of the Kingdom, with the advice of the States of Parliament.

“ That all those who in England or Ireland have been imprisoned, or otherwise censured for subscribing the Covenant, and for refusing to take the oath contrary to the same, shall be released and freed from such censures; and for the time to come, the Subjects of Scotland living in Scotland, shall not be obliged to any oaths contrary to the Laws or Religion of that Kingdom; but if they come to reside in England or Ireland, they shall be subject to the Laws, as others are.

“ That all his Majesty's Courts of Justice shall be free and open against all evil Counsellors and Delinquents; that the Parliament of Scotland shall have liberty to proceed against such; and that his Majesty will not employ any person, in any office or place, who shall be judged incapable by sentence of Parliament; nor make use of their service, nor grant them access to his Royal Person, without consent of Parliament.

“ That all Ships and Goods on both sides be restored, and that three hundred thousand Pounds be given to the Scots by the English, for their friendly assistance and relief.

“ That all Declarations, Proclamations, &c. that have been published against the Loyalty and Dutifulness of his Majesty's Subjects of Scotland be recalled and suppressed; and that at the close of the Treaty of peace, the Loyalty of his Majesty's said Subjects shall be made known at the time of publick Thanksgiving in all places, and particularly in all parish Churches of his Majesty's Dominions.

“ That the Garrisons of Berwick and Carlisle be removed, and all things be reduced to the State they were in before the late troubles.

“ Whereas Unity in Religion, and Uniformity in Church Government has been desired by the Scots, as a special means for preserving the peace between both Kingdoms; his Majesty, with the advice of both Houses of Parliament, doth approve of the affection of his Subjects of Scotland, in their desire of having a conformity of Church Government between the two Nations. And as the Parliament hath already taken into consideration the Reformation of Church Government, so they will

King  
Charles I.  
1641.

“ proceed therein in due time, as shall best conduce to the  
“ glory of God, the peace of the Church, and of both  
“ Kingdoms.

“ That the Prince of Wales shall be permitted to re-  
“ pair into Scotland, and reside there, as there shall be  
“ occasion.

“ That his Majesty will give ear to the informations of  
“ Parliament, and when that is not sitting, to the Council  
“ and College of Justice, so far as to make choice of  
“ some one of such, as they, by common consent, shall  
“ recommend to places of trust in the Council, the Session,  
“ and other Judicatures. Or if his Majesty shall think  
“ any other person fit, he shall acquaint his Parliament,  
“ to the intent, that if by their information any just excep-  
“ tion shall be made to the said person, his Majesty may  
“ nominate another.

“ That some Noblemen, &c. of the Scots Nation, shall  
“ be placed about the King; and that his Majesty will en-  
“ deavour to give just Satisfaction to his people, with re-  
“ gard to his placing none but persons of the Reformed  
“ Religion about his own and the Prince's person.”

Then follows an Act of Oblivion, with exception to the Scots Prelates, and four others; and in the close the Ratification of the whole, in these Words;

“ Be it enacted by his Majesty, with the assent of the  
“ Lords and Commons in this present Parliament assem-  
“ bled, that the said Treaty, and all the Articles thereof,  
“ be, and stand for ever ratified and established, and have  
“ the force, vigour, strength and authority of a Law,  
“ Statute, and Act of Parliament-----And his Majesty for  
“ himself and his Successors, promises in verbo principis,  
“ never to come in the contrair of this Statute and Sanc-  
“ tion, nor any thing therein contained, but to hold the  
“ same in all points firm and stable, and cause it to be tru-  
“ ly observed, according to the tenor and intent thereof,  
“ now and for ever-----And the Parliaments of both King-  
“ doms respectively give full assurance, and make publick  
“ Faith, for the true and faithful observation of this Trea-  
“ ty, &c. hinc inde, in all times to come.”

Bishop Burnet very justly observes a collusion in the King's approving the desire of his Scots Subjects for Uniformity of Church Government; his Majesty wished it as much as they, but with a very different View; the King was for bringing them to the English Standard, whereas  
the



The Scots intended to bring the English to theirs; but, as has been observed, his Majesty was resolved to contradict them in nothing, that he might break the confederacy between the two Nations; for Lord Saville had now informed him of the correspondence of some of the English Nobility with the Scots, which encouraged them to raise an Army and march to the borders; he had shewn him a copy of the Letter, with the forged names of Essex, Bedford, Mandeville, and others, exciting them to assert the Liberties of their Church and Nation, and promising all the assistance they could give with safety to themselves. His Majesty therefore resolved to gain over the Scots, that he might be at liberty to prosecute the Inviters, and recover his Prerogative in England, which he knew he could accomplish by the assistance of the Irish, if the English Puritans were but left to themselves. The Parliament were aware of the design, and therefore appointed one Lord and two Commons to follow his Majesty to Scotland, in order to keep up a good correspondence with the Parliament of that Nation, and to exhort them, since they had gained their own Liberties by the assistance of the English Parliament, not to desert them till the English also had recovered theirs.

The King set out post August 10, and arrived at Edinburgh in three or four days; the Parliament met August 19, when his Majesty acquainted them in a most gracious Speech that the end of his coming into his native Country, was to quiet the distractions of the Kingdom, “and  
“ this I mind (says his Majesty) fully and chearfully to perform, for I assure you, I can do nothing with more  
“ cheerfulness, than to give my people a general Satisfaction; wherefore not offering to endear myself to  
“ you in words, which is not my way, I desire in the first  
“ place to settle that which concerns Religion, and the just  
“ Liberties of this my native Country, before I proceed  
“ to any other Act.” Accordingly his Majesty allowed of their late proceedings in opposing the English Liturgy, and erecting Tables in defence of their Liberties; he confirmed the acts of their Assembly at Glasgow, which declared, that “ the Government of the Church by Arch-  
“ bishops and Bishops was contrary to the Word of God,  
“ and was therefore abolished.” The Reverend Mr. Henderson waited on the King as his Chaplain, and was appointed to provide Preachers for him while he was in that

King's Progress into Scotland.

Rushw. p. 382.

His Concessions.

King  
Charles I.  
1641.

Country, his Majesty having declared, that he would conform to their manner of Worship while he was among them. Mr. Henderson had the Rent of the Royal Chapel; Mr. Gillespie had a pension, and the professors of the several Universities had their provisions augmented, by the Revenues formerly belonging to the Bishops. His Majesty conferred Titles of Honour upon many of their Gentry; and all parties were so well pleased, that it was said, when his Majesty left the Kingdom, That he departed a contented King from a contented People.

Upon his re-  
turn to Eng-  
land he re-  
pents of  
them.

No sooner was the King returned home but the English Bishops reproached his Majesty with his Concessions, especially for admitting the English Hierarchy to be contrary to the Word of God. They told him, he had unravelled that Web which his Father and himself had been weaving in that Country for above forty years, and instead of making the Scots his Friends, that he had only created a new thirst in the English Parliament to follow their example. These Remonstrances had such an influence upon the unhappy King, that he repented heartily of what he had done, and told Dr. Saunderson, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln, when he was in the Isle of Wight, that two errors did much afflict him, "his consenting to the Earl of Strafford's Death, and his abolishing Episcopacy in Scotland;" and that if God should ever restore him to the peaceable possession of his Crown, he would demonstrate his Repentance by a publick confession, and a voluntary penance, (I think says the Dr.) by going barefoot from the Tower of London, or Whitehall, to St. Paul's, and desiring the people to intercede with God for him. This shews, how much Superstition still remained in his Majesty's Make and Constitution, when he could imagine, the going barefoot through the streets could atone for his mistakes; and how little dependance was to be had upon his promises and declarations, that even in the year 1648, when the necessity of his affairs obliged him to consent to an Uniformity of Presbyterian Government in both Nations, he could declare in private to his Chaplain, that if "he was ever restored to his Throne, he would do publick penance for abolishing Episcopacy in Scotland. Upon the whole, the King's Journey into his native Country did him no service; for though the Scots were pleased with his Majesty's Concessions, they durst not depend upon them as long as he was under the direction of the Queen and

and the English Bishops, but thought themselves obliged, from gratitude, affection, and interest, to cultivate a good understanding with the English Parliament, and assist them in recovering their Religion and Liberties.

King  
Charles I.  
1641.

Upon the day of thanksgiving for the Pacification between the two nations [September 7.] Bishop Williams, Dean of Westminster, without any direction from his superiors, composed a Form of Prayer for the service of the day, with which the House of Commons were offended, and came to this resolution, " That the Bishop of Lincoln " had no power to set forth any prayer to be read on the " publick Thanksgiving; and that no Minister is obliged " to read the said prayer; and the House is of opinion, " and do order, that the said prayer be not read in the liberties of Westminster, or elsewhere." Dr. Burges and Mr. Marshall preached before the Commons, and read the following order, appointed by both Houses to be published in all the Churches throughout England, with his Majesty's consent.

Thanksgiving for the  
Pacification.  
Nalson, p.  
477.

" **W** Hereas according to the Act of this present Parliament, for confirmation of the Treaty of Pacification, it was desired by the Commissioners of Scotland, that the loyalty and faithfulness of his Majesty's subjects [of Scotland] might be made known at the time of thanksgiving, in all places, and particularly in all Parish Churches of his Majesty's dominions; " which request " was graciously condescended to by his Majesty, and confirmed by the said Act:" It is now ordered and commanded by both Houses of Parliament, that the same be effectually done in all Parish Churches throughout this kingdom, on Tuesday, Sept. 7. at the time of the publick thanksgiving, by the respective Ministers of each parish, or their Curates, who are hereby required to read " this present order in the Church.

Scots declared to be the King's faithful subjects.

The Order being read, the Ministers declared, that notwithstanding all that had past in the late Commotions, the Scots nation were still his Majesty's faithful and loyal subjects. Thus as the calling and continuance of an English Parliament, after twelve years interval, was owing to the marching of the Scots army into the north of England, it was by the powerful support and assistance of that Parliament, and the expence of a million of money, that the Scots obtained the present Pacification,



King  
Charles I.  
1641.

Unsettled  
State of  
Religion.

with the full recovery of their Kirk Discipline and Civil Liberties.

Votes of the  
House of  
Commons  
concerning  
the Commu-  
nion Table.  
Nation, p.  
288, 38.

For Encou-  
ragement of  
Preaching.

In the midst of this ferment of the spirits of men, the workings of opposite councils; and the taking the sword out of the hands of the Spiritual Courts, it is not to be wonder'd that the state of Religion was unsettled, and that men began to practise with some latitude in points of Ceremony and Forms of Worship. It has been observed, that in the beginning of the year the House of Commons had ordered Commissions to be sent into all the Counties of England, for removing the late innovations; June 28. It was further ordered, "That neither University should do reverence to the Communion Table." And Aug. 31. "That the Church Wardens of the several parishes shall forthwith remove the Communion Table from the east end of the Churches where they stand Altarwise, and take away the Rails, and level the Chancels, as before the late innovations." Upon complaint of the want of Sermons, and that the incumbents, in many places, would not admit Preachers into their Pulpits, though the Parish maintained them, it was order'd, June 14. "That the Deans and Chapters of all Cathedrals be required, and enjoined, to suffer the inhabitants to have free liberty to have a Sermon preached in their Cathedrals every Sunday in the afternoon." July 12. ordered, "That in all Parochial Churches where there is no preaching in the afternoon, if the Parishioners will maintain a conformable Lecturer at their own charge, the Parson or Vicar shall give way to it, unless he will preach himself." Sept. 6. order'd, "That it be lawful for the Parishioners of any Parish to set up a Lecture, and to maintain an orthodox Minister at their own charge, to preach every Lord's Day where there is no preaching, and to preach one day every week where there is no weekly Lecture." But notwithstanding these votes, some Bishops inhibited preaching on Sundays in the afternoon; and in particular Dr. Montague, Bishop of Norwich, upon which the Commons voted, "That his Lordship's inhibition of the Reverend Mr. Carter to preach in his own Parish Church, was void; and that every Minister may preach in his own Parish Church as often as he pleases."

Committee  
for preaching  
Ministers.  
Claren. Vol.  
I. p. 295.

Many petitions being sent from divers counties for preaching Ministers, a Committee of forty Members of the House, called the "Committee for preaching Ministers," was appointed

pointed to send Ministers where there were vacancies, and to provide for their maintenance. These Gentlemen recommended many of the late silenced Ministers, as the Reverend Mr. Case, Mr. Marshal, Sedgwick, Burroughs, whom some of the Vicars refused to admit into their Pulpits, or at least dissuaded their Parishioners from hearing them, for which some of them were required to attend the Committee; and because great complaints were made to the House, of the idleness and viciousness of the Country Clergy, another Committee was appointed to examine into such complaints, and was called the "Committee for scandalous Ministers."

King  
Charles I.  
1641.

And for  
scandalous  
Ministers.

The day before the recess of the Parliament, [Sept. 8.] it was resolved by the Commons, "That the Lord's Day should be duly observed and sanctified; that all dancing, or other sports either before or after Divine Service, be forborn and restrained; and that the preaching of God's Word be promoted in the afternoon, in the several Churches and Chapels of this Kingdom; and that Ministers and Preachers be encouraged thereunto. The Chancellors of the two Universities, the heads of Colleges, all Patrons, Vicars, and Church Wardens, are to make certificate of the performance of these orders; and all Defaulters to be returned to the Parliament before the 30th of October next—Order'd further, That all Crucifixes, scandalous Pictures of any one or more Persons of the Trinity; and all Images of the Virgin Mary shall be taken away and abolished, and that all Tapers, Candelsticks, and Basons, be removed from the Communion Table.—That all corporal reverences at the name of Jesus, or towards the east end of the Church, Chapel, or Chancel, or towards the Communion Table, be forborn." These Orders to be observed in all Cathedral, and Collegiate Churches and Chapels, in the two Universities, by the respective Officers and Ministers of these Places, and by the Readers and Benchers of the Inns of Court.

Votes for  
the strict ob-  
servance of  
the Lord's  
Day.  
Nalson, p.  
482.

Rushw. p.  
386.

The House of Lords consented to some of these Resolutions, but not to others; they agreed in their Committee, "That no Rails should be placed about the Communion Table, where there were none already, but not to the pulling down of all that were set up; that all Chancels raised within fifteen years past should be levelled; that Images of the Trinity should be abolished, without limitation

House of  
Lords disa-  
gree with  
the Com-  
mons.  
Nalson, p.  
481, 482,  
483.

King  
Charles I.  
1641.

"tation of time; and all Images of the Virgin Mary erected within twenty years past." But as for bowing at the name of Jesus, they insisted that it should be left indifferent. So that when the Question was put, to agree or not agree with the resolutions of the Commons, it passed in the negative, eleven against nine. The Commons therefore published their Resolutions apart, and desired the people to wait patiently for the intended Reformation, without any disturbance of the worship of God, and of the peace of the kingdom. Upon which the Lords in a heat appointed their Order of Jan. 16. 1640-1. already mentioned, to be printed, "That Divine Service should be performed as it is appointed by Act of Parliament; and that all that disturb that wholesome Order shall be severely punished according to law. That all Parsons, Vicars, and Curates, in their several Parishes, do forbear to introduce any Rites or Ceremonies that may give offence, otherwise than those that are established by the Laws of the Land." This was voted by twelve of the Lords present, the other six entering their protest; after which both Houses adjourned for six Weeks. Mr. Rapin observes, That there seems no necessity for the Lords to renew this order; but that it was done out of spleen and revenge, because the Commons had made a declaration against Innovations, and it was not doubted but the Bishops were the chief authors of it.

Rushw. p.  
387.  
Claren. Vol.  
I. p. 293.

Nalson, p.  
485.

Vol. XI. p.  
183.

Their Votes  
put in execution.

Claren. Vol.  
II. p. 290,  
295.

Lord Clarendon represents the putting these Orders of the House of Commons in execution, as a transcendent presumption, and a breach of privilege of the House of Lords; and tho' in one place his Lordship acknowledges, that little or nothing of Moment was done in pursuance of the Orders of the two Houses, yet upon this occasion he says, "That seditious and factious persons caused the windows to be broken down in Churches; tore away the rails, removed the Communion Tables, and committed many insolent and scandalous disorders, and that if any opposed them they were sent for before the Committee." But the fairest account of this Matter may be gathered from Mr. Pym's Report to the House at their first meeting after the recess. "The Committee of Religion (says he) have sent down divers of your Declarations into the Country, and have found, that in some places where there were good Ministers they were retained, and in other places neglected ——— We cannot say there have been any great Tumults, though



“ though the execution of the Orders of the House has occasioned something tending that way---In some Parishes they came to blows, and in others they would have done the like, if care had not been taken to prevent it. At St. Giles’s Cripplegate, the Parishioners were almost at daggers drawing about the Rails of the Communion Table, which they would not suffer to be removed—The like opposition was made to the Orders of the House at St. George Southwark, St. Mary Woolnoth, St. Botolph Aldersgate, and a few other places; but in most places they were quiet.”

King  
Charles I.  
1641.

If the Innovations complained of were according to Law, neither Lords nor Commons had authority to remove them, for in a time of publick peace and tranquility a Vote of Parliament cannot suspend or set aside a Law; but if they were apparently contrary to Law, I don’t see but either House of Parliament, or even the Parishioners themselves, by a vote of their Vestry, might order them to be taken away. Remarkable are the words of Sir Edward Deering to this purpose; “ The Orders of the House (says he) are, doubtless, powerful, if grounded upon the Laws of the Land; upon this warrant we may, by an order, enforce any thing that is undoubtedly so grounded; and by the same rule we may abrogate whatsoever is introduced contrary to the undoubted Foundation of your Laws; but we may not rule and govern by arbitrary and disputable orders, especially in matters of Religion,”

Remarks.

Rushw.  
Vol. IV. p.  
392.

The Commons disallowed of the tumultuous attempts of private persons, and punished them severely. Complaint being made by the Inhabitants of St. Saviour’s Southwark, of certain persons who had pulled down the Rails of the Communion Table in an insolent and riotous manner, they were sent for into Custody, and having been heard by their Counsel at the Bar of the House, the Church-wardens of the Parish were ordered to set up new Rails, at the costs and charges of the offenders, in the manner they had stood for fifty years before, but not according to the model of the four or five last years. The Rioters also were enjoined to make a publick confession of their fault in the body of the Church on a Sabbath Day, when the Congregation should be present, and to stand committed to the Fleet, during the pleasure of the House. Upon another complaint of the Parishioners of St. Olave’s Southwark, against others that had made a tumult in their Church, and used irreverent Speeches during the Administration of the

Rioters.  
punished.  
Nelson,  
p. 271.

Ib. p. 291.

Sacrament;

King  
Charles I.  
1641.

Ib. p. 395.

Sad repre-  
sentation of  
the State of  
Religion by  
the Royalists

Vol. I.  
p. 295.

And by the  
King.

Sacrament; the Delinquents were sent for into custody, and after hearing they were committed to the King's Bench for six months, without bail or mainprize; and ordered to stand upon an high stool in Cheapside and in Southwark, for two hours on a market day, and to acknowledge their fault publicly: They were also fined twenty Pounds and to find sureties for their good behaviour; but when they had been imprisoned about a month, upon their humble petition, and acknowledgment of their misdemeanors, they were released.

If we may give credit to the Petition from Canterbury, things were every where in great confusion; for it says, "That the Religion and Government by Law established, has been of late most miserably distracted by ill affected persons, by whose means the houses of God, are profaned, and in part defaced; the Ministers of Christ are contemned and despised; the Ornaments, and many Utensils of the Church are abused; the Liturgy and Book of Common-prayer depraved and neglected; that absolute model of Prayer, the Lord's Prayer, vilified; the Sacraments of the Gospel, in some places, rudely administered, in other places omitted; solemn days of fasting observed, and appointed by private persons; Marriages illegally solemnized; Burials uncharitably performed, and the very fundamentals of Religion subverted by the publication of a new Creed, and teaching the abrogation of the moral Law; many offensive Sermons are preached, and many impious Pamphlets printed."—— Lord Clarendon says, "That the Pulpits were supplied with seditious and schismatical Preachers. That in order to poison the hearts of the King's Subjects, care was taken to place such Ministers and Lecturers in the most popular Towns and Parishes, as abhorred the present government and temperature of the Church and State;" and then adds, "I am confident there was not from the beginning of this Parliament, one orthodox or learned Man recommended by them to any Church in England." Strange! when scarce one was recommended but had been educated in our own Universities, and had subscribed all the doctrinal Articles of the Church! But his Majesty's language is more severe in his Declaration of Aug. 12. 1642.—— "Under pretence of encouraging Preaching (says he) they have erected Lectures in several Parishes, and commended such Lecturers as were men of no Learning

“ Learning nor Conscience, but furious promoters of the  
 “ most dangerous Innovations ; many having taken no  
 “ Orders, yet were recommended by Members of either  
 “ House to Parishes ; and when mechanick persons have  
 “ been brought before them for preaching in Churches,  
 “ and have confessed the same, they have been dismissed  
 “ without punishment, and hardly with reprehension. All  
 “ persons of learning, and eminency in Preaching, and of  
 “ sober and virtuous conversation ; of great examples in  
 “ their lives, and even such as among these men had been  
 “ of greatest Estimation, and suffered somewhat for them,  
 “ were discountenanced, and such men cherished, who  
 “ boldly preached against the government of the Church,  
 “ against the Book of Common-prayer, against our king-  
 “ ly, lawful Power, and against our Person—— Further,  
 “ a License even to Treason is admitted in Pulpits, and  
 “ persons ignorant in learning and understanding, turbulent  
 “ and seditious in disposition, scandalous in life, and un-  
 “ conformable in opinion to the laws of the land, are im-  
 “ posed upon Parishes, to infect and poison the minds of  
 “ our people.”——

King  
 Charles I.  
 1641.

What character the Parliament Divines had for Learning, for orthodoxy of Doctrine, and sobriety of Manners, will appear hereafter. The Commons, in their Reply to his Majesty's Declaration, denied the whole of this charge, and averred, “ That they were careful in their enquiries  
 “ into the Learning and Morality of those whom they re-  
 “ commended ; that they were not for encouraging Faction  
 “ and Schism, but for preferring those who were for a  
 “ parliamentary Reformation in Church and State. That  
 “ they had shewn their resentments against the Mobs and  
 “ Tumults, and against the preaching of Laymen ;” for when they were informed, that Mr. Robinson, Spencer, Banks, Durant, and Green, being meer Laymen, had presumed to preach publickly, they sent for them [ June 7. ] and reprimanded them by their Speaker, in these words ;  
 “ The House has a great distaste of your Proceedings ;  
 “ and if you offend at any time in the like kind again, this  
 “ House will take care you shall be severely punished.”

Reply of the  
 Commons.  
 Nalson, p.  
 265, 270.

Far be it from me to apologize for the furious Preachers of these times ; though it will appear hereafter, that the complaints of the Royalists are very much exaggerated ; but it was certainly a great disadvantage to the Parliament's Cause, that they could not get a supply of learned

Disadvan-  
 tages of the  
 Parliament  
 with respect  
 to Ministers.

and



King  
Charles I.  
1641.

and able Preachers, because the Keys of admission into Holy Orders were in the hands of the Bishops, who were very strict at this time, in their examination into the political principles of those whom they ordained; this reduced the Committee to the necessity of admitting some few that came well recommended from New England or Scotland, and had been only ordained by Presbyters, or such young Students, who producing their Testimonials from the Universities, were allowed to preach for some time as Candidates. They were under the like disadvantage as to Presentations or Inductions, most of which were in the hands of the King and the Bishops.

Archbishop  
Laud suspended  
from his  
Jurisdiction.

The Archbishop of Canterbury continued to ordain Clergymen of his own principles in the Tower; upon which the House of Lords ordered [Octob. 28.] that his Jurisdiction should be sequester'd, and administer'd by his inferior Officers, till he should be acquitted of the charge of High Treason that was against him. His Grace often admitted such Clergymen to livings as were obnoxious to the two Houses, insomuch that the Lords found it necessary to enjoin him to acquaint their House with the names of such persons as he nominated to any ecclesiastical Benefice, Promotion or Dignity within his disposal, to be approved of first by the House, before they were collated or instituted. On the other hand, when a Minister was chosen by the Parishioners, and recommended to his Grace for admission, if he did not like his Principles and Character, he would either except against him, or suffer the Living to lapse to the Crown. This created him new enemies, and kept alive the resentments of the Commons. At length the Archbishop acquainted the King with his case, who sent him a peremptory Letter, requiring him, "That as often as any Benefice, or other spiritual Promotion, should become void within his Gift, to dispose of it only to such persons as his Majesty should nominate; and that if either, or both Houses, should command him otherwise, he should then let it fall in lapse to the Crown." As soon as the Houses were acquainted with this, they published an Order of their own, requiring the Archbishop to dispose of no Benefice or spiritual Promotion that should become void at any time before his Trial, but with the leave and order of the two Houses at Westminster. Such was the contest between the King and Parliament for the Pulpits! It being thought

thought of great consequence on both sides to fill them with Men of their own principles, who would be zealous in the causes in which they were severally engaged.

King  
Charles I.  
1647.

All the Bishops were under a cloud, and in no degree of favour either with the Parliament or People, except the Bishop of Lincoln, who having been some years in prison, had no share in the late Innovations." This Prelate, in the recess of Parliament, visited his Diocese; and exhorted the people in his Sermons to keep their lawful Minister, and not go after "Tub Preachers in Conventicles." He acquainted them with the laws, and told them, that no power could protect them from the penalty of Statutes unrepealed. "Look back (says his Lordship) from the beginning of Queen Elizabeth. Can the Gospel stand better against the Church of Rome than it has done under the Bishops, Liturgy, and Canons? therefore don't abandon the good old way, for another which you do not know how much evil may be in it." But his Rhetorick had very little effect; nor did the Parliament approve of his conduct, at a time when his Majesty was out of the Kingdom, and when it was resolved to attempt some considerable alterations in the Hierarchy of the Church.

Bishop of  
Lincoln's  
Visitation.

The Distractions in the State were no less threatening than those of the Church; for the plague was in the City of London, which dispersed the Members, so that they could hardly make a House. The disbanded Army infested the roads with highway Men, insomuch, that it was hardly safe to travel from one Town to another. The Officers (many of whom were Papists) crowded to London, and took lodgings about Covent Garden and Whitehall, under pretence of receiving the remainder of their pay; these behaved with unusual insolence, and struck terror into the minds of the common people. The Mob was frequently up in one part of the Town or another; one while they threaten'd the Pope's Nuncio, and another while the Queen Mother, upon which they retired out of the Kingdom; but the Queen herself stood by her Friends: She had a Convent of Capuchins in her Court, and protected great numbers of the King's Subjects, and others, from the force of the Laws. The Lord Mayor was commanded to bring in a list of popish Recusants about London; and all the Papists in the several Counties were ordered to be disarmed; "which, though it had little or no effect (says Lord Clarendon) served to keep up fears and apprehensions in the peo-

Distractions  
State of the  
Nation.

Vol. I. p.  
290.

"ple

King  
Charles I.  
1641.

“ple of dangers and designs ;” that will ‘appear presently not to have been groundless. This was the melancholy State of the Nation, when on a sudden it was Thunder-struck with the surprizing news of one of the most barbarous massacres of the Protestants in Ireland, that the Records of any Age or Nation can produce.

Remarks.

Lord Clarendon is of opinion, that the Parliament, instead of adjourning, should now have broken up and returned home, since the principal Grievances of Church and State were redressed, and the Constitution secured, by the act for Triennial Parliaments. But not to trouble the reader with affairs of State : What religious Grievances were redressed ? except the shortening the power of the Spiritual Courts, by the acts for abolishing the Court of High Commission and Star-chamber ? not one of the late Innovations were abolished by law ; nor was there any alteration in the Liturgy, or form of Church Government. The sole power of the Bishops in Ordination and Jurisdiction was not regulated ; nor was there any Reformation of Deans and Chapters, all which the Puritans expected and hoped for. In short, the whole Government of the Church remained still entire, notwithstanding the fierce attacks of the Commons against it. The act for Triennial Parliaments will not appear to be a sufficient security for the Constitution, if we consider how many acts of Parliament the King and his arbitrary Ministers had broke through the last fifteen years ; that his Majesty had still the same principles, and was like to be in the same hands upon the breaking up of the Parliament. Besides, it was said, that these laws were extorted from him by force, and therefore not binding. And if a Parliament should be called after three years, that it was dissolvable at pleasure ; so that in all probability things would have returned to the old Channel if the Parliament had now dissolved themselves. Supposing therefore, but not admitting, that the principal Grievances of Church and State were redressed, I leave it with the reader, whether in the present situation of affairs, a meer redress of past Grievances was a sufficient security against the return of the like, in time to come.

Death and ]  
Character  
of Bishop  
Davenant,

Among the remarkable Divines that died about this time was Dr. John Davenant Bishop of Salisbury, born in London, and educated a Fellow-commoner in Queen’s College, Cambridge, of which he was afterwards Master, and Lady Margaret Professor in the same University. He was a celebrated



celebrated Calvinist, and was one of those Divines appointed by King James to represent the Church of England at the Synod of Dort, where he behaved with great prudence and moderation; and upon his return to England was prefer'd to the Bishoprick of Salisbury; but in the beginning of the reign of King Charles he became obnoxious to the Court, for venturing to preach on the doctrine of Predestination, contrary to his Majesty's Declaration, and was forced to make his submission before the Privy Council. He was a quiet and peaceable Prelate, humble and charitable, a strict observer of the Sabbath, an enemy to the pomp and luxury of the Clergy, and one that lamented the high proceedings of the Court. He had a great reputation in foreign parts for profound learning, and an unblemish'd Life; and after he had enjoyed his Bishoprick about twenty years, he ended his Days in peace and honour, April 20, 1641. a little before the beginning of the troubles that afterwards came upon the Church and Kingdom. He died of a consumption, and a few hours before his death prayed pathetically for a quarter of an hour; " Blessing God for his fatherly correction, forasmuch as his whole Life having been full of mercy, he had been ready to doubt, whether he was a true child of God till this last sickness."

King  
Charles I.  
1641.

Fuller's  
Worthies  
B. II. p. 207.

Dr. Richard Montague Bishop of Norwich, was a Divine of a different character; he was born in Westminster, educated in Eaton College, and afterwards Fellow of King's College. Mr. Fuller says he was a celebrated Grecian, and Church Antiquary, well read in the Fathers, but a superstitious admirer of Church Ceremonies. He was a thorough Arminian, a Creature of Archbishop Laud's, and an ill instrument between the King and Parliament in the late times, who voted him unfit for any Church preferment; but when the King resolv'd to govern without Parliaments, his Majesty prefer'd him first to the Bishoprick of Chichester, and then to Norwich, where he shew'd his zeal for the Church, by a vigorous and illegal prosecution of the Puritans. He was accused by the present Parliament, for superstitious Innovations; and would, no doubt, have felt their resentments, if he had not gone (as Mr. Fuller expresses it) a more compendious way, to answer for all his proceedings in the high Court of Heaven. He died April 12th 1641.

Aud of Bi-  
shop Monta-  
gue.

B. XI. p.  
194.

King  
Charles I.  
1641.

And of Mr.  
Eaton.  
Ath. Ox.  
Vol. II. p.  
22.

The Reverend Mr. John Eaton, M. A. and Vicar of Wickham Market, was born in Kent, 1575, and educated in Trinity College, Oxford. He was a Divine of a peculiar mould (says Mr. Eachard) very paradoxical in his opinions, and reckon'd a great Antinomian, and one of the Founders of that Sect, for which he more than once suffered imprisonment. His chief performance was a Book, entitled, "The Honey Comb of free Justification by Christ alone;" for which he was imprison'd in the Gate-house at Westminster. Mr. Eachard admits, that by means of his zeal. his exemplary patience and piety, he was exceedingly admired in the neighbourhood where he lived, and strangely valued for many years after his Death. In truth, though he committed some Mistakes in his assertions about the Doctrines of Grace, he was, nevertheless (says Mr. Archdeacon) a Pattern of Faith, Holiness, and Cheerfulness in his Sufferings, to succeeding Generations. He died in the 67th year of his age.

## CHAP. X.

From the Re-assembling of the Parliament, to the King's leaving his Palace of Whitehall, Jan. 10, 1641-2.

Irish Insurrection and  
Massacre.

**B**Efore his Majesty left Scotland advice came to London [Nov. 1.] of a general insurrection of the Papists in Ireland, and of a most cruel and bloody Massacre of the Protestants of that Kingdom. The project of an insurrection was formed in the months of March and April, 1641, not without the privity of the English Court, and executed Oct. 23d following; no information of it having been given to the Protestants till the very night before it was to take place, when it was too late to prevent the effects of it in the Country, and almost to save the City of Dublin itself. When the express that brought the news was read in the House, it produced a general silence for a time, all Men being struck with horror. When it was told without doors it flew like flashes of lightning, and spread universal Terror over the whole Kingdom. Every Day, and almost every hour, produced new messengers of misery, who brought further intelligence of the merciless cruelty of the Papists towards the poor Protestants, whose very name they threaten'd to extirpate out of the Kingdom.

On

King  
Charles I.  
1641.

On the day appointed, between twenty and thirty thousand of the Native Irish appeared in Arms in the Northern Counties, and having secured the principal Gentlemen, and seized their Effects, they murdered the common people in cold blood, forcing many thousands to fly from their houses and settlements, naked into the bogs and woods, where they perished with hunger and cold. No ties of Friendship, Neighbourhood or Consanguinity, were capable of softning their obdurate Hearts, in a cause which they called "The Cause of Loyalty and Religion." Some they whipped to death; others they stript naked and exposed to Shame, and then drove them like herds of Swine to perish in the Mountains; many hundreds were drowned in Rivers; some had their Throats cut; others were dismembered. With some the execrable Villains made themselves sport, trying who could hack deepest into an English Man's Flesh. Husbands were cut to pieces in the Presence of their Wives; Wives and young Virgins abused in the sight of their nearest Relations; nay, they taught their Children to strip and kill the Children of the English, and dash out their Brains against the Stones. Forty or fifty thousand were massacred after this manner in a few days, without distinction of Age, Sex, or Quality, before they suspected their danger, or had time to provide for their defence. In a few weeks the Insurrection was so general, that they took Possession of whole Counties, murdering the inhabitants, plundering their houses, and killing or driving away their Cattle. Multitudes of poor distressed Creatures and Families fled naked and half starved first to Dublin, and from thence to England, with death and despair in their Countenances. At length the Irish Army having ravaged all the Northern Counties blocked up the City of Dublin itself, with all the poor distressed Protestants that had taken Sanctuary in it; but not being Masters of the Sea, the City was relieved, and part of the Country secured, till the Parliament was at leisure to pour out all their vengeance upon the heads of the murderers, by the hands of the victorious and terrible Oliver Cromwell.

The frequent expresses which came over to England, with the Multitudes of distressed Creatures that got passage into several Parts of the Kingdom, filled the hearts of all true Protestants with infinite conjectures, and prodigious imaginations of treasonable designs against this, as well as the neighbouring Kingdom: They were afraid, and not without reason,

Spreads  
Terror over  
England.



King  
Charles I.  
1641.

Authors of  
it.  
Prynne,  
Introd.  
p. 220,  
to 252.  
Burnet's  
Hist. Life  
and Times.  
Rushw.  
Vol. IV. p.  
393, &c.

son, that a second part of this Tragedy might be acted on themselves; the Parliament therefore ordered themselves a Guard of Train Bands, and entered immediately into measures to secure the Nation from the impending storm.

But before we dismiss the Irish Insurrection and Massacre, it will not be improper to trace it from its Original, and enquire into the Authors, and the several Parties concerned in it. The Earl of Antrim, and Sir Phelim O'Neal who were at the Head of the Irish Catholics, having acquainted the Pope's Nuncio, and some of the Priests about the Queen, how easily they could assume the Government of Ireland, and assist the King against the English Puritans. Letters were writ in the Queen's Name, and, perhaps, in the King's authorizing them to take up Arms and seize the Government. The Irish received the Orders with Pleasure; but concluded further among themselves, that it was necessary at the same time to extirpate the Protestants, out of that Kingdom before they could with safety transport their Army into England. That this was their design, appears from their Remonstrance published upon the very day of the Insurrection, in which they say, "That  
" having some Liberty of Religion granted them by the  
" King, they perceived the Parliament was wresting his  
" Majesty's Prerogative from him, in order to extinguish  
" their Religion; therefore to support his Majesty's Prero-  
" gative, and to confirm his Royal and ever happy  
" Love to them, they had taken up Arms; and accord-  
" ingly bound themselves to one another by the following  
" Oath.

" **T**HAT they would maintain the Roman Catholick  
" Religion; that they would bear true Faith and Al-  
" legiance to the King and his Heirs, and defend him  
" and them with their Lives and Estates, against all Per-  
" sons that should endeavour to suppress the Prerogative, or  
" do any acts contrary to Regal Government, to the power  
" and privilege of Parliaments, and to the rights and pri-  
" vileges of the Subject."

Concern of  
the English  
Court in it.

They called themselves the Queen's Army, and published a Proclamation from their Camp at Newry, declaring, that they acted by the King's Commission, under the Great Seal of Scotland, dated at Edinburg, October 1. and by letters under his Sign Manual of the same date with the Commission; which I believe, with Lord Clarendon, was a forgery;

King  
Charles I.  
1641.

gery ; though it is a little unaccountable, that his Majesty should never, by any publick Act or Declaration of his own, clear himself of so vile a calumny. But though the King gave out no Commission, there is too much reason to believe, that the Queen and her Popish Council, and even the King himself, was not unacquainted with the design of an Insurrection before it took place ; and that her Majesty gave it all the Countenance she could with safety : But when these bloody Butchers over-acted their part to such a degree, as to massacre near two hundred thousand Protestants in cold Blood, to make way for their Empire, it was Time for all Parties to disown them.

Bishop Burnet observes, “ That in the first design of an Insurrection there was no thought of a Massacre ; this came into their heads as they were contriving methods of executing it ; and as the People were governed by the Priests, these were the Men that set on the Irish. to all the Blood and Cruelty that followed.” There was a Consultation at the Abbey of Multiferan, in the County of West Meath, where it was debated, what Course should be taken with the Protestants ; some were for expelling them, as the King of Spain did the Moors ; others pressed to have them universally cut off ; but not coming to a Conclusion, they left the Army to act at Discretion. How far the Pope’s Nuncio and the Queen’s Council might be consulted about the Massacre, is a Secret ; but if we distinguish between the Insurrection, in order to assume the Government into the hands of the Irish Papists, and the Massacre which attended it, we may conclude, without any Breach of Charity, that the English Court admitted of the former, though they might wash their hands of the latter.

Nelson, p.  
633.

The Parliament, in their Declaration of March 9, say, that the Rebellion in Ireland was framed and contrived in England, and that they had taken several Depositions, proving, that the English Papists were to rise about the same time ; that the Rebels said they acted by the King’s Authority ; that they called themselves the Queen’s Army, and declared, “ that their purpose was to come to England after they had done in Ireland, to recover the Royal Prerogative, wrested from him by the Puritan Faction in the House of Commons.” Mr. Pym declared in the Parliament House, that several disbanded Officers and Soldiers of the King’s Army went over to Ireland, and listed

Rapin.  
p. 337.

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among the Rebels by the King's express Warrant, which his Majesty denied ; but when the matter was examined, it appeared that his Authority had been abused by some very near his Person.

Earl of  
Essex's Ac-  
count.

The concern of the Court in this dark affair is further evident, from the relation of the Earl of Essex, who told Bishop Burnet, " That he had taken all the pains he could " to enquire into the Original of the Irish Massacre, but " could not see reason to believe the King was accessary to " it ; but he did believe that the Queen did hearken to " the Propositions made by the Irish, who undertook to " take the Government of Ireland into their hands, which " they thought they could easily perform, and then they " promised to assist the King against the hot Spirits at West- " minster. With this the Insurrection began, and all the " Irish believed the Queen encouraged it."

And the  
Marquis of  
Antrim's.

There was a further discovery of this Fact at the Restoration of King Charles II. when the Marquis of Antrim, who had been at the head of the Rebellion, and whose estate had been confiscated, finding himself like to be excluded the Act of Indemnity, came to London to petition his Majesty to examine the Warrants he had acted upon. Accordingly a Committee of Council was appointed, and the Marquis produced some Letters from the King which did not amount to full proof ; but in one of them the King writ, that he was not then at leisure, " but referred him- " self to the Queen's Letter, and said, that was all one as " if he writ himself." Upon this foundation the Marquis produced a Series of Letters writ by himself to the Queen, in which " he gave her an Account of every one of those " particulars that were laid to his charge, and shewed the " Grounds he went upon, and desired her Majesty's Di- " rection to every one of those ;" and he had Answers ordering him to do as he did. This Affair (says the Bishop) the Queen herself, who was then at Court, espoused with great zeal, and said, she was bound to save him. So a report was drawn up by the Committee, declaring, That he had fully justified himself in every thing ; but the Earl of Northumberland, who was Chairman, refused to set his Hand to it, saying, " He was sorry the Marquis had " produced such Warrants ; but he did not think that " they ought to serve his turn, for he did not believe " that any Warrant from the King or Queen could ju- " stify

Burnet's  
Hist. Life  
and Times.



“ stify so much bloodshed, in so many black instances as  
 “ were laid against him.” Upon the Earl’s refusing to sign  
 the report the rest of the Committee declined it, and so it  
 was dropt ; but the King himself writ over to the Duke of  
 Ormond, that he had so vindicated himself, that he must  
 get him included in the Act of Indemnity ; but the Lord  
 Mazarine and others not being satisfied to give their vote  
 in favour of such a Criminal, notwithstanding the Instruc-  
 tions they had from England, the Marquis was obliged in  
 his own defence to produce in the House of Commons a  
 Letter from King Charles I. writ with his own hand,  
 giving him express Orders to take up Arms ; upon  
 which he was pardoned, and his estate restored.

King  
 Charles I.  
 1641.  
 Bennet’s  
 Mem. p. 197.

In the Letter of King Charles II. to the Duke of Or-  
 mond above-mentioned, writ with his Majesty’s own hand,  
 and entered in the Signet Office, July 13, 1663, there is  
 this remarkable passage, “ That the Referees who had  
 “ examined the Marquis [of Antrim’s] Case, had declar-  
 “ ed to him, that they had seen “ several Letters, all of  
 “ them of the Hand-writing of our Royal Father to the  
 “ said Marquis, and several instructions concerning his  
 “ treating with the Irish in order to the King’s Service, by  
 “ reducing them to their Obedience, and by drawing some  
 “ forces from them for the service of Scotland. That be-  
 “ sides Letters and Orders under his Majesty’s own hand,  
 “ there was sufficient evidence and testimony of several  
 “ Messengers and directions sent from our Royal Father  
 “ and our Royal Mother, with the privity and direction  
 “ of the King our Father, by which it appears, that  
 “ whatever Correspondence, or Actings the said Marquis  
 “ had with the confederate Irish Catholicks, was directed  
 “ and allowed by the said Letters and Instructions ; and  
 “ that the King himself was well pleased with what the  
 “ Marquis did after he had done it, and approved of the  
 “ same.”

K. Charles  
 the 2<sup>d</sup>’s  
 Letter.  
 Ludlow’s  
 Memoirs,  
 Vol. III.  
 p. 353.

I have been more particular in accounting for this Insur-  
 rection, because whoever were the Authors of it, are,  
 in the Judgment of Lord Clarendon, answerable for all the  
 “ Calamities of the Civil War. “ It was Ireland (says his  
 “ Lordship) that drew the first Blood. If they had not  
 “ at that time rebelled, and in that manner, ’tis very  
 “ probable all the miseries which afterwards befel the King  
 “ and his Dominions, had been prevented.” At whose

Vol. I.  
 p. 299.

King  
Charles I.  
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Door then the Guilt of all this blood must be laid, I freely leave with the reader.

Proceedings  
of Parlia-  
ment upon  
the Insurrec-  
tion.

Upon the first news of the Irish Massacre the House of Commons turned themselves into a Committee, and came to the following Resolutions, "That all Roman Catholics of Quality in the several Counties of England be secured, and that all Papists depart from London to their respective places of abode in the Country; that the House of Lords be desired to join with the Commons in a petition for dissolving the Convent of Capuchins, and sending them out of the Kingdom; that the foreign Ambassadors be desired to deliver up such Priests of the King's Subjects as are in their Houses; that a list be brought in of the Queen's Servants; and that a Proclamation be issued out for all Strangers that are not Protestants, to give an account of their names and places of abode, or depart the Kingdom." They also dispatched a Messenger to the King, beseeching him to concur with them in securing the Nation against any further attempts of the Papists; and not to employ any in his Councils who were favourers of Popery, Superstition, or Innovation in Religion. They voted two hundred thousand pounds to be borrowed immediately for the Service of Ireland, and appointed the Train Bands of Westminster to guard them from the insolence and affronts of vagrant Soldiers about the Court; and to secure them from other designs which they had reason to suspect. The Lords ordered all Romish Recusants to remove out of the Inns of Court and Chancery. The Commons ordered the oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy to be tender'd to all Irish Gentlemen within those Courts; "for it now appears (says Mr. Pym) that the Religion of the Papists is incompatible with any other Religion, it is destructive to all others, and will endure nothing that opposes it. There are other Religions that are not right, but not so destructive as Popery, for the principles of Popery are subversive of all States and Persons that oppose it."

Nelson,  
p. 667.

The King's  
imprudent  
Conduct.  
Nelson,  
p. 666.

But when the King returned from Scotland the latter end of November, and had been received with the acclamations of the Citizens of London, he was prevailed with by the Queen and her faction, to check the proceedings of the two Houses, since the Scots were easy, and the hearts of the English Nation seemed to be with him; his Majesty had recommended the suppressing the Irish

Irish Rebellion to the Scots Representatives, and by Letter had committed the care of it also to the English Parliament; whereupon the House of Commons, in the King's absence, authorized the Earl of Leicester, by an ordinance of their own, to raise forces, and the Lord High Admiral to provide shipping for their Transportation from Chester, and other Ports; but when the King came to Whitehall he seemed so unwilling to act against the Papists, that the Parliament were afraid of sending Protestant Soldiers out of the Kingdom, lest his Majesty should take advantage of their absence, and break up the Constitution; for he had already commanded away the Parliament's Guard, telling them, they had nothing to fear from the Papists, and that their jealousies of Plots and Massacres were imaginary. He pardoned seven Popish Priests that were under sentence of condemnation, contrary to the petition of the House of Commons. He turned out the Earl of Leicester, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and Sir William Parsons, one of the most active Protestant Justices in that Kingdom. He intercepted the Parliamentary Supplies in their way to Chester, and received a deputation from the Irish Catholics with greater ceremony and respect than from his Protestant Subjects. Nor could his Majesty be prevailed with to issue out a Proclamation declaring the Irish, Rebels, till the beginning of January, and even then but forty copies were printed, and not one to be dispersed till further order. Indeed the King proclaimed a monthly fast, and offered to raise an Army of English for the relief of Ireland, which the Commons declined; but instead thereof appointed a Committee to treat for ten thousand Scots, which the House of Lords, by direction from the King, put a stop to; so that between both, the relief of Ireland was neglected. The King would have persuaded the Parliament to send over ten thousand English, that they might find it more difficult to raise forces in case of a Breach with him; but the Commons prevailed with the Scots to offer ten thousand of their Nation, that they might not be obliged to leave themselves naked and defenceless in so critical a Juncture.

Upon the whole it seems to me, that this barbarous Insurrection and Massacre was formed by the Irish to distress the Parliament, after the failure of the design of doing it by the English Army; that the King was willingly ignorant of the progress of the affair, having intrusted the Correspondence with his Queen and her Council; that when the

King  
Charles I.  
1641.

Rapin,  
p. 280, 282.

Remarks.



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Charles I.  
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King heard how the Irish had over-acted their part he was surprized, and thought it necessary to declare against them ; but when he came to his Queen he appeared too favourable to their persons and conduct, and instead of going briskly into the measures that were proposed to subdue them, his Majesty played the Politician, and would have made use of the Irish Rebellion to put himself at the head of an Army to break up the English Parliament.

While the King was in Scotland it was given out by some ill designing people, that since his Majesty had yielded so much to the Scots, he might be persuaded to introduce Presbytery into England at his return ; upon which his Majesty sent the following Letter to Mr. Nichols, Clerk of the Council.

King's Letter  
in favour  
of the Hierarchy.  
Nelson,  
p. 683.

“ I Hear it is reported that at my return, I intend to  
“ alter the Government of the Church of England, and  
“ to bring it to that form it is in here ; therefore I com-  
“ mand you to assure all my Servants, that I will be con-  
“ stant to the Church of England established by Queen  
“ Elizabeth and my Father ; and that I resolve, by the  
“ Grace of God, to die in the maintenance of it.” Edin-  
burgh, Octob. 18, 1641.

Accordingly, his Majesty resolved to fill up the vacant Sees, and ordered five Congé D'Esires to be drawn for five Clergymen therein named ; but the two Houses joining in a petition to his Majesty to suspend his commands till he came home, the matter was delayed ; but soon after his return he made the following removes and promotions.

He fills up  
the vacant  
Bishopricks.

Dr. Williams Bishop of Lincoln, was made Archbishop of York, in the room of Dr. Neile deceased, and Dr. Winniffe Dean of St. Paul's, a grave and moderate Divine, was made Bishop of Lincoln ; Dr. Duppa Bishop of Chichester was translated to Salisbury, vacant by the death of Dr. Davenant, and Dr. King Dean of Rochester, was promoted to Chichester. Dr. Hall was translated from Exeter to Norwich, in the room of Bishop Montague ; and Dr. Brownrigge, Master of Katharine Hall, Cambridge, an eminent and learned Divine, was advanced to Exeter. Dr. Skinner was translated from Bristol to Oxford, vacant by the death of Dr. Bancroft ; and Dr. Westfield Archdeacon of St. Albans, a very popular Preacher, was promoted to Bristol ; Dr. Prideaux,  
King's

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King's Professor of Divinity in Oxford, was made Bishop of Worcester, in the room of Dr. Thornborough deceased. The Bishoprick of Carlisle being vacant by the death of Dr. Barnabas Potter, a Puritan Bishop, commonly called the Penitential Preacher, was given in Commendam to the most Reverend Dr. Usher, Archbishop and Primate of Ireland, during the commotions in that kingdom. Most of these Divines stood well in the opinion of the people, but their accepting Bishopricks at this time did neither the King nor themselves any Service. After this his Majesty nominated but two Bishops throughout the course of his reign; one was Dr. Frewen Dean of Gloucester, and President of Magdalene College, Oxon, to the Bishoprick of Coventry and Litchfield, 1644. and Dr. Howel, Prebendary of Windsor, to Bristol, about ten months after.

A Committee had been appointed a twelvemonth ago, at the motion of the Lord Digby, "to draw out of all the grievances of the nation such a Remonstrance as might be a faithful and lively Representation to his Majesty, of the deplorable State of the kingdom;" but it was laid aside till this time, when the prospect of an agreement between him and his Parliament being almost at an end, after the breaking out of the Irish Insurrection and Massacre; it was perfected and read in the House of Commons, November 22. when it met with so strong an opposition, that it was carried but by nine voices, after a long debate, from three in the afternoon till three in the morning, which made One say, It look'd like the verdict of a starv'd Jury. Many were of opinion, that those grievances which had been redressed by the late Acts of Parliament ought to have been covered, lest the reviving them should make the breach wider between the King and Parliament; but others thought the mentioning them could do no harm if it was done with respect, and that it was in a manner necessary, in order to introduce the intended limitation of the Royal Power. However, this was the Crisis that discovered the strength of the two parties, and was managed with such warmth, that Oliver Cromwell is said to tell Lord Falkland, that "if the Remonstrance had been rejected he would have sold all he had next morning, and never have seen England more."

Remonstrance of  
the House of  
Commons.

It was difficult to say which side of the question was right, Mr. Rapin will not take upon him to determine, whether it was necessary for the welfare of the kingdom, "to put it out of the King's Power to govern for the future

Remarks.  
Claren. Vol.  
II. p. 312.  
Rapin, p.  
212.

"in

King  
Charles I.  
1641.

“ in the same arbitrary manner as he had done for fifteen “ years ;” but he thinks the reasons for it very plausible, and does not well see what security they could have who were for leaving the King in possession of the same power he had enjoyed before ; especially if it be considered, that his Majesty had still the same arbitrary principles, and the same inviolable attachment to his Queen and the Popish Faction, besides the current report that the Court had fomented the Irish Insurrection, which had filled the minds of people with distracting terrors. ’Tis certain the King had conceived an implacable aversion to the leading members of the Puritanical party in both houses, and having quieted the Scots, was determined to make them examples ; of which they were not ignorant. But, whether these and the like reasons were sufficient to justify the whole of the Parliament’s conduct in this affair, I will not take upon me to determine.

It is pre-  
sented to the  
King.  
Rush. p.  
438.  
Nelson, p.  
694

The Remonstrance was presented to the King at Hampton Court [Dec. 1.] about a week after his Majesty’s return from Scotland, with a petition for redress of the grievances therein contained. ’Tis easy to suppose it was not very acceptable, but the King gave the Committee his hand to kiss, and took time to return an answer. The Remonstrance enumerates the several grievances, oppressions and unbounded acts of the Prerogative, since his Majesty’s accession, to the number of almost two hundred, and charges their rise and progress, (1.) On the Jesuited Papists. (2.) On the Court Bishops, and the corrupt part of the Clergy. (3.) On such corrupt Counsellors and Courtiers as for private ends had engaged themselves in the interest of some foreign Princes, to the prejudice of the King and State. These Ministers are said to carry on their designs, (1.) By suppressing the power and purity of Religion, and of such persons as were best affected to it. (2.) By cherishing the Arminian Party in those points wherein they agree with the Papists, in order to widen the difference between the common Protestants and those called Puritans ; and by introducing such opinions and ceremonies as tend to an accommodation with Popery. (3.) By fomenting differences and discontents between the King and his Parliament, and by putting him upon arbitrary and illegal methods of raising supplies.

I omit the grievances of the State ; those which related to the Church were such as follow ;

1. The



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Grievances  
of Religion,

1. The suspensions, excommunications, deprivations, and degradations of divers painful, learned and pious Ministers of the Gospel, by the Bishops; and the grievous oppression of great numbers of his Majesty's faithful subjects.

2 The sharpness and severity of the High Commission, assisted by the Council Table, not much less grievous than the Romish Inquisition.

3. The Rigour of the Bishops Courts in the Country, whereby great numbers of the meaner tradesmen have been impoverished, and driven out of the Kingdom, to Holland and New England. The advancing those to Ecclesiastical preferments who were most officious in promoting superstition, and most virulent in railing against Godliness and Honesty.

4. The design of reconciling the Church of England with Rome, and imposing upon the Church of Scotland such Popish superstitions and innovations as might dispose them to join with England in the intended reconciliation.

5. The late Canons and Oath imposed upon the Clergy under the severest penalties; and the Continuance of the Convocation by a new Commission, after the dissolution of the Parliament, wherein they raised Taxes upon the Subject for the maintenance of what was called Bellum Episcopale. The rooting out of the Kingdom by force, or driving away by fear, the Puritans; under which name they include all that desire to preserve the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom, and to maintain Religion in the power of it.

6. The exempting Papists from Penal Laws, so far as amounted to a toleration, besides conferring upon them many other privileges and Court favours; These (say they) have had a Secretary of State of their own Religion, and a Nuncio from the Pope, by whose authority the Popish Nobility, Clergy, and Gentry, have been convoked after the manner of a Parliament; new jurisdictions have been erected of Popish Archbishops; Taxes have been levied; another State moulded within this State, independent in Government, and secretly corrupting the ignorant professors of our Religion, &c. The Papists have been furnished with arms and ammunition, listed in the King's service, and encouraged by the weekly prayers of their Priests, for the prosperity of their designs to promote the Catholick Cause. They complain further of a party of Bishops and Popish  
Lords

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Charles I.  
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Lords in the House of Peers, that have caused much opposition and delay in the prosecution of Delinquents, and hindered the passing some good Bills for the reforming abuses and corruptions in Church and State; and of a malignant party that has countenanced the Rebellion in Ireland.

Declaration  
of their in-  
tentions.

After the recital of these Grievances they acknowledge with thankfulness, the many Acts that his Majesty has passed this Session for the publick good, and put his Majesty in mind of the large sums of money they have raised for his service, amounting to no less than a million and half. They declare, “ That it is far from their purpose or desire  
“ to let loose the golden reins of discipline and government  
“ in the Church, to leave private persons, or particular  
“ congregations, to take up what form of Divine Service  
“ they please; for we hold it requisite (say they) that there  
“ should be throughout the whole realm a conformity to  
“ that order which the laws enjoin, according to the word  
“ of God; and we desire to unburden the Consciences of  
“ men from needless and superstitious ceremonies; to sup-  
“ press innovations, and to take away the monuments of  
“ idolatry. To effect this intended Reformation, we desire  
“ there may be a general Synod of the most grave, pious,  
“ learned, and judicious Divines of this island, assisted with  
“ some from foreign parts professing the same Religion with  
“ us, who may consider of all things necessary for the peace  
“ and good government of the Church, and represent the  
“ result of their consultations to the Parliament, to be  
“ allowed and confirmed, and to receive the Stamp of Au-  
“ thority.—It is our chief care to advance and promote  
“ learning, and to provide a competent maintenance for  
“ conscionable and preaching Ministers throughout the  
“ Kingdom — We intend likewise to reform and purge  
“ the Fountains of Learning, the two Universities, that the  
“ Streams flowing thence may be clear and pure, and an  
“ honour and comfort to the whole land. And seeing that  
“ the Religion of Papists has such principles as certainly  
“ tend to the destruction and extirpation of all Protestants,  
“ when they have opportunity to effect it, ’tis necessary to  
“ keep them in such a condition, that they may not be able  
“ to do us any hurt.”

Petition pre-  
sented with  
the Remon-  
strance.  
Nelson, p.  
692.

In the petition that attended this remonstrance, after hav-  
ing assured his Majesty, that they had not the least in-  
tention to lay any blemish upon his Royal Person by  
the foregoing Declaration, but only to represent how his

Royal

King  
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Royal Authority and trust had been abused, they humbly beseech his Majesty to concur with his people in a Parliamentary way, (1.) "For the depriving the Bishops of their  
" Votes in Parliament, and abridging their immoderate  
" power, usurped over the Clergy, and other your good  
" Subjects to the hazard of Religion, and prejudice of the  
" just Liberties of your people. (2.) For the taking away  
" such oppressions in Religion, Church Government and  
" Discipline, as have been brought in and fomented by  
" them. (3.) For uniting all such your loyal Subjects, as  
" agree in fundamentals, against Papists, by removing  
" some oppressions and unnecessary Ceremonies, by which  
" divers weak consciences have been offended, and seem  
" to be divided from the rest. (4.) They conclude, with  
" beseeching his Majesty to remove from his Counsels all  
" followers of Popery and arbitrary Power, and promoters of the above-mentioned pressures and corruptions,  
" and to employ such as his Parliament might confide in;  
" and that in his princely goodness he would reject all solicitations to the contrary, how powerful and near so-  
" ever.

His Majesty, in his answer to this petition, about a week after, complains very justly of the disrespect of the Commons in printing their Remonstrance before he had time to return an answer. To the preamble and conclusion of the Petition, he says, "that he knows of no wicked, arbitrary,  
" and malignant party prevalent in the Government, or  
" near himself and his Children;" and assures them, that the mediation of the Nearest to Him has always concurr'd in such persons, against whom there can be no just cause of exception. To the several Articles his Majesty replies; First, concerning Religion, "That he is willing to concur  
" with all the just desires of his people in a Parliamentary  
" way, for preserving the peace of the Kingdom from the  
" design of the popish party.

"That for depriving the Bishops of their Votes in Parliament, he thought their right was grounded on the  
" fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, and Constitution  
" of Parliament, but since you desire our concurrence in  
" a Parliamentary way (says the King) we will give no further answer at present.

"As for abridging the extraordinary power of the Clergy, if there remain any excesses, or usurpations in their  
" jurisdictions, we neither have, nor will protect them.

"Concerning

The King's  
Answer to  
the Petition.



King  
Charles I.  
1641.

“ Concerning Church corruptions (as you stile them) and removing unnecessary ceremonies; we are willing to concur in the removal of any illegal innovations which may have crept in; and if our Parliament advise us to call a national Synod for that purpose, we shall take it into consideration.

“ But we are very sorry to hear in such general terms, corruption in Religion objected, since we are persuaded in our own conscience, that no Church can be found upon Earth that professeth the true Religion with more purity of Doctrine, than the Church of England doth; nor where the Government and Discipline are jointly more beautified, and free from superstition, than as they are here established by Law, which, by the Grace of God, we will with constancy maintain (while we live) in their purity and glory, not only against all invasions of Popery, but also from the irreverence of those many Schismatics and Separatists wherewith of late this Kingdom, and this City abounds, to the great dishonour and hazard both of Church and State; for the suppression of whom we require your timely aid and active assistance.”

And to the  
Remonstrance.  
Nelson,  
p. 746.

Some time after [Dec. 15.] his Majesty published his answer to the Remonstrance, with a Declaration to all his loving Subjects, in which he professes himself fully satisfied, “ That the Religion of the Church of England is most agreeable to the word of God, and that he should be ready to seal it with his blood, if God should call him to it. That as for ceremonies in Religion, which are in their own nature indifferent, he is willing, in tenderness to any number of his Subjects, that a Law should be made for the exemption of tender consciences from punishment, or prosecution for such ceremonies, as by the judgment of most Men are held to be indifferent, and of some to be absolutely unlawful, provided the peace of the Kingdom be not disturbed, nor the present decency and comeliness of God’s Service established in the Church, discountenanced; nor the pious, sober, and devout actions of those Reverend Persons, who were the first labourers in the blessed Reformation, be scandalized and defamed. His Majesty then adds, that he cannot without grief of heart, and some tax upon himself and his Ministers, for not executing the laws, look upon the bold licence of some Men, in printing Pamphlets and Sermons so full of bitterness and malice  
“ against

“ against the present Government, and the law establish-  
 “ ed; so full of sedition against himself and the peace of  
 “ the Kingdom, that he is many times amazed to consider  
 “ by what Eyes these things are seen, and by what Ears  
 “ they are heard; he therefore commands again all his  
 “ Officers and Ministers of Justice to proceed against them  
 “ with all speed, and put the laws in execution.” Agree-  
 ably to this declaration his Majesty issued out his Royal  
 Proclamation December 10th, requiring obedience to the  
 Laws and Statutes ordained for the establishing true Religi-  
 on in this Kingdom, and commanding that divine service  
 be performed as heretofore; and that all Officers and Mini-  
 sters ecclesiastical and Temporal, do put the said Laws in  
 due execution against all wilful contemners and disturbers  
 of Divine Worship, contrary to the said Laws and Sta-  
 tutes.

King  
 Charles I.  
 1641.

Rushw.  
 p. 456.

Thus matters stood between the King and Parliament, when all Men expected the “ Court Interest in the House  
 “ of Peers” would be broken, by the issue of the impeach-  
 ment of the thirteen Bishops, for compiling the late Ca-  
 nons, which was now at hand. The Lords had resolved,  
 that such Bishops as were impeached should not sit in the  
 House when the merits of their cause was in debate, but  
 that when the manner of proceeding was to be settled they  
 might be present, but not vote. To enable them the bet-  
 ter to make their Defence it was resolved further, that the  
 Bishop of Rochester with one other Bishop, might have ac-  
 cess twice to the Archbishop of Canterbury in the Tower,  
 to consult with him about their answer to the impeachment;  
 and that all the Lords Bishops may have access to, and have  
 copies of any Acts and Records in any of his Majesty’s  
 Courts of Justice, that may serve for their defence. On  
 the 10th of November the Bishops put in their answer, con-  
 sisting of a Plea and a Demurrer, in which they neither  
 confess nor deny the fact, but endeavour to shew, that the  
 offence of making Canons could not amount to a premu-  
 nire, which was certainly true, provided they had been  
 made in a legal Convocation, and that the Canons them-  
 selves had not been contrary to the King’s prerogative, and  
 the fundamental Laws of the Land. The answer was  
 signed with all their hands, except the Bishop of Glouces-  
 ter’s, who pleaded not guilty “ modo & forma.” The  
 Commons were dissatisfied with the Bishops for not pleading  
 directly to their charge; and with the Lords, for receiving

Issue of the  
 Impeach-  
 ment of the  
 13 Bishops.

Nelson, p.  
 715, 731.

King  
Charles I.  
1641.

a Demurrer when they were not present, contrary to the request which they sent up with the impeachment, especially when the nature of the case, being a meer matter of fact, could not require it; they therefore prayed the Lords by Serjeant Glyn to set aside the Demurrer, and to admit them to make proof of their charge without any further delay; or if they were satisfied with the charge, and the Bishops would not plead to it, to proceed immediately to judgment; but the Lords, instead of complying with the Commons, gave the Bishops their option, and ordered them to declare by Saturday, whether they would plead to the Impeachment, or abide by their Demurrer; when they declared they would abide by their Demurrer; upon which the Lords appointed Monday following [December 11.] to hear them by their Counsel in presence of the Commons; but the House resenting this dilatory method of proceeding in a case so apparent and manifest to the whole World, would not appear; the most active Members declaring among their friends, with a sort of despair, that they would be concerned no further against the Bishops, for they now saw it was in vain to attack a number of Men whom the Court and the House of Lords were resolved to protect.

Petition of  
the Lord  
Mayor and  
Ald. against  
Bps. and Po-  
pish Lords.

Nelson,  
P. 733.

When this was rumoured in the City it alarmed the people, whose fears were already sufficiently awaken'd with the apprehensions of a Popish massacre and insurrection within their own Walls. The Aldermen and Common Council immediately assembled, and drew up a petition to support the courage of the Commons, and went with it to Westminster in sixty Coaches, attended with a great number of the lower people. The petition prays, "That the House of Commons would still be a means to the King and House of Peer, to concur with them [the Commons] in redressing the Grievances of Church and State, and for the better effecting hereof, that the popish Lords and Bishops may be removed out of the House of Peers." The Speaker returned them thanks in the name of the House, and promised to take their address into consideration in due time. A few days after great numbers of people met upon Black Heath, to sign a Petition to the same purpose; and within a fortnight the apprentices of London went up with a Petition, signed with a multitude of names, complaining of the decay of trade, occasioned by Papists and Prelates, and by a malignant party that adher'd to them; and praying that the popish

Of the Lon-  
don Appren-  
tices.



Popish Lords, and other eminent Persons of that Religion, might be secured, and that Prelacy might be rooted out, according to their former Petition, commonly called the Root and Branch. The Commons received their Petition favourably; but the King, instead of calming the Citizens, increased their jealousies and suspicions, by removing at this very time, Sir William Balfour from the Lieutenancy of the Tower, and putting Colonel Lunsford into his place, a suspected Papist, of no fortune, that had been once out-lawed, and was fit for any desperate attempt; this occasioned Petitions to his Majesty for his removal, which with much difficulty, after some time, was obtained, but the jealousies of the people still remained.

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1641.

The Petitions above-mentioned against the Bishops were confronted with others out of the Country, in their favour. Nov. 18. the humble Petition of the Knights, Esquires, Gentlemen, Parsons, Vicars, and Curates of Rutlandshire, was presented to the House, signed by about eight hundred and forty hands, praying for the continuance of Episcopacy, as the only Government of apostolical Institution, sealed with the Blood of Martyrs, admirably suited to the Civil Government of this Kingdom, and affirming, that no Presbyter ever laid on hands without a Bishop. Dec. 8. a Petition of the like nature was presented from Huntingdonshire, and two days after another from Somersetshire, signed with above fourteen thousand Names.

Petitions for  
the Bishops.  
Nalson, p.  
656, 726.

On the other hand, the Ministers appointed to solicit their Remonstrance, formerly mentioned, addressed the House, Dec. 20, acknowledging " Their piety and zeal  
" for the true Religion, against Popery and Superstition;  
" in countenancing the sacred Ordinance of Preaching;  
" in encouraging painful and godly Ministers, formerly set  
" aside, but now profitably employed in many Congre-  
" gations; in discountenancing of bold intruders, who  
" without a sufficient Call, have thrust themselves into  
" the sacred Office; as also, of all unworthy and scandalous  
" Ministers; in freeing divers godly Ministers from prison  
" and Exile, and others from heavy censures; in preven-  
" ting the utter ruin of the Petitioners, by setting aside the  
" late Oath and Canons, the High Commission, and other  
" illegal pressures of ecclesiastical Courts; in making  
" an order to take away all superstitious Rites and Cere-  
" monies, Images, Pictures, and other Innovations, out  
" of Churches; in conducting the late Peace with Scot-

VOL. II. D d " land

A second  
Petition of  
the Puritan  
Clergy for  
Reformation  
Nalson, p.  
764.

King  
Charles I.  
1641.

“ land to an happy conclusion, and in their vigorous en-  
 “ deavours for the relief of Ireland, &c.—But whereas  
 “ there still remain a great many Grievances to be re-  
 “ moved, they are necessitated to renew their former suit  
 “ for redress of the aforesaid Evils, and for taking away  
 “ whatever shall appear to be the Root and Cause of them.  
 “ And whereas the Petitioners, and many others, are de-  
 “ sirous in all things to submit to the Laws, so far as  
 “ possibly they may, yet merely out of tenderness and  
 “ scruple of Conscience, they dare not continue as former-  
 “ ly they did, the exercise of some things enjoined; not  
 “ only because they have more seriously weighed the na-  
 “ ture and scandal of them, and because sundry Bishops,  
 “ and other grave Divines, called to their assistance by or-  
 “ der of the House of Peers, have (as they are informed)  
 “ discovered divers particulars which need alteration in the  
 “ Liturgy; and because there is not (as they humbly con-  
 “ ceive) at this day, commonly extant, any Book of  
 “ Common-prayer without so many alterations and addi-  
 “ tions, as render it in many parts another thing from  
 “ that which is by law established; but chiefly, because the  
 “ House, from a sense of its defects, has taken the Refor-  
 “ mation thereof under consideration, which they hoped  
 “ would be some shelter against the strict pressing the use  
 “ of it, till their pleasure was declared in a parliamentary  
 “ way. But though the petitioners have been comfortably  
 “ assured of some ease herein, yet now to their great for-  
 “ row they apprehend that the same things are anew en-  
 “ forced, which may occasion much trouble and vexation  
 “ to sundry peaceable and worthy Ministers, some of whom  
 “ have been indicted upon the Statute of 1 Eliz. cap. 2.  
 “ since the beginning of this present Parliament, and o-  
 “ thers threaten’d for omissions of some things complained  
 “ of to this high Court, and still depending before you.  
 “ The Petitioners therefore pray the House to resume the  
 “ consideration of their former Petition, and to commit the  
 “ same to the debate of a free Synod, and in the mean  
 “ time to be mediators to his Majesty for some relaxation  
 “ in matters of ceremony, and of reading the whole Li-  
 “ turgy. They further pray, that a monthly Fast may be  
 “ appointed and religiously observed, during the present  
 “ Sessions of Parliament, and they will be ready at any  
 “ time to offer reasons why there should be a Synod of a  
 “ different constitution from the Convocation now in being,  
 “ when they shall be required.”

The

The carrying up these Petitions to Westminster, and especially that of the London Apprentices, occasioned great tumults about the Parliament House. The King was at his Palace at Whitehall, attended by great numbers of disbanded Officers, whom his Majesty received with great ceremony, and employed as a guard to his Royal Person. These Officers insulted the common People, and gave them ill Language as they passed by the Court to the Parliament House, crying out, "No Bishops, no Popish Lords." If the People ventured to reply, the Officers followed their reproaches with cuts and slashes, which (says Lord Clarendon) produced some wounds, and drew Blood. Mr. Baxter says, they came out of Whitehall, and caught some of them, and cut off their ears. From these skirmishes, and from the shortness of the Apprentices Hair, which was cut close about their ears, the two parties began first to be distinguished by the names of Roundhead and Cavalier. David Hyde, one of the Reformades, first drew his sword in Palace Yard, and swore, He would cut the throats of those Round headed Dogs that bauled against the Bishops. Dr. Williams, bishop of Lincoln, lately promoted to the See of York, going by land to the House of Peers in company with the Earl of Dover, and hearing a Youth cry out louder than the rest, "No Bishops, no Popish Lords," stepped from the Earl and laid hands on him, but his Companions rescued him, and about one hundred of them surrounding the Bishop hemm'd him in, and with an universal shout cry'd out, "No Bishops;" after which they opened a passage and let his Grace go forward to the House. The same day Colonel Lunsford coming through Westminster Hall in company with thirty or forty Officers, drew his sword and wounded about twenty Apprentices and Citizens: Others walking in the Abbey while their friends were waiting for an answer to their Petition, were ordered by the Vergers to clear the Church, lest the Ornaments of the Cathedral should suffer damage; upon which most of them went out, and the doors were shut, but some few remaining behind, were apprehended and carried before the Bishop, which occasioned another skirmish, in which Sir Richard Wiseman was killed by a stone from the battlements; after which the Officers and Scholars sallied out upon the Mob with Sword in hand, and obliged them to retire. The news of this being reported in the city, the whole Populace was in arms, and resolved to go next morning to Westminster with swords and staves. The Lord

King  
Charles I.  
1641.

Tumults  
about the  
Parliament-  
House.

Vol. I. p.  
339.

Skirmishes.  
between the  
two Parties.

Rushw.  
p. 464.



King  
Charles I.  
1641.

And in the  
City.

Rushw.  
P. 471, 456.

Attempts  
to suppress  
them.

The Bishops  
insulted  
going to the  
Parliament  
House.

Mayor and Sheriffs raised the Train-bands, and having ordered the City gates to be kept shut, they rid about all night to keep the peace ; but it was impossible to hinder the people's going out in the Day. On the other hand, the King commanded the Militia of Westminster and Middlesex to be raised by turns, as a guard to his Royal Person and Family ; upon which several gentlemen of the Inns of Court offered their service, in case his Majesty apprehended any danger. The House of Commons being no less afraid of themselves, petitioned for a guard out of the City of London, under the command of the Earl of Essex, which his Majesty refused, but told them, he would take as much care of them as of his own children ; and if this would not suffice, he would command such a guard to wait upon them as he would be answerable to God for ; but the House not being willing to trust to the King's guard, declined his Majesty's offer, and not prevailing for one of their own choosing, they ordered halberds to be brought into the House, and resolved, in case of an assault, to defend themselves.

The Lords did what they could to disperse the tumults, by sending their Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod to command the People to depart to their homes ; and appointing a Committee to enquire into the causes of them. His Majesty also published a Proclamation [Dec. 28.] forbidding all tumultuous assemblies of the people. But the Commons being unwilling to affront the Citizens, were not so vigorous in suppressing them, as 'tis thought they might have been ; for as the King relied upon his guard of Officers, the Commons had their dependance upon the good-will of the Citizens ; not that the House can be charged with encouraging tumults, for the very next day after the King's Proclamation they sent a message to the Lords, declaring their readiness to join in all lawful methods to appease them ; but they were sensible that their chief strength was among the Inhabitants of London, without whose countenance and support every thing must have been given back into the hands of the Court.

While these tumults continued the Bishops were advised to forbear their attendance upon the House, at least till after the Christmas holidays ; but this looking too much like cowardice, their Lordships determined to do their duty ; and because the streets were crowded with unruly people, they agreed to go by water in their barges ; but as soon as they came near the shore, the mob saluted them with a volley of stones, so that being afraid to land they rowed back, and returned

peaceably

peaceably to their houses. Upon this repulse twelve of them met privately at the Archbishop of York's Lodgings in Westminster, to consult what was next to be done. The Archbishop advised to go no more to the House, and immediately in a heat drew up the following Protestation against whatsoever the two Houses should do in their absence, which all that were present signed with their hands, except the Bishop of Winchester.

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1641.

To the King's most excellent Majesty, and the Lords and Peers now assembled in Parliament.

The humble Petition and Protestation of all the Bishops and Prelates now called by his Majesty's Writs to attend the Parliament, and present about London and Westminster for that Service.

Their Pro-  
testation.  
Claren. p.  
351.

“ **W** Hereas the Petitioners are called up by several and  
“ respective Writs, and under great penalties to at-  
“ tend the Parliament, and have a clear and indubitable  
“ Right to vote in Bills, and other matters whatsoever de-  
“ batable in Parliament, by the ancient Customs, Laws and  
“ Statutes of this Realm, and ought to be protected by  
“ your Majesty quietly to attend and prosecute that great  
“ Service: They humbly remonstrate and protest before  
“ God, your Majesty, and the noble Lords and Peers now  
“ assembled in Parliament, that as they have an indubitate  
“ Right to set and vote in the House of Lords, so are they,  
“ if they may be protected from Force and Violence, most  
“ ready and willing to perform their Duties accordingly.  
“ And, that they do abominate all Actions or Opinions  
“ tending to Popery and the Maintenance thereof; as also,  
“ all Propension and Inclination to any malignant Party,  
“ or any other Side or Party whatsoever, to the which their  
“ own Reasons and Conscience shall not move them to ad-  
“ here. But whereas they have been at several times  
“ violently menaced, affronted, and assaulted, by Multi-  
“ tudes of People in their coming to perform their Servi-  
“ ces in that honourable House, and lately chased away  
“ and put in danger of their Lives, and can find no Re-  
“ dress or Protection, under sundry Complaints made to  
“ both Houses in these particulars: They humbly protest  
“ before your Majesty, and the noble House of Peers,  
“ that saving unto themselves all their Rights and Interest  
“ of sitting and voting in that House at other times, they dare  
“ not

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“ not sit or vote in the House of Peers, until your Majesty shall further secure them from all Affronts, Indignities, and Dangers, in the Premises. Lastly, Where-  
“ as their Fears are not built upon Fantasies and Conceits, but upon such Grounds and Objections as may  
“ well terrify Men of Resolution and much Constancy,  
“ they do in all Humility and Duty, protest before your  
“ Majesty, and the Peers of that most honourable House  
“ of Parliament, against all Laws, Orders, Votes, Resolutions, and Determinations, as in themselves null,  
“ and of none effect, which in their absence, since the 27th  
“ of this Month of December, 1641. have already passed;  
“ as likewise, against all such as shall hereafter pass in that  
“ most honorable House, during the time of this their forced  
“ and violent absence from the said most honourable House;  
“ not denying, but if their absenting of themselves were  
“ wilful and voluntary, that most honourable House might  
“ proceed in all the Premises, their absence, or this protestation, notwithstanding. And humbly beseeching your  
“ most excellent Majesty to command the Clerk of that  
“ House of Peers, to enter this their Petition and Protestation among their Records,

And they will ever pray God to bless, &c.

|                      |                     |
|----------------------|---------------------|
| John Eborac.         | George Hereford,    |
| Tho. Duresme,        | Rob. Oxon.          |
| Ro. Cov. Lichf.      | Mat. Ely,           |
| Jos. Norwich,        | Godfrey Gloucester, |
| Jo. Asaph,           | Jo. Peterborough,   |
| Gul. Bath and Wells, | Morice Landaff.     |

Claren. Vol.  
II. p. 250.

Rushw.  
p. 467.

They are  
impeached.

This Protestation was presented to the King by Archbishop Williams, who undertook to justify the Lawfulness of it; but his Majesty declining to appear in so nice an affair delivered it into the hands of the Lord Keeper Littleton, who, by his Majesty's Command, read it in the House of Lords next Morning. After some debate the Lords desired a Conference with the Commons, when the Keeper, in the Name of the House of Peers, declared, “ That  
“ the Protestation of the Bishops contained matters of  
“ high and dangerous Consequence, extending to the  
“ intrenching upon the fundamental Privileges and Being  
“ of Parliaments, and therefore the Lords thought fit to  
“ communicate it to the Commons.” The Protestation being communicated to the House of Commons, they resolved, within half an hour, to accuse the twelve Bishops.



Bishops of High Treason, “for endeavouring to subvert  
“the fundamental Laws and Beings of Parliaments,”  
and sent up their Impeachment by Mr. Glyn, who having  
delivered it at the Bar of the House of Lords, the Usher  
of the Black Rod was ordered to go immediately in search  
of the Bishops, and bring them to the House; the Bi-  
shops appearing the same Evening [December 30.] were  
sequestered from Parliament, ten of them being sent to the  
Tower, the Bishops of Durham and Norwich, by reason  
of their great age, and the Service they had done the Church  
of God by their writings and preaching, being committed  
to the custody of the Black Rod, with an allowance of five  
Pounds a day for their expence.

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Charles I.  
1641.

Fuller, B.  
XI. p. 188.

The adversaries of the Bishops in both Houses were ex-  
tremely pleased with their unadvised conduct; one said,  
it was the Finger of God, to bring that to pass which other-  
wise could not have been compassed. There was but one  
Gentleman in the whole debate that spoke in their behalf  
and said, “He did not believe they were guilty of High  
“Treason, but that they were stark mad, and therefore  
“desired they might be sent to Bedlam.” Lord Clarendon  
censures this Protestation, as proceeding from the pride and  
passion of Archbishop Williams; he admits, that the eleven  
Bishops were ill advised, in going into his Measures, and  
suffering themselves to be precipitated into so hasty a Re-  
solution, though he is certain there could be nothing of  
High Treason in it. However, their behaviour gave such  
scandal and offence, even to those who passionately desired  
to preserve their Function, that they had no compassion or  
regard for their Persons.

The Prote-  
station il-  
legal.

Claren. Vol.  
II. p. 355.

The Objections that I have met with against the Protef-  
tation, are these; First, That it tended to destroy the very  
Being of Parliaments, because it put a stop to all laws, or-  
ders, votes, and Resolutions made in the absence of the Bi-  
shops. Secondly, The presence of the Bishops is hereby  
made so essential that no Act can pass without them, which  
is claiming a negative voice, like the King’s. Thirdly, The  
Bishops desiring the King to command the Clerk of the  
House of Peers to enter their Protestation on Record, was  
derogatory to the rights of Parliament, as though the King  
by his command could make a Record, of Parliament.  
Fourthly, The annulling all Laws that might be made at  
this time, when Ireland was in so much danger, from the  
breaking out of the Irish Massacre, was a sort of conspi-  
ring with the Rebels to destroy that Kingdom. Fifthly.

Reasons of  
it.

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Apology for  
the Bishops.

Collyer's  
Eccl. Hist.  
Vol. II. p.  
319.

Remarks

p. 301.

It was said, that besides the unwarrantable Expressions in the Protestation, the form of presenting and transmitting it was unjustifiable.

On the other hand, it was said on behalf of the Bishops, that here was a manifest force put upon them; and violence offered to the freedom of one Member of Parliament, is a violence offered to the whole; that therefore they had a Right to protest, and guard their Privileges, without being accountable for the ill Consequences that might follow. But should they not have petitioned the Lords to secure their passage to Parliament, rather than have put a Negative upon all their Proceedings? I have met with but one learned writer who commends the Bishops upon this occasion, and he advances them, in romantick language, to the Rank of Heroes; his words are these, "Had the Bishops done less they had fallen short of that fortitude which might justly be expected from them. They had reason to conclude the Root and Branch work would certainly go forward, and therefore to be silent under such an outrage would look like cowardice. When the prospect is menacing, and a Man is almost certain to be undone, the most creditable expedient is to spend himself in a blaze, and flash to the last grain of powder. To go out in smoke and smother is but a mean way of coming to nothing. To creep and crawl to a misfortune is to suffer like an Insect. A Man ought to fall with Dignity and Honour, and to keep his mind erect though his fortune happens to be crushed. This was the Bishops meaning, and for making so handsome a retreat they ought to stand commended upon Record." But with due regard to this Reverend Divine, was there no medium between being silent, and taking upon them to dissolve the Parliament? For if the Proceedings of the House of Peers are null without the Bishops, 'tis no less certain, that those of the House of Commons are null without the Peers; from whence it must follow, that the whole Parliament is of no use. Mr. Rapin is of opinion, that the King hoped "That this Affair might occasion the Dissolution of the Parliament." But his Majesty was much mistaken, for the Bishops and popish Lords being now absent, the Majority of the House of Peers was against the Court; which vexed the Queen and her Faction, and put them upon such an extravagant piece of revenge as effectually ruined the King's Affairs, and broke the peace of the Kingdom.

His

His Majesty having been assured that the Lord Kimbolton, and five of the most active Members in the House of Commons, (viz.) Denzil Hollis, Sir Arthur Haslerigge, John Pym, John Hamden, and William Stroud, Esqs. had invited the Scots into England, and were now the chief encouragers of those tumults that had kept the Bishops and popish Lords from the House; that they had aspersed his Government, and were endeavouring to deprive him of his Royal power: In a word, that they were conspiring to levy war against the King; resolved to impeach them of high treason; accordingly his Majesty sent his Attorney General to the House with the Articles [Jan. 3.] and at the same time sent Officers to their Houses to seal up their trunks, papers, and doors; but the Members not being ordered into custody, as his Majesty expected, the King went himself to the House next day in the afternoon [Jan. 4.] to seize them, attended with about two hundred Officers and Soldiers, armed with Swords and Pistols; the Gentlemen of the Inns of Court who had offered their service to defend the King's person, having had notice to be ready at an hour's warning. The King having entered the House went directly to the Speaker's Chair, and looking about him, said with a frown, "I perceive the Birds are fled, but I will have them wheresoever I can find them, for as long as these persons are here, this House will never be in the right way that I heartily wish it; I expect therefore, that as soon as they come to the House that you send them me." Having then assured the Members, that he designed no force upon them, nor breach of privilege, after a little time, he withdrew; but as his Majesty was going out, many Members cried aloud, so as he might hear them, Privilege! Privilege! the House was in a terrible pannick while the King was in the chair, the Door of the House, with all the Avenues, being crouded with Officers and Soldiers: As soon therefore as his Majesty was gone they adjourned till next day, and then for a week. It was happy that the five Members had notice of the King's coming, just time enough to withdraw into the City, otherwise it might have occasioned the effusion of blood, for without doubt the armed Soldiers at the door waited but for the word to carry them away by force. Next day his Majesty went into the City [Jan. 5.] and demanded them of the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen, then assembled by his order at Guildhall, professing at the same time his resolution to prosecute all that opposed the Laws, whether Pa-

King  
Charles I.  
1641.

King goes  
to the H. of  
Commons to  
seize five of  
their Mem-  
bers.

Rushw.  
p. 479.

pists



King  
Charles I.  
1641.

pists or Separatists, and to defend the true protestant Religion which his Father professed, and in which he would continue during his life. But though his Majesty was nobly entertained by the Sheriffs, he now perceived, that “this rash and unadvised action” had lost him the hearts of the Citizens, for there was no acclamations or huzzas, as usual, but here and there a voice, as he went along in his Coach, crying out, “privilege of Parliament! privilege of Parliament!” however, he went on with his resolution, and Jan. 8. published a Proclamation, commanding all Magistrates, and Officers of Justice, to apprehend the accused Members and carry them to the Tower.

Authors of  
this Project.

P. 322, 328.

’Tis hard to say with any certainty, who put the King upon this unparallel’d act of violence upon the Parliament, which the most arbitrary of his Predecessors never attempted. If his Majesty reflected at all upon what he was going about, we must conclude, that he intended “to dissolve the Parliament, and to return to his former methods of arbitrary Government;” because by the same Rule that the King might take five Members out of the House, he might take out five hundred; besides, several of the articles laid against them were equally chargeable upon the majority of the House. It now appeared (says Rapin) that the King was resolved to be revenged on those that had offended him; and that there was no further room to confide in his Royal Word. Some say this was Lord Digby’s mad project, who, when he found his Majesty, after his return out of the City, vexed at his disappointment, offered to go with a select company and bring them dead or alive; but the King was afraid of the consequences of such an enterprize; and Digby being ordered to attend in his place in the House, thought fit to withdraw out of the Kingdom. Mr. Eachard, with greater probability, lays it upon the Queen and her cabal of Papists; and adds, that when the King expressed his distrust of the affair, her Majesty broke out into a violent passion, and said, “Allez Poltron, &c. Go Coward, and pull these Rogues out by the Ears, or never see my Face any more;” which it seems (says the Archdeacon) determined the whole matter.

City of London for the  
Parliament.

The Citizens of London were so far from delivering up the five Members, that they petitioned the King that they might be at liberty, and proceeded against according to the methods of Parliament. At the same time they acquainted his Majesty with their apprehensions of the ruin of trade, and

and of the danger of the protestant Religion, by reason of the progress of the Rebellion in Ireland, and the numbers of Papists and other disbanded Officers about the Court. His Majesty finding he had lost the City, fortified Whitehall with Men and Munition, and sent Cannoneers into the Tower to defend it, if there was occasion. When the Citizens complained of this, his Majesty replied, "That it was done with an Eye to their safety and advantage; that his fortifying Whitehall was not before it was necessary, and that, if any Citizens had been wounded it was undoubtedly for their evil and corrupt demeanor." But they had no confidence in the King's protection. A thousand mariners and sailors offered to guard the five Members to Westminster by Water upon the day of their adjournment [Jan. 11.] and the Train Bands offered the Committee at Guildhall to do the same by land, which was accepted; but the offer of the apprentices was refused. Things being come to this extremity, his Majesty, to avoid the hazard of an affront from the populace, took a fatal resolution to leave Whitehall, and accordingly, Jan. 10th, the day before the Parliament was to meet, he removed with his Queen and the whole Royal Family to Hampton Court, and two days after to Windsor, from whence he travell'd by easy journies to York; but never returned to London till he was brought thither as a criminal, to execution.

King  
Charles I.  
1641.  
Rapin, p.  
317.

King leaves  
Whitehall.

By the King's deserting his capital in this manner, and not returning when the ferment was over, he left the strength and riches of the Kingdom in the hands of the Parliament; for next day the five Members were conducted by Water in triumph to Westminster, the Train Bands of the City marching at the same time by land, who, after they had received the thanks of the House were dismissed; and Serjeant Skippon, with a company of the City Militia, was appointed to guard the Parliament House; "from this day" (says Lord Clarendon) we may reasonably date the levying War in England, whatsoever has been since done being but the superstructures upon these foundations." It must be confessed, that two days after [Jan. 12.] the King sent a message to the House, waving his proceedings with respect to the five Members, and promising to be as careful of their privileges as of his Life or Crown; and a little after his Majesty offered a general pardon; but the Commons had too much reason at this time not to depend upon his Royal promise; they insisted, that the accused Members should be brought to their trial in a legal and parliamentary

Remarks.

Vol. II.  
p. 383.

Rushw.  
Vol. IV.  
p. 492.

King  
Charles I.  
1641.

liamentary way ; in order to which they desired his Majesty to inform them, what proof there was against them ; it being the undoubted right and privilege of Parliament, “ that no Member can be proceeded against without the “ consent of the House ;” which his Majesty refusing to comply with, removed further off, to Windsor, and entered upon measures very inconsistent with the peace of the Kingdom.

Bishops not  
brought to  
their Trial.

To return to the Bishops ; about a fortnight after their commitment [Jan. 17.] they pleaded to the impeachment of the House of Commons, “ Not guilty, in manner and “ form,” and petition’d the Lords for a speedy trial, which was appointed for the 25th instant, but was put off from time to time, till the whole bench of Bishops was voted out of the House, and then entirely dropt ; for the very next day after their commitment the Commons desired the Lords to resume the consideration of the Bill that had been sent up some months ago, “ for taking away all temporal jurisdiction “ on from those in holy orders,” which the Lords promised : It had passed the Commons without any difficulty about the time of the Irish insurrection, but was laid aside in the House of Lords, as being thought impossible to go through while the Bishops votes were entire : When it was revived at this juncture, the Earl of Bedford and the Bishop of Rochester made a vigorous stand against it. His Lordship urged, that it was contrary to the usage of Parliament, when a Bill had been once rejected, to bring it in a second time the same Session. To which it was replied, that it was not the same Bill [having a new Title] though it was to accomplish the same end. Besides, the distress of the times required some extraordinary measures for their redress ; and further, since the King had been graciously pleased to pass an act for “ the continuance of this Parliament as long “ as they thought fit to sit,” and thereby parted with his right of proroguing or dissolving them, the nature of things was altered, therefore they were not to be tied down to the ordinary forms in other cases. The question being put, whether the Bill should be read, it pass in the affirmative ; upon which the consideration of it was resumed, and after some few debates the Bill was passed by a very great majority, Feb. 6. 1641-2, the Citizens of London expressing their satisfaction by ringing of bells and bonfires. But it was still apprehended that the King would refuse his assent, because when he had been pressed to it his Majesty had said, it was a matter of great concernment, and therefore he would

Bill to take  
away their  
Votes re-  
vived.

Claren.  
Vol. I. p.  
302, 426.

And passes  
the Houle of  
Lords.

Claren.  
Vol. I. p.  
227.



would take time to confider ; but the Commons not content with this delay sent again to Windſor, to preſs his compliance upon the following reaſons, “ Becauſe the Subjects “ ſuffered by the Biſhops exerciſing temporal juriſdiction, “ and making a party in the Houſe of Lords. Becauſe it “ was apprehended that there would be a happy conjunc- “ tion of both Houſes upon the excluſion of the Biſhops. “ And the ſigning this Bill would be a comfortable pledge “ of his Maſteſty’s gracious aſſent to the future remedies of “ thoſe evils which were to be preſented to him.”

King  
Charles I.  
1641.  
Arguments  
for the King  
to paſs it.

This meſſage from the Commons was ſeconded by thoſe of greateſt truſt about the King, who argued, “ That the “ combination againſt the Biſhops was irrefiſtible ; that the “ paſſing this Bill was the only way to preſerve the Church ; “ and, that if the Parliament was gratified in this, ſo many perſons in both Houſes would be fully ſatiſfied, that “ they would join in no further alterations ; but if they “ were croſſed in this, they would endeavour an extirpation of the Biſhops, and a demolishing of the whole “ fabrick of the Church.” They argued further, “ That “ force or indirecſt means having been made uſe of to obtain the Bill, the King might by his power bring the “ Biſhops in again when the preſent diſtempers were com- “ poſed.” An argument by which his Maſteſty might ſet aſide all his conceſſions, or Acts of Grace (as he was pleaſed to call them) to his Parliament at once. But none of theſe reaſons would have prevailed, had not the Queen made uſe of her ſovereign influence over the King. Her Maſteſty was made to believe by Sir J. Culpeper, that her own preſervation depended upon the King’s Conſent to the Bill ; that if his Maſteſty reſuſed it, her journey into Holland would be ſtopped, and her perſon poſſibly endangered by ſome mutiny or infurrection ; whereas the uſing her intereſt with the King would lay a popular Obligation upon the Kingdom, and make her acceptable to the Parliament. Theſe arguments carrying a face of probability, her Maſteſty wreſted the King’s Reſolution from him, ſo that the Bill was ſigned by Commiſſion, February the 14th, together with another againſt preſſing Soldiers, his Maſteſty being then at Canterbury, accompanying the Queen in her paſſage to Holland. But his Maſteſty’s ſigning them with ſo much reluctance did him a diſſervice. All men took notice of his diſcontent ; and Lord Clarendon ſays, he had cauſe to believe, that the King was prevailed with to ſign them, “ becauſe he was told, that “ there

Clarend.  
Vol. I. p.  
427.

King paſſes  
it.  
Ruſhw.  
p 552.

Vol. I. p.  
427, 430.

King  
Charles I.  
1641.

“ there being Violence and Force used to obtain them,  
“ they were therefore in themselves null, and in quieter  
“ times might easily be revoked and disannulled.” A short  
method of cutting asunder the sinews of the most established  
Laws of a Country! To give the Reader the Act itself;  
the Preamble begins thus,

The Act  
itself.

“ **W** Hereas Bishops, and other persons in holy Orders,  
“ ought not to be entangled with secular Jurisdiction  
“ (the Office of the Ministry being of such great impor-  
“ tance that it will take up the whole man.) And for that  
“ it is found by long experience, that their intermeddling  
“ with secular Jurisdictions hath occasioned great mischiefs  
“ and scandals both to Church and State, his Majesty, out  
“ of his religious care of the Church, and Souls of his  
“ People, is graciously pleased that it be enacted, and by  
“ Authority of this present Parliament be it enacted, That  
“ no Archbishop or Bishop, or other person that now is,  
“ or hereafter shall be in holy Orders, shall at any time  
“ after the 15th day of February, in the year of our Lord  
“ 1641. have any Seat or Place, Suffrage or Vote, or use,  
“ or execute any power or authority in the Parliaments of  
“ this Realm, nor shall be of the Privy Council of his  
“ Majesty, his Heirs or Successors, or Justices of the Peace  
“ of Oyer and Terminer, or Gaol Delivery, or execute  
“ any temporal authority, by virtue of any Commission;  
“ but shall be wholly disabled, and be incapable to have,  
“ receive, use, or execute any of the said offices, places,  
“ powers, authorities, and things aforesaid.

“ And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid,  
“ that all Acts from and after the said 15th of February,  
“ which shall be done or executed by any Archbishop or  
“ Bishop, or other person whatsoever in holy Orders; and  
“ all and every Suffrage or Voice, given or delivered by  
“ them, or any of them, contrary to the purport and true  
“ meaning of this present Act, shall be utterly void, to all  
“ intents, construction, and purposes.”

Remarks  
upon it.

Baxter's  
Hist. Life  
and Times  
P. 33.

Thus the Peerage of the Bishops, and the whole secu-  
lar power of the Clergy, ceased for about twenty years;  
how far they contributed to it by their pride and ambition,  
their sovereign contempt of the Laity, and indiscreet be-  
haviour towards their Neighbours, has been already ob-  
served. Their enemies said, the hand of God was against  
them,

them, because they had given too much countenance to the ridiculing of true devotion and piety, under the name of Godly Puritanism; because they had silenced great numbers of Ministers, eminent for learning and piety, for not complying with certain indifferent Rites and Ceremonies, while others that were vicious, and insufficient for their places, were continued; because they made a stricter enquiry after those who fasted and prayed, and joined together in religious exercises, than after those who were guilty of swearing, drunkenness, and other kinds of debauchery; because they discouraged afternoon Sermons and Lectures, and encouraged sports and pastimes on the Lord's Day; because they had driven many hundred families out of the land; and were, upon the whole, enemies to the civil interests of their Country. Others objected, that most of them verged too much towards the See of Rome, and gave ground to suspect, that they were designing an Union between the two Churches, which, at a time when the Roman Catholicks in Ireland had embued their hands in the blood of almost two hundred thousand Protestants; and were so numerous at home, as to make large and publick collections of money to support the King in his war against the Scots, was sufficient to make every sincere Protestant jealous of their power. Besides, the Bishops themselves had been guilty of a great many Oppressions; they had in a manner laid aside the practice of Preaching, that they might be the more at leisure for the governing part of their Function; and even here they transferred the whole of their jurisdiction upon their Chancellors and under Officers. They did not sit in their Consistories to hear complaints, or do justice either to Clergy or Laity, but turned over the People to Registers, Proctors, and Apparitors, who drew their money from them against equity and law, and used them at discretion. Few or none of them made their Visitations in person; nor did they live in their episcopal Cities, by which means there was no kinds of hospitality or liberality to the Poor. Divine Service in their Cathedrals was neglected, or ill performed, for want of their presence and inspection. Instead of conferring Orders at their Mother Church, they made use of the Chapels of their private houses, nor did they require the assistance of their Deans and Chapters upon such solemn occasions; they pronounced the censures of Deprivation and Degradation in a monarchical and absolute manner, not calling in the Deans and Chapters

King  
Charles I.  
1641.

Collyer's  
Eccl. Hist.  
p. 820.



King  
Charles I.  
1641.

to any share of the Administration. And upon the whole, they did little else but, receive their Rents, indulge their ease, consult their grandeur, and lord it over their Brethren. These were the popular complaints against them, which made the Citizens rejoice at their downfall, and attend the passing of the Bill with Bonfires and Illuminations. But if all these things had not concurred in a nice and critical state of affairs, the attempts of the House of Commons would have been in vain; neither the King nor the House of Peers being heartily willing to deprive them of their Seats in Parliament. This was one of the last Bills the King past; and the only Law which he enacted in prejudice of the established Church. Here his Majesty made a stand, and by a message sent to both Houses, desired not to be prest to any one single Act further, till the whole affair of Church Government and the Liturgy was so digested and settled by both Houses, that he might see clearly what was fit to be left, as well as what was fit to be taken away.

Rushw.  
P. 554.

## C H A P. XI.

From the King's leaving Whitehall to the beginning of the Civil War.

State of the  
Nation.

ALL things now tending to a rupture between the King and Parliament: the Legislature was divided and the Constitution broken. While the Royal Family was at Hampton Court the Officers and Soldiers that were quartered about Kingston, to the number of two hundred, made such disturbances, that the Militia of the County was raised to disperse them. After a few days the King removed further, to Windsor, where a Cabinet Council was held in presence of the Queen, in which, besides the resolution of passing no more Bills, already mentioned, it was further agreed, that her Majesty being to accompany the Princess her Daughter to Holland, in order to her marriage with the Prince of Orange, should take with her the Crown Jewels, and pledge them for ready money; with which she should purchase Arms and Ammunition, &c. for the King's service. She was also to treat with the Kings of France and Spain for four thousand Soldiers, by the mediation of the Pope's Nuncio. It was agreed further, that his Majesty should come to no agreement with the Parliament,

Resolutions  
of the Cab-  
inet Council  
at Windsor.

till

till he understood the Success of her Negotiations, but should endeavour to get possession of the important Fortresses of Portsmouth and Hull, where the Arms and Artillery of the late Army in the North were deposited. Mr. Eachard says it was resolved, that the Queen should remove to Portsmouth, and the King to Hull; that being possessed of those places of Strength, where his Friends might resort to him with safety, he would sit still till the hot Spirits at Westminster could be brought to reason; but this important Secret being discovered the Parliament entered upon more effectual measures for their Safety: They sent to Colonel Goring, Governor of Portsmouth, not to receive any Forces into the Town but by Authority of the King, signified by both Houses of Parliament. Sir John Hotham was sent to secure the Magazine at Hull; and a guard was placed about the Tower of London, to prevent the carrying out any Ordnance or Ammunition without consent of Parliament. Lord Clarendon, and after him Mr. Eachard, censure the two Houses for exercising these "first Acts of Sovereignty;" but how far they were necessary for their own and the publick Safety, after what had past, and after the Resolutions of the Councils at Windsor, I leave with the Reader.

King Charles I.  
1642.

p. 525.

Rapin, p.  
354.

p. 370, 371.

The command of the Militia had been usually in the Crown; "though the Law had not positively determined in whom that great Power was lodged," as Mr. Whitlock undertook to prove before the Commissioners at Uxbridge: The King claimed the sole disposal of it to himself, but the Parliament insisted that it was not in the King alone, but in the King and Parliament jointly; and that when the Kingdom is in imminent danger, if the Royal Power is not executed in its defence, the Military Force may be raised without it. But waving the Question of Right, the Parliament desired the Command of the Militia might be put into such hands as they could confide in only for two years, till the present disorders were quieted, but the King refused, unless the House would first give up the Question of Right, and vest the sole Command of the Militia in the Crown by form of Law; which the Parliament declined, and voted the advisers of that answer Enemies of the Kingdom.

Debates  
about the  
Militia.

Multitudes of Petitions were presented to the Houses from the City of London, and from the Counties of Middlesex, Hertford, Essex, &c. beseeching them to provide for the safety of the Nation, by disarming Papists, by taking care of the Protestants in Ireland, by bringing evil

Petitions to  
the Parlia-  
ment to pro-  
vide for the  
safety of the  
Nation.

King  
Charles I.  
1642.

Their Pro-  
ceedings.

Rushw. p.  
523.

Ib. p. 524.

Rapin, p.  
374.

Rushw. p.  
528.

Counsellors to punishment, by putting the Kingdom into a posture of defence, and by committing the Forts and Castles of the Kingdom, to such persons as both Houses could confide in; but their hands were tied, because the King claimed to himself the sole Execution of the Laws, and would act no longer in concert with his Parliament. The Commons, encouraged by the Spirit of the People, petitioned a second time for the Militia, and framed an Ordinance, with a List of the names of such Persons in whom they could confide. His Majesty, in order to amuse the House and gain time, told them, "That he could not divest himself of that just Power that God and the Laws of the Kingdom had placed in him for the defence of his People, for any indefinite time." After this they presented a third Petition to the King at Theobalds [March 1.] in which they protest, "That if his Majesty persists in that denial, the dangers and distempers of the Kingdom were such as would endure no longer delay; and therefore, if his Majesty will not satisfy their desires, they shall be informed, for the safety of the Kingdom, to dispose of the Militia by Authority of both Houses of Parliament, and they resolved to do it accordingly:" Beseeching his Majesty at the same time to reside near his Parliament. The King was so enflamed with this Protestation, that he told them, "He was amazed at their message, but should not alter his Resolution in any point." And instead of residing near his Parliament he removed to New Market, and by degrees as far as York. Upon this the Commons voted March 4. "That the Kingdom be forthwith put into a posture of defence by authority of both Houses, in such a way as is already agreed upon by both Houses of Parliament;" and next day they published an Ordinance for that purpose. March 9. both Houses presented a Declaration to the King at New Market, "Expressing the causes of their Fears and Jealousies, and their earnest desires, that his Majesty would put from him those wicked and and mischievous Counsellors, that have caused these differences between him and his Parliament; that he would come to Whithall, and continue his own and the Prince's Residence near his Parliament, which he may do with more honour and safety than in any other place. We beseech your Majesty (say they) to consider in what state you are, and how easy the way is to Happiness, Greatness and Honour, if you will join with your Parliament; this is all we expect, and for this we will return you our

"Lives



“ Lives and Fortunes, and do every thing we can to support your just Sovereignty and Power. But it is not words alone that will secure us; that which we desire is some real effect in granting those things that the present necessities of the Kingdom require.” They add further, “ That his Majesty’s Removal to so great a distance not only obstructed the Proceedings of Parliament, but looked like an Alienation of the Kingdom from himself and Family.” His Majesty’s best Friends advised him to take this opportunity to return to London; “ and it must be solely imputed to his Majesty’s own Resolutions (says Lord Clarendon) that he took not that course;” but instead of this he broke out into a Passion, and told them, he had his Fears for the true Protestant Profession and the Laws as well as they: “ What would you have? (says his Majesty) Have I violated your Laws, or denied to pass any Bill for the ease of my Subjects? I do not ask you what you have done for me — God so deal with me and mine, as my intentions are upright for maintaining the true Protestant Profession and the Laws of the Land.” Being asked by the Earl of Pembroke, Whether he would not grant the Militia for a little time? his Majesty swore by God, No, not for an hour. When he was put in mind of his frequent Violation of the Laws, his Majesty replied, That he had made ample Reparation, and did not expect to be reproached with the Actions of his Ministers.

King  
Charles I.  
1642.

Rushw. p.  
533.

As his Majesty insisted upon the Militia, he claimed also “ An unalienable right to all the Forts and Garrisons of the Kingdom, with an uncontrollable Power to dispose of the Arms and Ammunition laid up in them, as his proper Goods.” This the Parliament disputed, and maintained, that they were his Majesty’s, only in trust for the publick, and that in discharge of this Trust the Parliament sitting are his Counsellors; for if the King had such a property in the Forts and Magazines as he claimed, he might then sell or transfer them into an Enemy’s hand as absolutely as a private Person may his Lands and Goods; which is a strange maxim, and contrary to the Act of 40 Edw. III. Many Declarations passed between the King and his Parliament on this argument, while each Party were getting Possession of all that they could. The King was contriving to get Possession of the Magazine of Hull, but the Parliament were before hand with his Majesty, and not only secured that important Fortrefs, but got possession of the Fleet [March

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Charles I.  
1642.

The Crisis.

31.] which submitted to the Earl of Warwick, whom the Parliament appointed to be their Admiral.

But the Ordinance of March 5. "For disposing of the Militia by both Houses of Parliament without the King, in cases of extreme danger to the Nation, of which danger the two Houses were the proper Judges, with the subsequent Resolutions of March 16," were the Grand Crisis which divided the two Parties in the House. Mr. Hyde, afterwards Lord Clarendon, Mr. Bridgeman, Mr. Palmer, and other eminent Lawyers and Gentlemen, having given their Opinion against the Ordinance, deserted their Stations and retired to the King. On the other hand, Serjeant Maynard, Whitlocke, Glyn, Selden, the Lord Keeper Littleton, Mr. Lee, St. John, Grimston, and divers others of no less Judgment in Law, and of a superior interest in their Country, accepted of Commissions in the Militia, and continued in the Service of the Parliament. Many retired to their Country Seats, and were for standing Neuter in this nice Conjunction; but those that remained in the House were about three hundred, besides fifty that were employed in the Country, and about fifty more that were absent with leave; the rest went over to the King, and were some time after expelled the House. But from this time the sitting Members were more resolute, and met with less opposition.

March 15, His Majesty acquainted the Houses from Huntington, with his design to reside for some time at York; and adds, that he expected, "they should pay a due regard to his Prerogative, and to the Laws established; and that none of his Subjects should presume, under colour of any Order or Ordinance of Parliament, to which his Majesty is not a Party, to do or execute what is not warrantable by the Laws." His Majesty's Intention, by this Message, was to put a stop to all farther proceedings of the Parliament, for their own and the Nation's Security, till they had digested all their Grievances into a body. Upon receiving this Declaration both Houses came to these Resolutions among others.

Votes and  
Resolutions  
of the Com-  
mons.  
Rushw. p.  
390, &c.

March 16, Resolved, "That those who advise his Majesty to absent himself from the Parliament, are Enemies to the Peace of the Kingdom, and justly suspected to be Favourers of the Rebellion in Ireland.

Resolved, "That the Ordinance of Parliament for the Militia is not inconsistent with the Oath of Allegiance; but that the several Commissions granted by his Majesty  
" under

“ under the Great Seal to the Lieutenants of the several Counties are illegal and void.

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Charles I.  
1642.

Resolved, “ That in cases of extreme danger, and of his Majesty’s refusal to act in concert with his Parliament, the people ought, by the fundamental laws of the kingdom, to obey the Ordinance of both Houses concerning the Militia; and that such persons as shall be appointed Deputy Lieutenants, and are approved by both Houses, ought to take upon them to execute their Offices.

It was resolved further; “ That the two Houses of Parliament being the Representative Body of the whole nation, and two parts in three of the Legislature, were the proper judges of the state and condition of it.

Resolved, “ That when both Houses agreed, that the nation was in extreme danger, as they now did, the King was obliged by the Laws of Nature, as well as by the Laws of the Land, to agree to those remedies which they who are his great Council should advise him to. This seems evident from the Statute of 25 Edw. III. entitled, The Statute of Provisors of Benefices, which says, that “ the right of the Crown of England, and the Laws of the Realm is such, that upon the mischiefs and damages that happen to this Realm, our Sovereign Lord the King ought, and is bound by his Oath, with the accord of his people in Parliament, to ordain Remedy for removing thereof.”

Rushw. p.  
669.

Resolved, “ That if in such a time of danger his Majesty deserts his Parliament, or refuses to concur with them in ordaining such Remedies as are absolutely necessary for the common safety, then the two Houses ought to look upon themselves as the Guardians of the People, and provide for their defence.

Resolved, “ That when the Lords and Commons, which is the supreme Court of Judicature in the Kingdom, shall declare what the Law of the Land is; to have this not only questioned but contradicted, and a command that it should not be obey’d, is a high breach of the privilege of Parliament.”

His Majesty on the other hand averr’d, “ That the kingdom was in no danger, but from the arbitrary proceedings of the Parliament, who were invading the Royal Prerogative, and subverting the Constitution in Church and State.

The King’s  
Reply.

“ That if the Kingdom was really in danger, He was the Guardian and Protector of his People, and was answer-



King  
Charles I.  
1642.

“ able to God only for his conduct ; but that Parliaments  
“ were temporary and dissolvable at his pleasure ; That he  
“ should therefore consider them as his Counsellors and  
“ Advisers, but not his Commanders or Dictators.

His Majesty admitted, “ That in some doubtful cases the  
“ Parliament were Judges of the Law, but he did not  
“ think himself bound to renounce his own Judgment and  
“ Understanding, by passing Laws which might separate  
“ from his Crown that which was in a manner essential  
“ to it (viz.) a power to protect his subjects.”

The Parlia-  
ment's Answer.

Rushw. p.

693.

Rapin, p.

477.

To which the Commons replied, “ That the King alone  
“ could not be Judge in this case, for the King judges not  
“ matters of Law but by his Courts ; nor can the Courts  
“ of Law be Judges of the State of the Kingdom against  
“ the Parliament, because they are inferior ; but as the  
“ Law is determined by the Judges, who are the King's  
“ Council, so the State of the nation is to be determined by  
“ the two Houses of Parliament, who are the proper Judges  
“ of the Constitution. If therefore the Lords and Com-  
“ mons in Parliament assembled, declare this or the other  
“ matter to be according to Law, or according to the Con-  
“ stitution of the Kingdom, 'tis not lawful for any single  
“ person or inferior Court to contradict it.”

Remarks.

But instead of tiring the reader with a long paper war in  
“ support of these propositions, I will make one general  
“ remark, which may serve as a key to the whole contro-  
“ versy. “ If we suppose the Kingdom to be in its natu-  
“ ral state, after the King left his Parliament, and would  
“ act no longer in concert with it. If the constitution was  
“ then entire, and the most considerable grievances redress-  
“ ed. If the Laws in being were a sufficient security a-  
“ gainst the return of Popery and arbitrary Power, and  
“ there was sufficient reason to believe those Laws would  
“ have their free course,” then the King's arguments are  
strong and conclusive ; for in all ordinary cases, the admi-  
nistration of Justice, and the due execution of the Laws,  
is vested in the Crown ; nor may the Lords and Commons  
in Parliament make new Laws, or suspend and alter old  
ones, without his Majesty's consent. But on the other  
hand, “ If in the opinion of the Lords and Commons in  
“ Parliament assembled, who are the Representatives of  
“ the whole Nation, the Constitution is broken, by the  
“ King's deserting his two Houses, and resolving to act no  
“ longer in concert with them ; or by any other overt-acts  
“ of his Majesty's Council inconsistent with the Constitu-  
“ tion.

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Charles I.  
1642.

“ tion. Or if both Houses shall declare the Religion and  
“ Liberties of the Nation to be in imminent danger, either  
“ from foreign or domestick Enemies, and the King will  
“ not concur with his Parliament to apply such remedies  
“ as the Wisdom of his two Houses shall think necessary ;”  
then certainly, after proper Petitions and Remonstrances,  
they may provide for the publick Safety, as much as in the  
case of Nonage or Captivity of the Prince. In order  
therefore to decide in the present Controversy, we must  
carefully consider the true condition of the Nation ; whe-  
ther it was in its natural State ? or, whether the Constitu-  
tion being divided and broken by the King’s deserting  
his Parliament, the legal form of Government was not  
dissolved ? in the former Case I apprehend the King was  
in the right ; but in the latter the Parliament.

This unhappy Controversy was managed with great  
warmth, and mutual reproaches, but with this decency,  
that the King did not charge his Parliament with criminal  
Designs, but only a malignant party in both Houses ; nor  
did the Parliament reproach the person of the King, but  
laid all their Grievances upon his evil Counsellors ; however,  
’tis easy to observe, that it was impossible for the two par-  
ties to agree, because they reasoned upon different Princi-  
ples ; the King supposing the Nation was in safety, and  
that therefore the laws should have their natural Course ;  
the Parliament apprehending the Constitution broken, and  
that therefore it was their duty to provide for the publick  
safety, even without his Majesty’s consent. But we shall  
have more light into this Controversy hereafter.

To return to the History : Though the Scots were made  
easy at home, being in full possession of their civil and re-  
ligious Rights, yet they were not willing to be unconcerned  
spectators of the ruin of the English Parliament, partly out  
of gratitude for the favours they had received, and partly  
from an apprehension, that the security of their own Set-  
tlement, as well as the spreading their Kirk Discipline in-  
to England depended upon it. While the King was at Wind-  
sor the Scots Commissioners at London offered their Medi-  
ation between his Majesty and his two Houses : In their pe-  
tition they tell his Majesty, “ That the Liberties of Eng-  
“ land and Scotland must stand and fall together ;” and  
after some expressions of grief for the distractions of Eng-  
land, which they conceive to arise from the plots of the  
Papists and Prelates, whose aim has been, not only to pre-  
vent any further Reformation, but to subvert the purity

The Scots  
offer their  
Mediation;

King  
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and truth of Religion, they offer their service to compose the Differences, and beseech his Majesty "to have recourse to the faithful advices of both Houses of Parliament, which will not only quiet the minds of his English Subjects, but remove the jealousies and fears that may possess the hearts of his Subjects in other Kingdoms." In their paper of the same date to both Houses of Parliament, Jan. 15. "They return thanks to the Parliament of England, for the assistance given to the Kingdom of Scotland in settling their late Troubles; and next to the providence of God and his Majesty's goodness, they acknowledge their obligations to the Mediation and brotherly kindness of the English Parliament; and now, by way of return, and to discharge the Trust reposed in them, they offer their Mediation between them and the King, beseeching the Houses to consider of the fairest and most likely methods to compose the Differences in Church and State." Bishop Burnet says, their design was to get Episcopacy brought down, and Presbytery set up, to the "first of which most of the Members were willing to consent, but few were cordial for the latter."

Which the  
King refuses

The King was highly displeased with the Scots Mediation, and sent them word, that the case of England and Scotland was different; in Scotland (says his Majesty) Episcopacy was never fully settled by Law, and is found to be contrary to the genius of the people; but in England it is rooted in the very Constitution, and has flourished without interruption for eighty years; he therefore commands them not to transact between him and his Parliament, without first communicating their propositions to him in private. At the same time his Majesty sent Letters into Scotland, and ordered the Chancellor to use his utmost efforts to keep that Kingdom to a Neutrality. On the other hand, the Parliament threw themselves into the Arms of the Scots; they thanked the Commissioners for their kind and seasonable interposing, and prayed them to continue their endeavours to remove the present distractions, and to preserve the union between the two Kingdoms. They writ likewise into Scotland to the same purpose; the effects of which will appear at the next meeting of their Parliament.

But the  
Parliament  
accepts.

In the mean time the Lords and Commons, in order to encourage the expectations of their friends in both Kingdoms published the following Declaration of their Intentions.

Die



Die Sabbati, April 9. 1642.

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“ The Lords and Commons declare, that they intend a  
“ due and necessary reformation of the Government and  
“ Discipline of the Church, and to take away nothing in  
“ the one but what shall be evil and justly offensive, or at  
“ least unnecessary and burdensome; and for the better ef-  
“ fecting thereof, speedily to have consultation with godly  
“ and learned Divines; and because this will never of itself  
“ attain the ends sought therein, they will use their utmost  
“ endeavours to establish learned and preaching Ministers,  
“ with a good and sufficient maintenance, throughout the  
“ whole Kingdom, wherein many dark corners are miser-  
“ ably destitute of the means of Salvation, and many poor  
“ Ministers want necessary provision.”

Declaration  
of the Par-  
liament con-  
cerning Re-  
formation.

This Declaration was ordered to be published by the Sheriffs of the several Counties, for the satisfaction of the people.

The distance between London and York encreased the misunderstanding between the King and his Parliament; numbers of passengers travelling between the two places with secret intelligence, the Parliament appointed the following Oath to be taken by all that came from the King's Quarters,

“ **I** A. B. do swear from my heart, that I will not directly  
“ nor indirectly, adhere unto, or willingly assist the King  
“ in this War, or in this Cause against the Parliament, nor  
“ any Forces raised without consent of the two Houses of  
“ Parliament, in this Cause or War. And I do likewise  
“ swear, that my coming, and submitting myself under the  
“ power and protection of Parliament, is without any man-  
“ ner of design whatsoever to the prejudice of the proceed-  
“ ings of this present Parliament, and without direction,  
“ privy, or advice of the King, or any of his Council or  
“ Officers, other than I have made known. So help me  
“ God, and the Contents of this Book.”

The Negative  
Oath.

This was called the Negative Oath, and was voted April 5. 1642.

As soon as the correspondence was thus interrupted, numbers of libellous News-papers, Mercuries, and Weekly Intelligencers, began to appear, full of scandal and reproach, whereby the conduct of great and wise men was aspersed, innumerable false reports were spread through the Nation, and the spirits of the people sharpened for War. On the side  
of

Numbers of  
libellous  
Pamphletson  
both sides.

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Rushw.  
p. 760.

of the King was Mercurius Aulicus; and on the side of the Parliament Mercurius Britannicus: When the King fixed his Court at Oxford, the learned Garrison drew their Pens for the King, as the Politicians of London did for the Parliament; and while the Armies were in the field these Gentlemen employed themselves in magnifying their wonderful exploits to the People; so that besides the above-mentioned weekly Papers there appeared, Mercurius Rusticus—Pragmaticus—Politicus—Publicus—Diurnals—and Intelligencers without number. The Pulpits also were employed in the same work; the Preachers dealt too much in politicks, and made too free with the characters and actions of their superiors: There were Incendiaries on both sides; the King's Preachers enhanced his Majesty's Character, and treated the Parliament as so many Rebels and Traitors; and the Parliament Ministers were no less culpable, for though they avoided speaking disrespectfully of the person of the King, they declaimed against the Hierarchy, against evil and popish Counsellors, and glanced at the Queen herself, as preventing the harmony between his Majesty and the Parliament, and pushing him upon measures that were destructive of the Protestant Religion and the Constitution of their Country; which how true soever in itself, was not the proper business of the Pulpit.

The King's  
high Lan-  
guage to the  
Parliament.  
Rapin, p.  
354.

He is denied  
Entrance  
into Hull.

The great resort of the Nobility and Gentry to the Court at York, gave his Majesty new life, and encouraged him to treat his Parliament with very high language; he sent them word, that "He would have nothing extorted from him; nor would he grant them any thing further that the Law had put into his hands." At the same time his Majesty attempted to get possession of the Magazine of Hull, pursuant to the scheme formed at Windsor in January last; and accordingly appeared before the town with three hundred Horse, April 23, but was denied entrance with more than twelve Attendants; upon which, after an hours time for deliberation, his Majesty caused Sir John Hotham the Governor to be proclaimed a Traytor by two Heralds at Arms, and then retired to York full of resentment for the affront he had received, which he did not fail to communicate to the Parliament, demanding justice against Sir John Hotham according to law; but the Parliament stood by their Governor, and ordered the Arms and Ammunition in Hull to be removed to the Tower of London, except what was necessary for the defence of the place.

Upon

Upon his Majesty's return to York he commanded the Committee of Parliament, which were spies upon his actions, to retire to London, but they excused themselves, as being ordered to continue by those that employed them. His Majesty also summoned the Nobility and Gentry of the northern Counties to meet him at York [May 12.] when he acquainted them with his reasons for refusing the Militia Bill, and with the treasonable behaviour of Sir John Hotham in keeping him out of Hull, and depriving him of his Magazine, being his own proper goods. "Since treason is countenanced so near me (says his Majesty) 'tis time to look to my safety; none can blame me to apprehend danger, I am therefore resolved to have a guard——" The Gentry were divided in their sentiments about the King's Conduct, and gave answers as they were differently affected, but all were willing to serve his Majesty according to Law. After several other assemblies of the Nobility, Gentry, Freeholders, and Ministers of York called together by his Majesty's command, in all which he declared, that "he was resolved to defend the true Protestant Religion established in the reign of Queen Elizabeth; to govern by Law for the future; and that he had no intention to make war with his Parliament, except it were in way of defence," a regiment of Horse was raised for the security of his Majesty's Person, and the command given to the Prince of Wales. This was the first levy of Troops in the Civil War, his Majesty having as yet only a regiment of the Militia of six hundred men, besides the Reformadoes that attended the Court.

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The King's  
Proceedings  
in the North.

Rushw.  
p. 615, 623.  
Rapin,  
p. 516.

About the same time [May 17.] the King ordered the Courts of Justice to remove from Westminster to York, and sent for Searjeant Major Skipton, an old experienced Officer, to attend him in person, which the Parliament prevented; but were not so successful in relation to the Great Seal, which the Keeper sent privately to the King by the messenger that came for it [May 22.] and next day followed it himself. This was a considerable disappointment to the Parliament, especially as it was attended with the loss of nine other Peers, who deserted their stations in the House about this time, and went to the King, as did considerable numbers of the House of Commons, his Majesty having now given orders to all his Friends to leave the House and come to him, which instead of breaking up the Parliament, as was intended, strengthened the Hands of the Country Party, and gave them an Opportunity, after some time, to expel the Deserters.

Courts of  
Justice to be  
removed.



King.  
Charles I.  
1642.  
Proceedings  
of Parlia-  
ment.

Things being come to this crisis, the Parliament voted, May 20. "That it was now apparent that the King, seduced by wicked counsel, intended to make war upon the Parliament— That whensoever the King maketh such war it is a breach of trust, contrary to his Coronation Oath, and tending to the dissolution of the Government.— That whosoever shall serve or assist his Majesty in such war are Traitors, and have been so adjudged by two Acts of Parliament, 11 Rich. II. and Henry IV.— May 28, they ordered all Sheriffs and Justices of Peace, &c. to make stay of all Arms and Ammunition carrying to York, and to disperse all Forces coming together by the King's Commission."

To justify these proceedings both Parties published their reasons to the world; a summary of which being contained in the Parliament's Memorial of May 19, and the King's Answer, I shall give the reader an abstract of them.

Abstract of  
the Parlia-  
ment's Me-  
morial.

The Parliament in their Memorial avow, in the presence of the All-seeing Deity, "That the sincerity of their endeavours have been directed only to the King's honour and the publick peace, free from all private aims, personal respects and passions whatsoever. They complain of his Majesty's being drawn into the north, far from his Parliament, which has given occasion to many false rumours, and scandalous reports, to the interrupting the good understanding between the King and his Parliament—They take notice of those evil counsellors which have prevailed with his Majesty to make infractions upon his Royal Word, as that, "On the Word of a King; and as I am a Gentleman, I will redress the grievances of my People—I am resolved to put myself on the love and affection of my English Subjects—We do engage solemnly, on the word of a King, that the security of all, and every one of you, from violence, is and shall be as much my care, as the preservation of us and our children." Since which time the Studies and Chambers of some of the Members had been broken open, and six of them attempted to be seized in the Parliament House, the blame of which they are willing to impute to his evil counsellors. And though the King disavows such counsellors, we hold it our duty (say they) humbly to avow, there are such, else we must say, that all the ill things done in his Majesty's name have been done by himself, wherein we  
" should

“ should neither follow the direction of the law, which  
 “ says, The King can do no wrong; nor the af- King  
Charles I.  
1642.  
 “ fection of our own hearts, which is to clear his Majesty as Rushw.  
p. 692.  
 “ much as may be of all misgovernment, and to lay the  
 “ fault upon his Ministers. If any ill be done in matters  
 “ of State the Council are to answer for it, and if in mat-  
 “ ters of law the Judges. They acknowledge the many  
 “ excellent acts that his Majesty had lately past for the ad-  
 “ vantage of his subjects; but then add, that in none of  
 “ them have they bereaved his Majesty of any just, neces-  
 “ sary, or profitable prerogative of the Crown. They de-  
 “ clare their disallowance of all seditious libels, but com-  
 “ plain of many mutinous petitions that have been present-  
 “ ed to the King to divide him from his Parliament; and  
 “ whereas the King had insinuated, that the Church was  
 “ to be destroyed to make way for Presbytery, they aver,  
 “ that they desire no more than to encourage piety and  
 “ learning, and to place learned and pious preachers in all  
 “ Parishes, with a sufficient maintenance——Upon the  
 “ whole, “ they aver the Kingdom to be in imminent  
 “ danger from enemies abroad, and a Popish and discon-  
 “ tented party at home, and that in such a case the King-  
 “ dom must not be without means to preserve itself.” They  
 “ aver, that the ordinary means of providing for the pub- Ib. p. 689.  
 “ lick safety is in the King and Parliament; but because the  
 “ King being only a single person may be liable to many  
 “ accidents, the wisdom of the State in such cases has en-  
 “ trusted the two Houses of Parliament to supply what  
 “ shall be wanting on the part of the Prince, as in cases of  
 “ Captivity, Nonage, or where the Royal Trust is not dis-  
 “ charged; which the Lords and Commons having declar-  
 “ ed to be the present case, there needs no farther autho-  
 “ rity to affirm it; nor is it in the power of any person or  
 “ Court to revoke that judgment. They then mention  
 “ some proofs of the Nation’s danger, and conclude with  
 “ praying for the protection of Almighty God upon the  
 “ King, and beseech his Majesty to cast from him his evil  
 “ Counsellors; assuring him and the whole Kingdom, that  
 “ they desire nothing more than to preserve the purity and  
 “ power of Religion, to honour the King in all his just  
 “ prerogatives, and to endeavour to the utmost of their  
 “ power, that all Parishes may have learned and pious  
 “ preachers, and those preachers competent livings. And  
 “ they doubt not to overcome all difficulties, if the people  
 “ do not desert them to their own undoing; and even in  
 “ this

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1642.

“ this case, “ They declare they will not betray their  
“ trust, but look beyond their own lives and estates, as  
“ thinking nothing worth enjoying without the liberty,  
“ peace, and safety of the Kingdom, nor any thing too  
“ much to be hazarded for the obtaining of it.”

And of the  
King's An-  
swer.

His Majesty in his answer is not willing to charge his Parliament with misbehaviour, but only a malignant party in both Houses. He denies the several plots and Conspiracies mentioned in the Parliament's declaration, and takes notice of their misapplying the word Parliament to the vote of both Houses, whereas the King is an essential part of the Parliament. His Majesty confesses, that his going to the House of Commons to seize the five Members was an error in form, but maintains, the matter of the accusation to be just, and therefore thinks he ought not to be reproached with it. He neither affirms nor denies the design of bringing the army to London, but quibbles with the words Design and Resolution, (as Rapin observes) King Charles I. being very skilful in such sort of ambiguities. His Majesty made no reply to the Parliament's reasoning upon the head, of the “ King's neglecting to discharge his Trust,” but seems to insinuate, that the Parliament should in no case meddle with the Government without an express law. He denies his knowledge of any evil Counsellors about him ; and declares, that he did not willingly leave his Parliament, but was driven away by the tumults at Whitehall ; and adds, “ That by the help of God and the Laws of the Land, he  
“ would have justice for those tumults ;” nor does his Majesty own the promoting or retaining in his service any that are disaffected to the Laws of the Kingdom ; but he will not take a Vote of Parliament for his guide, till 'tis evident they are without passion or affection. The King charges them home with the greatest violation of the laws and liberties of the Subject. “ What is become of the  
“ law that Man was born to ? (says he) and where is Magna  
“ Charta, if the Vote of Parliament may make a Law ?” his Majesty concludes with a severe remark on the Parliament's calling the petitions presented to him mutinous. “ Hath a multitude of mean inconsiderable people about  
“ the City of London had liberty to petition against the  
“ Government of the Church, against the Book of Com-  
“ mon Prayer, &c. and been thanked for it ? and shall it  
“ be called Mutiny in the gravest and best Citizens in Lon-  
“ don, and Gentry of Kent, to frame petitions to be go-  
“ verned

Rushw.  
p. 704.  
Rapin, p.  
497.



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“ vernal by the known laws of the Land, and not by votes  
“ of Parliament? is not this evidently the work of a fac-  
“ tion? let Heaven and Earth, God and Man, judge be-  
“ tween us and these Men!”

The Reader will judge of these declarations according to  
a former remark. The Parliament supposes the “ Nation  
“ in imminent danger, and the Royal Power not exerted  
“ in its defence;” in which case, they, as the guardians of  
the people, apprehend themselves empowered to act in its  
defence. The King supposes “ the Nation to be in its na-  
“ tural state, and in no manner of danger, but from a  
“ malignant Party within the two Houses,” and that there-  
fore the laws should have their free and ordinary course.  
Upon these suppositions the arguments on both sides are in-  
vincible; but (as has been already observed) it was impossible  
they should produce any good effect, till it was first agreed,  
whether the Nation was in danger, or whether the Royal  
Promise might be relied upon with safety.

On the second of June the Parliament presented the  
King with the sum of all their desires for the “ Reformati-  
“ on and Security of Church and State,” in nineteen pro-  
positions, according to his Majesty’s commands in January  
last. The Reader will observe, that those which relate to  
the State are built upon the supposition abovementioned,  
that “ the Nation was in imminent danger; and that after  
“ so many infractions of the Royal Word it was not to be  
“ relied upon for the execution of the laws but in conjunc-  
“ tion with the Parliament.” They therefore pray, “ That  
“ his Majesty’s Privy Counsellors, commanders of Forts  
“ and Garrisons, and all the great Officers of State,  
“ may be approved by the two Houses; that the Judges  
“ may hold their places “ *quam diu se bene gesserint* ;” that  
“ the Militia may be in the hands of the Parliament for the  
“ present; that all publick business may be determined by  
“ a majority of the Council, and that they may take an  
“ oath to maintain the “ *Petition of Right*, and such other  
“ laws as shall be enacted this present Session.” They pray,  
“ that the Justice of Parliament may pass upon Delin-  
“ quents; that the Lord Kimbolton and the five Members  
“ may be effectually cleared by Act of Parliament, and  
“ that his Majesty would enter into alliances with foreign  
“ Princes for the support of the protestant Religion, &c.”  
’Tis hard to express his Majesty’s resentment against all these  
propositions (except the two last) which he says were fit on-  
ly to be offered to a vanquished prisoner; that he were un-  
worthy

The Sum of  
the Parlia-  
ment’s De-  
sires in 19  
Propositions:

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worthy of his noble descent if he should part with such flowers of the Crown as are worth all the rest of the Garland. “ If these things are granted (says he) we may have “ the title of a King, and be waited upon bareheaded ; we “ may have our hand kissed, and have swords and maces “ carried before us, but as to real power we should remain “ but the outside, the picture, the sign of a King.” His Majesty therefore rejected them in the gross with this sovereign reply, “ Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari.”

The propositions relating to Religion were these :

Propositions  
relating to  
Religion.  
Rushw.  
Part 3d.  
P. 793.

Prop. IV. “ That he or they to whom the Government “ and Education of the King’s Children shall be committed, be approved of, by both Houses of Parliament, “ and in the intervals of Parliament by the majority of the “ Privy Council ; and that such servants against whom the “ Houses have any just exception be removed.

Prop. V. “ That the marriages of the King’s Children “ be with consent of Parliament, under penalty of a Præ- “ munire on such as shall conclude them otherwise, not to “ be pardoned but by Parliament.

Prop. VI. “ That the laws in force against Jesuits, “ Priests, and Popish Recusants, be strictly put in execution, without any toleration or dispensation to the contrary ; and that some more effectual course may be enacted by authority of Parliament, to disable them from “ making any disturbance in the State, or eluding the laws “ by trusts or otherwise.

Prop. VII. “ That the Votes of Popish Lords in the “ House of Peers may be taken away, so long as they “ continue Papists ; and that your Majesty will consent to “ such a Bill as shall be drawn, for the education of the “ Children of Papists by Protestants, in the Protestant Religion.

Prop. VIII. “ That your Majesty will be pleased to consent, that such a reformation be made of the Church “ Government and Liturgy, as both Houses of Parliament “ shall advise, wherein they intend to have consultation with “ Divines, as is expressed in their declaration for that purpose ; and that your Majesty will contribute your best assistance for the raising of a sufficient maintenance for “ preaching Ministers through the Kingdom ; and that “ your Majesty will be pleased to give your consent to the “ laws, for the taking away of innovations and superstition, “ and of Pluralities, and against scandalous Ministers.”

To

To these propositions his Majesty replied as follows :

King's Answer.

To the fourth and fifth, concerning the Education and Disposal of his Children, " That he had committed them " to the care of persons of Quality, integrity and piety, " with special regard to their education in the principles of " the true protestant Religion, but that he would never " part with that trust, which God, Nature, and the Laws " of the Land had placed in him ; nor would he suffer " any to share with him in his power of treaties ; but he " assured them, that he would not entertain any treaty of " marriage for his Children without due regard to the pro- " testant Religion, and the honour of his Family ; and " that he would take such care of the Prince of Wales, " and his other Children, as should justify him to God as " a Father, and to his Dominions as a King.

To the sixth proposition, concerning popish Recusants, his Majesty admitted, " That if they could find any more " effectual course to disable them from disturbing the State, " or eluding the Laws, by trusts or otherwise, he ought to " give his consent to it.

To the seventh, concerning the Votes of popish Lords, his Majesty replied, " That he was informed, those Lords " had prudently withdrawn from the House of Peers, but " he did not conceive that a law against the Votes of any, " where blood gave them their right, was so proper, in " regard of the privilege of Parliament ; however, his " Majesty was content, that as long as they did not con- " form to the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of " England, they should not sit in the House of Peers, but " only vote by proxy. As for a Bill for the educating the " Children of Papists in the Protestant Religion, he should " be very glad of it, and would encourage them in it.

To the eighth proposition, touching Reformation of Church Government and Liturgy, his Majesty refers them to his Declaration of December 1. in which he had declared, " That he was willing to remove illegal innova- " tions ; that if his Parliament advised him to call a Synod " to examine into such ceremonies as gave offence, he " would take it into consideration, and apply himself to " give due satisfaction therein ; but he was persuaded in " his conscience, that no Church could be found upon earth " that professed the true Religion with more purity of " Doctrine than the Church of England ; nor where the



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“ Government and Discipline are more beautified, and free  
 “ from superstition, than as they are here established by  
 “ law; which his Majesty is determined with constancy to  
 “ maintain, as long as he lives, in their Purity and Glory,  
 “ not only against all innovations of Popery, but from the  
 “ irreverence of those many Schismatics and Separatists,  
 “ wherewith of late this Kingdom, and the City of Lon-  
 “ don abounds, for the suppression of whom his Majesty  
 “ requires the assistance of his Parliament. As for such  
 “ matters in Religion which were in their own nature in-  
 “ different, his Majesty refers them to his first Declaration,  
 “ printed by advice of his Privy Council, in which he had  
 “ declared, that he was willing, in tenderness to any  
 “ number of his loving Subjects, to admit that some law  
 “ might be made for the exemption of tender consciences  
 “ from punishment or prosecution for such Ceremonies;  
 “ provided it be attempted and pursued with that modesty,  
 “ temper and submission, that the peace and quiet of the  
 “ Kingdom be not disturbed, the decency and comeliness of  
 “ God’s service discountenanced, nor the pious, sober,  
 “ devout actions, of the first Reformers scandalized and de-  
 “ famed. His Majesty adds, that he had formerly refer’d  
 “ the composing the present distractions about Church Go-  
 “ vernment and Liturgy to the wisdom of the Parliament,  
 “ but desired, he might not be prest to any single Act on  
 “ his part, till the whole be so digested and settled by both  
 “ Houses, that his Majesty may clearly see what is fit to be  
 “ left, as well as what is fit to be taken away. His Ma-  
 “ jesty observes with Satisfaction, that they desire only  
 “ a Reformation, and not as is daily preached in Conven-  
 “ ticles, a destruction of the present Discipline and Litur-  
 “ gy, and promises to concur with his Parliament in  
 “ raising a sufficient maintenance for preaching Ministers,  
 “ in such manner as shall be most for the advancement of  
 “ Piety and Learning; but as for the other Bills, against  
 “ superstitious innovations, and pluralities, his Majesty can  
 “ lay nothing to them, till he sees them.”

King’s Pre-  
parations for  
War.

It was now apparent to all Men, that this Controversy, which had hitherto been debated by the Pen, must be decided by the sword; for this purpose the Queen was all this while in Holland negotiating foreign supplies: Her Majesty pledged the Crown Jewels, and with the Money arising from thence purchased a small Frigate of thirty two Guns, called

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called the Providence, and freighted it with two hundred barrels of powder, two or three thousand Arms, seven or eight field Pieces, and some ready Money for the King's service, all which were safely convoyed to his Majesty at York, about the beginning of June. The Parliament had been advertised of the Queen's proceedings, and acquainted the King with their advices; which at first he was pleased to disown, for in his Declaration of March 9. he tells the Parliament, "Whatsoever you are advertised from Paris, &c. of foreign Aids, we are confident no sober, honest Man in our Kingdom can believe, that we are so desperate, or so senseless, as to entertain such designs, as would not only bury this our Kingdom in certain destruction and ruin, but our name and posterity in perpetual scorn and infamy." One would think by this that the King did not know what was doing with the Crown Jewels, though they were carried over with his leave, and (as Mr. Whitlock says) that with them and the assistance of the Prince of Orange, a sufficient party might be raised for the King. But in this answer, as in most others, his Majesty had his Ambiguities and Reservations.

But it was the King's great misfortune never to get possession of a convenient place of Strength upon the Coast; indeed the Governor of Portsmouth declared for him, but the Parliament immediately ordered the Militia of the Country to block up the place by Land, while the Earl of Warwick did the same by Sea, so that it was forced to surrender for want of provision, before the King could relieve it. The like disappointment his Majesty met with before Hull, which he besieged a second time, July 4. with three thousand Foot and about one thousand Horse, while Sir J. Pennington, the King's Admiral, block'd it up by Sea; but the Governor drawing up the Sluces laid the Country under Water, which obliged the Army to retire. This was a severe disappointment, because his Majesty had sent word to the Parliament, June 14. "that by the help of God and the Law he would have justice upon those that kept him out of Hull, or lose his Life in requiring it."

Rushw.  
p. 601.

ib. p. 750

On the other hand, the Commons, upon the desertion of the King's Friends, ordered all their Members to answer to their names in the House, June 16. on forfeiture of one hundred pounds. The Lords ordered the nine Peers that went after the Great Seal, to appear at their Bar June 8.

Preparations  
of the Par-  
liament for  
War.

King  
Charles I.  
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and for their not appearing they afterwards [June 27.] deprived them of their privilege of voting in the House during the present Parliament. As the Commons had taken all imaginable precautions to hinder the King from getting the Forts and Magazines of the Kingdom into his possession, they ordered all suspected places to be searched for Arms and Ammunition; in the Archbishop's Palace at Lambeth they seized Arms for about five hundred Men, and lodged them in the Tower of London; in Cobham Hall they seized five cart loads of Arms; and below Gravesend about one hundred pieces of Cannon. As soon as they heard the King had received supplies from beyond Sea, and was preparing to besiege Hull, they ordered their Ordinance for raising the Militia to be put in execution in Essex, [June 7.] when all the Regiments appeared full, besides a great number of Voluntiers who declared they would stand by the Parliament in this Cause with their Lives and Fortunes. The King forbid the Militia's appearing in Arms without his consent, according to the Statute 7 Eliz. cap. 1. and issued out Commissions of Array, according to an old Statute of 5 Henry IV. appointing several persons of Quality to array, muster, and train the people in the several Counties; but the Parliament, by a Declaration, endeavoured to prove these Commissions to be illegal, contrary to the Petition of Right, and to a Statute of this present Parliament; and went on with mustering the Militia in several other Counties, where the Spirit of the People appeared to be with them; but the execution of these Counter-Commissions occasioned some Skirmishes where the two parties happened to meet.

They borrow Money  
and Plate of  
the Citizens.

On the 10th of June the Parliament published proposals for borrowing Money upon the publick Faith at Eight per Cent. interest, and the full value of the Plate, besides one shilling per ounce consideration for the fashion. Upon information of this, the King immediately writ to the Lord Mayor of London, to forbid the Citizens lending their Money or Plate, upon pain of High Treason; but notwithstanding this, such vast quantities were brought into Guildhall within ten days that there were hardly Officers enough to receive it. Mr. Eachard computes the plate at eleven Millions, which is monstrous, for in reality it was but one Million, two hundred and sixty seven thousand, three hundred and twenty six pounds: The Gentry of London and Middlesex brought in the best of their Plate,



Plate, and the meaner sort their Gold Rings, Thimbles and Bodkins. Lord Clarendon says, this zeal of the People arose from the influence and industry of their Preachers ; which might be true in part, but it was rather owing to a quick and feeling apprehension of the danger of their Liberties and Religion by an inundation of Popery and arbitrary Power.

King  
Charles I.  
1642.

The King also tried his credit with the people, by publishing a Declaration, inviting his Subjects to bring in their Money, Plate, Horses and Arms to York, upon the security of his Forests and Parks for the Principal, and eight per Cent. interest, but with very little success, except among the Courtiers and the two Universities.

King's Proposals for borrowing Money, &c.

July 7. His Majesty sent letters to the Vice-Chancellor and Heads of Colleges in Oxford, desiring them to lend him their publick Stock, engaging upon the word of a King to allow them Eight per Cent. for that, and for all other sums of money that any private Gentleman or Scholar should advance. Upon which it was unanimously agreed in Convocation, to intrust his Majesty with their publick Stock, amounting to eight hundred and sixty Pounds, which was immediately delivered to Mr. Chaworth his Majesty's messenger. The several Colleges also sent his Majesty their Plate ; and private Gentlemen contributed considerable sums of money, to the value of above ten thousand Pounds.

Loyalty of the University of Oxford.

Clarend. Vol. II. p. 82.

The two Houses at Westminster being informed of these proceedings published an Ordinance, declaring this act of the University " a Breach of Trust, and an alienation of the " publick money, contrary to the intent of the pious " donors, and therefore not to be justified by the Laws of " God nor Man ; " that it was also contrary to their Engagements ; for the University being yet in the hands of the Parliament, the Lord Say and his deputy Lieutenants had been with the several Masters and Heads of Colleges, and obtained a solemn promise from each of them, that their Plate should be forth-coming, and should not be made use of by the King against the Parliament ; and yet contrary to their engagement they sent it away privately to York, where it arrived July 18. as appeared by his Majesty's most gracious Letter of Thanks. As soon as the two Houses were informed of this they sent for the four principal managers of this affair into custody, viz. Dr. Prideaux Bishop of Worcester, Dr. Samuel Fell Dean of Christ Church, Dr. Frewen and Dr. Potter, but they absconded, and the Scholars, encouraged by their Principals, bought arms, formed them-

Rushw. P. 759.

King  
Charles I.  
1642.

selves into Companies, and laying aside their academical Studies, were instructed in the Art of War, and performed the military Exercises under their respective Captains and Leaders. Such was the zeal of the Vice-Chancellor Dr. Pink, that not content with marshalling the University, he promoted the King's Commission of Array among the townsmen, and received one of his Majesty's Troops of Horse into Garrison, for which he was afterwards apprehended and committed to the Gate-house at Westminster. The Parliament provoked with this behaviour of the University, threatened to quarter some of their own Regiments upon them, which frightened away half the Scholars, and put the rest into such a terrible pannick, that the Vice-Chancellor thought proper to write the following submissive letter to the Earl of Pembroke their Chancellor.

Right Hounourable !

Vice-Chancellor's Letter on behalf of the University.  
Rushw.  
Part 3d.  
p. 11.

“ **M**AY it please your Lordship to know, that this  
“ University is now in extreme danger of suffering all  
“ the calamities that warlike Forces may bring upon it.  
“ Such Forces we hear for certain are some of them already  
“ on their march, and others are raising to assault us ;  
“ and, if they may have their wills, to destroy us ! My  
“ Lord, you have been solicitous whom to appoint your  
“ Chancellor for next year, but if these Forces come forward,  
“ and do that execution upon us that we fear they  
“ intend, there will be no use at all for a Vice-Chancellor,  
“ for what will be here for him to do, where there will be  
“ no Scholars for him to govern ? Or, what should Scholars  
“ do here, having no Libraries left them to study in,  
“ no Schools to dispute in, Chapels to serve God in, Colleges  
“ or Halls to live or lodge in, but have all these ransacked,  
“ defaced, demolished, so as Posterity may have to say,  
“ see ! here was for a long time, and till such a year,  
“ an University of great renown and eminence in all manner  
“ of Learning and Virtue, but now laid utterly waste,  
“ and buried in her own ruins. And then the question will  
“ be, what ! had we no Lord Chancellor ? Or, was not  
“ he able to protect us ?—We are all confident, that if  
“ your Lordship would interpose for us to the honourable  
“ Houses of Parliament for our safety and security all would  
“ be well with us. The Delinquents that were sent for  
“ are not one of them here at this time. Sir John Byron,  
“ with his Regiment of Troopers, we shall soon prevail  
“ with to withdraw from us, if he may with safety march  
“ back

“ back to the King, who of his own gracious care of us  
 “ sent him hither. And if your Lordship shall be secured,  
 “ that no other Forces shall be here imposed upon us, that  
 “ will take the liberty to exercise that barbarous insolence  
 “ with which the illiterately rude and ruffianly rabble of the  
 “ vulgar threaten us; against such only our young men  
 “ have lately taken in hand the arms we have (a very few  
 “ God knows, and in weak hands enough) to save them-  
 “ selves and us from having our Libraries fired, our Col-  
 “ leges pillaged, and our throats cut by them, if they  
 “ should suddenly break in upon us. And this, my Lord,  
 “ is all the sinful intent we have had in permitting them  
 “ to train in a voluntary and peaceable manner so as they  
 “ have done. Good, my Lord, that which I most ear-  
 “ nestly beg of your Honour is, that at the humble request  
 “ of the University you would put in action with all speed,  
 “ what may be most prevalent with the Parliament for the  
 “ peace and security of this place, and for the staying of  
 “ our Students, a great part of whom (such stout and hardy  
 “ men they are) upon alarms and frights, such as have  
 “ been hourly here of late, are fled away from us home  
 “ to their Mothers. The Disciples, when in danger of  
 “ drowning, clamoured our Saviour, “ Master, carest thou  
 “ not that we perish ! ” But I am bold to assume for your  
 “ Honour, and to assure all of this University under your  
 “ happy Government, that you will not suffer us to perish;  
 “ and that you will at this time give us a clear and real  
 “ evidence of it, having this representation of the peril we  
 “ are now in, made to your Honour by me,

King  
 Charles I.  
 1642.

Your Lordship's humble Servant,

Sept. 12th.

1642.

Provost, Vice-Chancellor of Oxford.

This letter being writ two months after the University  
 had sent away their Plate and Money to the King; after  
 they had refused to send up such principal Managers of  
 that affair as the Parliament had demanded; after they  
 had took up arms, and received a Regiment of his Ma-  
 jesty's Forces into Garrison, the Earl of Pembroke only  
 returned the following angry Answer.



King  
Charles I.  
1642.

The Chan-  
cellor's An-  
swer.

Sir,

“ IF you had desired my advice and assistance in time I  
“ I should willingly have contributed my best endeavours  
“ for your safety and protection, but your own unadvised  
“ counsels and actions have reduced you to the straits you  
“ are now in ; and in discretion you might have foreseen,  
“ that the admitting Cavaliers, and taking up Arms,  
“ could not but make the University a notorious mark  
“ of opposition against the Parliament, and therefore to  
“ be opposed by it. If you had contained yourselves within  
“ the decent, modest bounds of an University, you might  
“ justly have challenged me, if I had not performed the  
“ duty of a Chancellor. The best counsel I now can give  
“ you is, that you presently dismiss the Cavaliers, and  
“ yield up to the Parliament such Delinquents as are  
“ among you ; then the cause being taken away the effect  
“ will follow. When you have put yourselves into the  
“ right posture of an University I will be a faithful servant  
“ to you, and ready to do you all the good offices I can  
“ with the Parliament, as I am now sorry you have  
“ brought upon yourselves these troubles.”

Sept. 13.  
1642.

I rest your very true Friend,  
Pembroke and Montgomery.

Loyalty of  
the Univer-  
sity of Cam-  
bridge.  
They deliver  
up their  
Plate.

Cambridge University followed the example of Oxford, for upon reading his Majesty's Letter of June 29, to the Vice-Chancellor Dr. Holdsworth, they readily agreed also to intrust the King with their publick Money: What the whole sum was does not appear ; but may be guessed by the particulars of one College, a Receipt for which is preserved among the Archives, and is as follows :

July 2d. 1642.

Dr. Bar-  
wick's Life,  
p. 22.

“ RECEIVED the day and year above-written of William  
“ Beale, Doctor in Divinity, Master of St. John's  
“ College in the University of Cambridge, for the King's  
“ use (according to the intendment and direction of his  
“ Majesty's Letters of the 29th of June last, to the Vice-  
“ Chancellor of the said University) the sum of one hun-  
“ dred and fifty Pounds. I say received from the Trea-  
“ sury of the said College by me

John Poley.

This Mr. Poley was Fellow of Pembroke Hall, and one of the Proctors of the University. When the King had got their money he sent to borrow their plate, under pretence of securing it from the Parliament; for this purpose he writ another Letter to the Vice-Chancellor, with directions to take an exact account, not only of the weight, but also of the form of every piece, together with the Names, Arms, and Motto's, of the respective donors, that if his Majesty should not preserve it entire as it was, he might restore it hereafter in the same weight and form, and with the same marks, all which he ensured upon his Royal Word. There is no account remaining of what Plate the Colleges delivered up for his Majesty's use, though many wished (says Mr. Fuller) that every ounce had been a pound for his sake; but in the Treasury of St. John's College there are the particulars of what Plate that College delivered in, together with the weight, forms, and names of the chief Benefactors, which amounts in the whole, according to Grocer's Weight, to two thousand sixty five ounces and a half, according to the following Receipt.

King  
Charles I.  
1642.

Aug. 8th 1642.

“ I Do acknowledge that there has been delivered to me, in the name, and on the behalf of the Master, Fellows, and Scholars of St. John's College in Cambridge, two Firr Boxes, marked with these three letters, S. J. C. containing in them all the severall pieces of plate above-written, which said plate weigheth, as appears by the particulars, two thousand sixty five ounces and a half, more or less, which they deposited into the King's hands for the security thereof, and his Majesty's Service, according to the tenor of his Majesty's Letters, written and directed to the Vice-Chancellor of the University.”

Life of Dr:  
Barwick,  
p. 24.

John Poley.

According to this calculation the King might receive from all the Colleges together about eight or ten thousand pounds in plate, besides money. Colonel Oliver Cromwell with his Company of Soldiers, endeavoured to intercept the Convoy, but under the conduct of Mr. Barnaby Oley their guide, who was acquainted with all the By-roads, they escaped the enemy, and delivered up their charge to the King about the time when he was setting up

Value of the  
whole.

King  
Charles I.  
1642.

Parliament  
resents it.

his Royal Standard at Nottingham. Cromwel having mis-  
sed the Convoy returned to Cambridge, and took possession  
of the Town and University for the Parliament, who be-  
ing acquainted with what was done, sent then an angry  
message, as they had done at Oxford, full of resentments,  
for their disposing of the publick money, contrary to the  
trust reposed in them. The Masters and Fellows excused  
themselves, by alledging the Royal Mandate; upon which  
the two Houses sent a Mandate of their own to the Vice-  
Chancellor and Heads of Colleges in Convocation assem-  
bled, desiring them to contribute their assistance to the  
Cause in which they [the Parliament] were engaged; but  
tho' (as Dr. Barwick observes) the Commander of the Gar-  
rison kept them sitting till Midnight they would lend no-  
thing, because they apprehended it to be contrary to Re-  
ligion and a good Conscience; the Houses therefore or-  
dered Dr. Beal, Dr. Martin, and Dr. Sterne, Masters of  
St. John's, Jesus, and Queen's College, into custody;  
upon which many of the Scholars deserted their stations,  
and listd into the King's Service.

King applies  
to the Papists.  
Compleat  
History,  
p. 131.  
Rushw.  
p. 621.

Besides the two Universities the King applied under-hand  
to the Papists, who were firm to his Interest, though he  
durst not as yet avow his correspondence with them; for  
in his Declaration of June 3, he assures the Ministers and  
Freeholders of Yorkshire, that he would not make use of  
Foreigners, nor of persons disaffected to the Protestant  
Religion—Again, we have taken order that the power of  
the Sword shall not come into the hands of Papists—  
August 10, his Majesty commands that no Papist should  
be listd as a Soldier in his Army; all which was to avoid  
as much as possible, the reproach of an Alliance with those  
People, who were at this time become infamous by the  
Irish Massacre. Though his Majesty had but few Roman  
Catholicks among his own forces, the Duke of Newcastle's  
Army was filled with them, and Popery was countenanced  
to that degree at York, that Mass was said in every street,  
and the Protestants so affronted, that they were almost  
afraid to go to Church. The King writ to his Roman  
Catholick Subjects to advance two or three years of the  
rent that they had paid as composition for their estates as  
Recusants; which they not only complied with, but writ  
to their friends abroad to borrow more; Proclamation was  
made at Bruges, and other parts of Flanders, that all peo-  
ple that would lend any money to maintain the Roman Ca-  
tholicks



tholicks in England, should have it repaid in a year's time with many thanks.

King  
Charles I.  
1642.

The Lancashire Papists having been lately disarmed by Order of Parliament, petitioned his Majesty, That since the War was begun, their Arms might be re-delivered, that they might be in a capacity to defend his Majesty's Royal Person, and their own Families. To which his Majesty consented in the following Words.

----“ The Laws for disarming Recusants being to prevent dangers in a time of peace, but intended not to bar you from the use of Arms in time of war for your own safety, or the defence of your person.-----Our Will and Command therefore is, and we charge and require you, upon your allegiance, that with all possible speed you provide sufficient Arms for yourselves, your servants, and your tenants, which we authorize and require you to keep and use for the defence of us, yourselves, and your Country, against all the forces raised against us, under colour of any order or ordinance of Parliament, and we shall use our utmost power to protect you and yours against all injuries and violence.”

Rushw.  
Vol. II.  
Part 3d.  
p. 50.

Given under our Signet at Chester, Sept. 27th, in the eighteenth year of our Reign.

Agreeably to this, Mr. George Tempest a Priest, writes to his brother in the King's Army, “ Our Priests at Lancaster are at liberty; Catholick Commanders are admitted, and all well enough that way; God Almighty (as I hope) will better prosper the Cause.” And another adds, That “ there is no persecution of Priest or Papist in Northumberland.”

When the Parliament objected this to his Majesty, and named the very Officers, he was highly displeased, and in his answer makes use of these solemn expressions. “ For that continued dishonest Accusation, of our inclination to Papists, which the authors of it in their own Consciences know to be most unjust and groundless, we can say no more, and we can do no more to the Satisfaction of the World----That any Priests or Jesuits imprisoned have been released by us out of the Gaol of Lancaster, or any other Gaol, is as false as the father of lies can invent. Neither are the persons named in that Declaration, to whom Commissions are supposed to be granted for places of Command in this War, so much as known

Rushw.  
Vol. II.  
Part 3d.  
p. 28.

“ to

King  
Charles I.  
1642.

“ to us ; nor have they any command, or to our Know-  
“ ledge are present in our Army. And 'tis strange, that  
“ our oaths and protestations before Almighty God, for  
“ the maintenance of the Protestant Religion, should be  
“ so slighted----We desire to have our protestations be-  
“ lieved by the Evidence of our actions.” Surely this  
solemn Appeal to Almighty God was ambiguous and eva-  
sive ! Or else we must conclude, that his Majesty was very  
little acquainted with what was done in his name, and by  
his Commission.

It was but five days after this, that the Mask was thrown  
off, for his Majesty confesses in his declaration of Oct. 27,  
That the malice and fury of his enemies had reduced him  
to the necessity of accepting the service and affection of  
any of his good Subjects, whatsoever their Religion was ;  
that he did know of some few Papists, whose eminent  
Abilities in command and conduct had moved him to em-  
ploy them in his Service ; but he assures his good Sub-  
jects, that he would always use his endeavours to suppress  
their Religion, by executing the Laws already in force  
against Papists and in concurring in any other remedies  
which his two Houses should think proper. But was this  
probable ? Could any one believe, that the King would sup-  
press that Religion whose Votaries he was inviting into his  
service ? Or, that the arming of Papists and employing  
them against Protestants, was the way to defend the Pro-  
testant Religion ? Whoever therefore advised this part  
of the King's declaration had very little regard to his Ma-  
jesty's honour. The disguise is so thin, that the meanest  
understanding must see through it.

The Parlia-  
ment confe-  
derate with  
the Scots.

As the King was reduced to the necessity of accepting  
the service and affection of the Papists ; so on the other  
hand, the Parliament took all imaginable care to cultivate  
a good correspondence with the Scots, and to secure that  
Nation in their interests. We have remembered that the  
Scots Commissioners at London offered their Mediation in  
the beginning of the year, which the Parliament accepted ;  
but the King, from his extreme hatred of the Presbyterian  
Discipline refused, commanding them to be content with their  
own Settlement, and not meddle in the affairs of another  
Nation. But the breach between the King and his two Houses  
growing wider, the Council of Scotland sent their Chancel-  
lor in the Month of May to renew their offers of a Media-  
tion between the two Parties, which the King rejected as  
before ; and the rather, because they still insisted upon the  
Abolishing

Abolishing of Episcopacy, which his Majesty believed to be of Divine Institution ; and upon an “ Uniformity of Presbyterian Government” in the two Nations : Whereas the Majority of both Houses being of Erastian Principles, were under no Difficulties about a Change of Discipline, apprehending that the Civil Magistrate might set up what Form of Government was most conducive to the good of the State. The Parliament therefore treated the Chancellor with great Respect, and not only accepted the Mediation, but writ to the General Assembly which was to meet in July, acquainting them with the Crisis of their Affairs, and desiring their Advice and Assistance in bringing about such a Reformation as was desired. To which the Assembly returned an Answer to the following Purpose, dated August 3, 1642.

“ **A**fter giving God Thanks for the Parliament’s Desire of a Reformation of Religion, and expressing their Grief that it moves so slowly——They observe, that their Commissioners, far from Arrogance and Presumption, had with great Respect and Reverence, expressed their Desires for “ Unity of Religion, that there might be one Confession of Faith, one Directory of Worship, one publick Catechism, and one Form of Church Government.” The Assembly (say they) now enter upon the Labours of the Commissioners, being encouraged by the zeal of former times, when their Predecessors sent a Letter into England against the Surplice, Tippet, and Corner Cap, in the year 1566, and again, in the years 1583, and 1589. They are now further encouraged by the King’s late Answer to their Commissioners in their Treaty for Ireland, wherein his Majesty approves of the Affection of his Subjects of Scotland, in their Desires of Conformity of Church Government ; by his Majesty’s late Practice while he was in Scotland, in resorting to their Worship, and establishing it by Act of Parliament. They are also encouraged by a Letter sent from many Reverend Brethren of the Church of England, expressing their Prayers and Endeavours against every thing that shall be prejudicial to the Establishment of the Kingdom of Christ. They therefore advise to begin with an Uniformity of Church Government ; for what hope can there be (say they) of “ one Confession of Faith, one Form of Worship and Catechism, till Prelacy be plucked up Root and Branch, as a Plant which God hath not planted ?” Indeed the Re-

King  
Charles I.  
1642.

Ham. Memoirs, B. III.  
P. 194.

Letter of the  
G. Assembly  
to the Par-  
liament.  
Rushw.  
Vol. II.  
Part 3d.  
p. 387.

“ formed



King  
Charles I.  
1642.

“ formed Kirks hold their Form of Government by Presbyteries to be Jure Divino, and perpetual, but Prelacy is almost universally held by the Prelates themselves to be a human Ordinance, and may therefore be altered or abolished in cases of necessity, without wronging any Man's Conscience; for the accomplishing of which they promise their best Assistance.”

Parliament's  
Reply.  
Rushw,  
Vol. II.  
Part 3d.  
P. 390.

In the Parliament's Answer to this Letter “ They acknowledge the Friendship of their Brethren of Scotland, and express their Desires of Unity in Religion, “ That in all his Majesty's Dominions there might be but one Confession of Faith and Form of Church Government;” and though this is hardly to be expected punctually and exactly, yet they hope, since they are guided by the same Spirit, they shall be so directed, as to cast out every thing that is offensive to God, and so far agree with the Scots, and other Reformed Churches, in the Substantials of Doctrine, Worship and Discipline, that there may be a free Communion in all holy Exercises and Duties of publick Worship, for the attaining whereof they intend an Assembly of godly and learned Divines, as soon as they can obtain the Royal Assent — We have entered into a serious Consideration (say they) what good we have received by the Government of Bishops, and do perceive it has been the occasion of many intolerable Burthens and Grievances, by their usurping a Pre-eminence and Power not given them by the Word of God, &c. We find it has also been pernicious to our Civil Government, insomuch as the Bishops have ever been forward to fill the Minds of our Princes with notions of an arbitrary Power over the lives and liberties of the Subject, by their Counsels and in their Sermons. Upon which accounts and many others, we do declare, that this Government by Archbishops, Bishops, their Chancellors and Commissaries, Deans and Chapters, Archdeacons, and other Ecclesiastical Officers depending upon the Hierarchy, is evil, and justly offensive and burdensome to the Kingdom, a great Impediment to Reformation, and very prejudicial to the Civil Government; and that we are resolved the same shall be taken away. And we desire our Brethren of Scotland to concur with us in petitioning his Majesty, that we may have an Assembly of Divines; and to send some of their own Ministers to the said Assembly, in order to obtain Uniformity in Church Government, that so a more easy passage may  
“ be

“ be made for settling one Confession of Faith, and Directory of publick worship, for the three Kingdoms.”

King  
Charles I.  
1642.

The King being alarmed with the harmony between the two Kingdoms, sent a warm Remonstrance to the Council of Scotland, Aug. 26, the very week he set up his Standard at Nottingham, in which he declares,

“ **T**HAT he desired Uniformity as much as they, in such a way as he in his Conscience thought most serviceable to the true Protestant Religion; but that his two Houses of Parliament had never made any Proposition to him since their meeting, concerning “ Uniformity of Church Government;” so far (says his Majesty) are they from desiring such a thing, “ That we are confident the most considerable Persons, and those who make the fairest Pretensions to you of that kind, will not sooner embrace a Presbyterial than you an Episcopal.” And truly it seems (notwithstanding whatsoever Profession they have made to the contrary) that nothing has been less in their minds, than settling the true Religion, and reforming such abuses in the Church as possibly may have crept in, contrary to the established Laws of the Land, to which we have been so far from being averse, that we have pressed them to it. And whenever any Proposition shall be made to us by them, which we shall conceive may advance the Unity of the Protestant Religion, according to the Word of God, or establish Church Government, according to the known Laws of the Kingdom, we shall let the world see, that nothing can be more agreeable to us than the advancing so good a work.”

King's Letter to Scotland. Ham. Memoirs, B. IV. p. 197.

Here his Majesty explains the Uniformity he all along intended, and very justly observes, that the Parliament no more believed the “ Divine Institution of Presbytry,” than the others did of Diocesan Prelacy; for though they were content, in order to secure the Assistance of the Scots Nation, to vote away the Hierarchy of Archbishops and Bishops, yet when they had conquered the King, and had nothing to fear from their neighbours, they could not be prevailed with to establish the Scots Presbytery, without a reserve of the power of the Keys to themselves.

Lord Clarendon observes very justly, “ That the Parliament were sensible they could not carry on the War but by the help of the Scots, which they were not to ex-  
“ pe&

Claren. Vol. II. p. 117.

King  
Charles I.  
1642.

“ peēt without an alteration of the Government of the  
“ Church, to which that Nation was violently inclined,  
“ But that very much the major Part of the Members that  
“ continued in the Parliament House were cordially affected  
“ to the established Government, At least not affected to  
“ any other.” But then to induce them to consent to such  
an Alteration, it was said the Scots would not take up Arms  
without it ; so that they must lose all, and let the King re-  
turn as a Conqueror, or submit to the Change. If it should  
be said, this would make a Peace with the King impracti-  
cable, whose Affection to the Hierarchy all Men knew ; it  
was answered, that it was usual in Treaties to ask more than  
was expected to be consented to ; and it may be, their de-  
parting from their Proposition concerning the Church, might  
prevail with the King to give them the Militia. Upon these  
motives the Bill to abolish Episcopacy was brought into the  
House, and passed the Commons September 1. and on the  
10th of the same Month it passed the Lords. The noble  
Historian says, that marvellous Art and Industry was used  
to obtain it ; that the Majority of the Commons were real-  
ly against it, and that it was very hardly submitted to by the  
House of Peers. But the writer of the Parliamentary Chron-  
icle, who was then at London, says the Bill passed Nullo  
Contradicente, not a negative Vote being heard among  
them all ; and that there were Bonfires and ringing of Bells  
for Joy all over the City.

Parl. Chron.  
p. 150.

Bill to abolish  
Episcopacy.

The Bill was entitled, “ An Act for the utter abolishing  
“ and taking away of all Archbishops, Bishops, their Chan-  
“ cellors and Commissaries, &c.”

“ It ordains, that after the 5th of November, 1643,  
“ there shall be no Archbishop, Bishop, Chancellor or Com-  
“ missary of any Archbishop or Bishop, nor any Dean, Sub-  
“ Dean, Dean and Chapter, Archdeacon, nor any Chancel-  
“ lor, Chaunter, Treasurer, Sub-Treasurer, Succentor or  
“ Sacrist of any Cathedral or Collegiate Church, nor any  
“ Prebendary, Canon, Canon Residentiary, Petty Canon,  
“ Vicar, Choral, Chorister, old Vicars or new Vicars, of  
“ or within any Cathedral or Collegiate Churches in Eng-  
“ land or Wales—That their Names, Titles, Jurisdictions,  
“ Offices, and Functions, and the having or using any Juris-  
“ diction or Power, by reason or colour of any such Names  
“ and Titles, shall cease, determine, and become absolutely  
“ void.

“ That all the Manors, Lordships, Castles, Messuages,  
“ Lands, Tenements, Rents, and all other Possessions  
“ and



“ and Hereditaments whatsoever, belonging to any Arch-  
“ bishop or Bishoprick, shall be in the real and actual pos-  
“ session, and seisin of the King's Majesty, his heirs and  
“ successors, to hold and enjoy in as ample a manner as  
“ they were held by any Archbishop or Bishop within two  
“ years last past, except Improvements, Parsonages, ap-  
“ propriate Tithes, Oblations, Obventions, Pensions, Por-  
“ tions of Tithes, Parsonages, Vicarages, Churches, Cha-  
“ pels, Advowsons, Nominations, Collations, Rights of  
“ Patronage and Presentation.

“ That all Improvements, Parsonages, Tithes, &c. and  
“ all other Hereditaments and Possessions whatsoever be-  
“ longing to any Dean, Subdean and Chapter, Archdea-  
“ con, or any of their Officers, be put into the hands of  
“ Trustees, to pay to all and every Archbishop, Bishop,  
“ Dean, Subdean, Archdeacon, and all other Officers be-  
“ longing to Collegiate and Cathedral Churches, such year-  
“ ly Stipends and Pensions as shall be appointed by Parlia-  
“ ment. And they shall dispose of all the aforesaid Ma-  
“ nors, Lands, Tithes, Appropriations, Advowsons, &c.  
“ for a competent maintenance for the support of  
“ such a number of preaching Ministers in every Cathedral  
“ and Collegiate Church as shall be appointed by Parlia-  
“ ment; and for the maintenance of preaching Ministers  
“ in other places of the Country where such maintenance  
“ is wanting; and for such other good uses, to the ad-  
“ vancement of Religion, Piety and Learning, as shall be  
“ directed by Parliament.

“ Provided, That all Revenues and Rents as have been,  
“ and now ought to be paid, for the maintenance of Gram-  
“ mar Schools or Scholars, or for the repairing any Church,  
“ Chapel, Highway, Causeway, Bridges, School-House,  
“ Alms-House, or other charitable uses, payable by any of  
“ the persons whose offices are taken away by this Act,  
“ shall be continued. Provided also, That this Act shall not  
“ extend to any College, Church, Corporation, Founda-  
“ tion, or House of Learning in either of the Universities.”

It may seem strange, that the Parliament should vote a-  
way the present Establishment before they had agreed upon  
another, but the Scots would not declare for them till they  
had done it. If the two Houses had been inclined to Pres-  
bytery (as some have maintained) it had been easy to have  
adopted the Scots Model at once; but as the Bill for extir-  
pating Episcopacy was not to take place till above a year  
forward, 'tis apparent they were not willing it should take

Remarks.

King  
Charles I.  
1642.

place at all, if in that time they could come to an accommodation with the King; and if the breach should then be open, they proposed to consult with an assembly of Divines what Form to erect in its place. Thus the old English Hierarchy was suspended, and lay prostrate for about eighteen years, but was never legally dissolved for want of the Royal Assent; and therefore at the restoration of King Charles II. it took place again, without any new law to establish it; which the Presbyterians, who were then in the saddle, did not understand or provide against as they might.

The war  
opens.

While the King and Parliament were thus strengthening themselves, and calling in to their aid all the assistances they could get, the scene of war began to open; his Majesty travelled with a large retinue into several of the Northern and Western Counties, summoning the people together, and in set speeches endeavouring to possess them of the justice of his cause, promising upon the word of a King, that for the future he would govern by law. Upon this assurance about forty Lords, and several Members that had deserted the House of Commons, signed an Engagement, "To defend his Majesty's person and prerogative, to support the Protestant Religion, established by law, and not to submit to any Ordinance of Parliament concerning the Militia that had not the Royal Assent." Great Numbers listed in his Majesty's Service, whereby an army was formed which marched a second time to the Siege of Hull.

Parliament  
vote the raising  
an army.

A week after the King was set down before this Fortress, and not before [July 12.] the two Houses, after long debates, came to this resolution, "That an army should be raised for the defence of the King and Parliament," that the Earl of Essex should be Captain General, and the Earl of Bedford General of the Horse, who were empowered to resist and oppose with force all such whom they should find in arms, putting in execution the King's Commission of Array. The reasons of this resolution arising from the King's extraordinary preparations for war, were published at the same time; and in their Declaration of Aug. 4. they say, "That they would have yielded up every thing to the King, could they have been assured, that by disarming themselves they should not have been left naked, while the military sword was in the hands of those evil Counsellors who they had reason to fear had vowed the destruction of the two Houses, and through their sides of the Protestant Religion; but being well acquainted with their designs, they apprehended that their duty to God

and

“ and their Country, obliges them to hazard every thing  
“ for the maintenance of the true Religion, the King’s  
“ person, honour and estate, and the liberties of England.”

On the 9th of August the King proclaimed the Earl of Essex and all his adherents Traitors, unless they laid down their arms within six days; and in another Manifesto he declared both Houses of Parliament guilty of High Treason, and forbid all his Subjects to yield obedience to them. The

Rapin, p.  
567.

Parliament also on their part, proclaimed all that adhered to the King in this cause “ Traitors against the Parliament  
“ and Kingdom.” August 12. the King by Proclamation commanded all his Subjects on the North of Trent, and within twenty miles south of it, to appear in arms for the suppressing the Rebels that were marching against him; and about the same time issued out another Proclamation, requiring all men who could bear arms to repair to him at Nottingham, where he intended to set up his Standard on Monday August 22. In the mean time his Majesty gave out new Commissions to augment his Forces, and marching through Lincoln he took away the arms of the Train Bands for the use of his Troops. At length being arrived at the appointed place, he caused his Standard to be erected in the open field, on the outside of the Castle Wall of Nottingham, but very few came to attend it; and the weather proved so stormy and tempestuous that it was blown down the same evening, and could not be fixed again in two days.

King sets up  
his Standard  
at Notting-  
ham.

Three weeks after this [September 9.] the Earl of Essex, the Parliament’s General, left London, to put himself at the head of their Army of fifteen thousand men at St. Albans. The King, with an army of equal strength, marched from Nottingham to Shrewsbury, and having refreshed his Forces there for some time, broke up October 12. in order to march directly for London, but the Earl of Essex putting himself in the way, both armies engaged at Edgehill, near Keinton in Warwickshire, on Sunday October 23. the very same day twelvemonth after the breaking out of the Irish Massacre; the Battle continued from three in the afternoon till night, with almost equal advantage, the number of slain on both sides being about four thousand. Thus the sword was drawn, which was dyed with the Blood of the inhabitants of this Island for several years, to the loss of as many Protestant lives as perished by the insurrection and massacre of Ireland.



## C H A P. XII.

The State of the Church of England. The Religious Character of both Parties. With a Summary of the Grounds of the Civil War.

King  
Charles I.  
1642.  
The Condi-  
tion of the  
Church.

WE have already seen the unsettled state of Religion upon the King's progress into Scotland, with the Complaints of the Royalists for want of Decency and Uniformity. The Hierarchy had for some time been a dead Weight, the springs that moved it being stopt, by the imprisonment of the Bishops, and the check that was given to the Spiritual Courts; but now the whole fabrick was voted away after a year, tho' when that was expired no other discipline was erected in its room; nor was the Name, Stile and Dignity of Archbishops and Bishops taken away by Ordinance of Parliament till Sept. 5. 1646. that is, till the War was over, and the King their prisoner. In this interval there was properly no establish'd Form of Government; the Clergy being permitted to read more or less of the Liturgy as they pleased, and to govern their Parishes according to their discretion. The Vestments were left indifferent, some wearing them, and others in imitation of the foreign Protestants, making use of a Cloak. Feb. 2. 1642-3. the Commons ordered, that the Statute of the University of Cambridge, which imposes the Use of the Surplice upon all Students and Graduates should not be pressed, as being against the Law and Liberty of the Subject; and three days after they made the same Order for the Schools of Westminster, Eaton, and Winchester. Bishop Kennet says, that Tithes were denied to those that read the Common Prayer; and 'tis as true, that they were withheld from those that did not read it, for many took advantage of the confusion of the times to ease themselves of a Burden for which some few pleaded Conscience, and others the uncertain title of those that claimed them.

Of the Ca-  
thedrals.

Though the Parliament and Puritan Clergy were averse to Cathedral Worship, that is, to a variety of musical instruments, Choristers, singing of Prayers, Anthems, &c. as improper for the solemnity and simplicity of Divine Service, yet was it not prohibited; and though the Revenues of Prebendaries and Deans, &c. had been voted useless, and more fit to be applied to the maintenance of preaching Ministers,  
yet

yet the stipends of those that did not take part with the King were not sequester'd till the latter end of the year 1645. when it was ordained, " That the Deans and Prebendaries " of Westminster who had absented themselves, or were " Delinquents, or had not taken the Covenant, should be " suspended from their several offices and places, except " Mr. Osbaldeston;" but the names, titles, and offices of Deans and Chapters, were not abolished, till after the King's Death, in the year 1649. thus cautiously did the Parliament proceed, as long as there was any prospect of an accommodation with the King. Indeed, the Beauty of the Cathedrals was defaced in some measure about this time, by the Ordinance for the removing Crucifixes, Images, Pictures, and other Monuments of Superstition out of Churches. Many fine paintings in the Windows and on the Walls were broken and destroy'd, without a decent repair of the damage. In Lambeth Chapel the Organ was taken down [Nov. 25.] The following Summer the Paintings, Pictures, superstitious Ornaments and Images were defaced, or removed out of the Cathedrals of Canterbury, Rochester, Chichester, Winchester, Worcester, Lincoln, Litchfield, Salisbury, Gloucester, St. Paul's in London, the Collegiate Church of Westminster, &c. " But (says my " Author) I do not find that they then seized the Revenues " and Estates of the Cathedrals, but contented themselves " with plundering and imprisoning some of the principal " Members, and dispersing many of the rest; and several " of those places coming afterwards into his Majesty's " Hands, the Service did not wholly cease, nor were the " Doors of those stately Fabricks finally closed at that " time."

King  
Charles I.  
1642.

Dr. Wal-  
ker's Suffer-  
ings of the  
Clergy.

Though the Discipline of the Church was dissolved, there was nevertheless an uncommon spirit of devotion among the people in the Parliament Quarters; the Lord's Day was observed with unusual Strictness, the Churches being crowded with numerous and attentive hearers three or four times in the day; the Officers of the Peace walked the Streets, and shut up all publick Houses; there was no travelling on the Road, nor walking in the Fields, except in cases of absolute necessity. Religious Exercises were set up in private Families, as reading the Scriptures, Family Prayer, repeating Sermons, and singing Psalms, which was so universal in the City of London, that you might walk the Streets on the Evening of the Lord's Day without seeing an

The strict  
Observation  
of the Sab-  
bath.

King  
Charles I.  
1642.

Plays and  
other Diver-  
sions put  
down.  
Ruslw.  
Vol. II.  
Part 3d.  
P. 1.

idle person, or hearing any thing but the voice of prayer or praise from the Churches and private Houses.

As is usual in times of publick Calamity, so at the breaking out of the Civil War, all publick Diversions and Recreations were laid aside. By an Ordinance of September 2. 1642. it was declared, that “Whereas publick Sports do not well agree with publick Calamities, nor publick Stage Plays with the Seasons of Humiliation; this being an exercise of sad and pious Solemnity; the other being spectacles of pleasure too commonly expressing lascivious Mirth and Levity; it is therefore ordained, that while these sad causes, and set times of Humiliation continue, publick Stage Plays shall cease and be forborn; instead of which are recommended to the people of this Land, the profitable Duties of Repentance, and making their peace with God.”

The month-  
ly Fast.

The set times of Humiliation mentioned in the Ordinance refer to the monthly Fast appointed by the King, at the request of the Parliament [Jan. 8. 1641.] on account of the Irish Insurrection and Massacre, to be kept every last Wednesday in the Month, as long as the calamities of that Nation should require it. But when the King set up his Standard at Nottingham, the two Houses apprehending that England was now to be the seat of War, published an Ordinance for the more strict observation of this Fast, in order to implore a divine Blessing upon the Consultations of Parliament, and to deprecate the calamities that threaten'd this Nation. All preachers were enjoined to give notice of it from the Pulpit the preceding Lord's Day; and to exhort their Hearers to a solemn and religious observation of the whole day, by a devout attendance on the service of God in some Church or Chapel, by Abstinence, and by refraining from worldly business and diversions: All publick Houses were likewise forbid to sell any sorts of Liquors (except in cases of necessity) till the publick Exercises and religious duties of the day were ended; which continued with little or no Intermission, from Nine in the Morning till Four in the Afternoon; all which length of time the people were at their Devotions, and the Ministers engaged in one part or other of divine Worship.

Rise of the  
Morning  
Lecture.

But besides the monthly Fast, the opening of the War gave rise to another, Exercise of Prayer, and Exhortation to Repentance, for an hour every Morning in the Week. Most of the Citizens of London having some near Relation or Friend in the Army of the Earl of Essex, so  
many



many Bills were sent up to the Pulpit every Lord's Day for their preservation, that the Minister had neither time to read them, nor to recommend their cases to God in prayer; it was therefore agreed by some London Divines, to separate an hour for this purpose every Morning, one half to be spent in prayer, and the other in a suitable Exhortation to the people. The Reverend Mr. Case, Minister of St. Mary Magdalen, Milk-street, began it in his Church at seven in the Morning, and when it had continued there a Month it was removed by turns to other Churches at a distance, for the accommodation of the several parts of the City, and was called the Morning Exercise. The service was performed by divers Ministers, and earnest intercessions were made in the presence of a numerous and crouded Audience, for the welfare of the Publick as well as particular cases. When the heat of the War was over, it became a Casuistical Lecture, and was carried on by the most learned and able Divines of those times till the Restoration of King Charles II. Their Sermons were afterwards published in several Volumes in Quarto, under the Title of the Morning Exercises; each Sermon being the Resolution of some practical case of Conscience. This Lecture, though in a different form, is continued among the Protestant Dissenters to this Day.

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1642.

Some time after another Morning Lecture was set up in the Abbey Church of Westminster, between the hours of six and eight, for the benefit of that part of the Town, and especially of the Members of Parliament; it was carried on by Dr. Staunton, Mr. Nye, Marshal, Palmer, Herle, Whittaker and Hill, all Members of the Assembly of Divines. In short, there were Lectures and Sermons every day in the Week in one Church or another, which were well attended, and with great appearance of zeal and affection. Men were not backward to rise before day, and go to places of worship at a great distance, for the benefit of hearing the Word of God. Such was the devotion of the City of London, and parts adjacent, in these dangerous times!

Nor was the Reformation of Manners less remarkable; the Laws against Vice and Profaneness were so strict, and so rigorously put in Execution, that Wickedness was forced to hide itself in Corners. There were no gaming Houses, nor Houses of Pleasure; nor was there any profane swearing, drunkenness, nor any kind of debauchery to be seen or heard in the Streets. It is commonly said, that the Re-

Reformati-  
on of Man-  
ners in the  
City and  
Parts adja-  
cent.

King  
Charles I.  
1642.

ligion of these times was no better than hypocrisy and dissimulation; and without all doubt, there were numbers of Men that made a form of Godliness a Cloak to Dishonesty; nay, 'tis probable, that hypocrisy, and other secret immoralities, might be the prevailing sins of the times, because all open vices were suppressed; but still I am persuaded, that the body of the people were sincerely religious, and with all their faults, I should rejoice to see in our days, such an appearance of Religion, and such an effectual discountenance of all kinds of vice and profaneness.

In the Camp  
of the Earl  
of Essex.  
Memorials,  
p. 68.

If we go from the City to the Camp of the Earl of Essex, we shall find no less probity of manners among them, for most of his Soldiers were such as did not fight so much for pay, as for Religion and the Liberties of their Country. Mr. Whitlock observes, "That Colonel Cromwel's Regiment of Horse were most of them Freeholders Sons, who engaged in the War upon principles of conscience; and that being well armed within, by the satisfaction of their Consciences, and without with good iron Arms, they would as one Man stand firmly and charge desperately. The same Author adds, that Colonel Wilson, who was Heir to an Estate of two thousand pounds a year, and was the only Son of his Father, put himself at the head of a gallant Regiment of Citizens, who listed themselves in the Parliament's Service purely upon Conscience; this (says he) was the condition of many others also of like quality and fortune in those times, who had such an affection for their Religion, and the Rights and Liberties of their Country, that "Pro Aris et focis" they were willing to undergo any hardships or dangers, and thought no Service too much or too great for their Country." The most eminent Divines went as Chaplains to the several Regiments; Dr. Burges and Mr. Marshall were Chaplains to the Earl of Essex's Regiment; Dr. Downing to Lord Roberts's; Mr. Sedgwick to Colonel Hollis's; Dr. Spurstow to Mr. Hampden's; Mr. Aske to Lord Brook's, &c. while these continued, none of the Enthusiastic Follies, that were afterwards a reproach to the army, discovered themselves. There were among them some that afterwards join'd the Sectaries; some that were mere mercenaries, and (if we may believe his Majesty's declaration after the battle of Edgehill) some disguised Papists; but upon the whole, Lord Clarendon confesses, that there was an exact

exact discipline in the Army; that they neither plunder'd nor robb'd the Country; all complaints of this kind being redress'd in the best manner, and the offenders punished. The Reverend Mr. Baxter, who was himself in the Army, gives this account of them. "The generality of those people throughout England who went by the Name of Puritans, Precisians, Presbyterians, who followed Sermons, prayed in their Families, read books of Devotion, and were strict observers of the Sabbath, being avowed enemies to Swearing, Drunkenness, and all kinds of Profaneness, adher'd to the Parliament; with these were mixed some young persons of warm heads, and enthusiastick principles, who laid the foundation of those Sects and Divisions which afterwards spread over the whole Nation, and were a disgrace to the Cause which the Parliament had espoused. Of the Clergy, those who were of the sentiments of Calvin, who were constant Preachers of the Word of God themselves, and encouragers of it in others; who were zealous against Popery, and wished for a reformation of the Discipline of the Church, were on the Parliament's side. Among these were some of the elder Clergy, who were preferred before the rise of Archbishop Laud; all the deprived and silenced Ministers, with the whole body of Lecturers and warm popular Preachers both in Town and Country; these drew after them great numbers of the more serious and devout people, who were not capable of judging between the King and Parliament, but followed their spiritual Guides from a veneration they had for their integrity and piety. Many went in to the Parliament, and filled up their Armies afterwards, meerly because they heard men swear for the Common-prayer and Bishops, and heard others pray that were against them: because they heard the King's Soldiers with horrid Oaths abuse the name of God, and saw them live in debauchery, while the Parliament Soldiers flocked to Sermons, talked of Religion, and prayed, and sung Psalms together on their guards. And all the sober men that I was acquainted with who were against the Parliament (says Mr. Baxter) used to say, "The King had the better Cause, but the Parliament had the better Men."

King  
Charles I.  
1642.

Mr. Baxter's  
Character of  
those that  
took part  
with the  
Parliament.  
Baxter's Life  
Fol. p. 26,  
31, 33, &c.

The Puritan [or Parliament] Clergy were zealous Calvinists, and having been prohibited for some years from preaching against the Arminians, they now pointed all their artillery against them, insisting upon little else in their Sermons,

Of the Puri-  
tan Clergy.



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Sermons, but the Doctrines of Predestination ; Justification by Faith alone ; Salvation by Free Grace ; and the Inability of Man to do that which is good. The duties of the second Table were too much neglected ; from a very strong aversion to Arminianism these Divines unnappily made way for Antinomianism, verging from one extreme towards the other, till at length some of the weaker sort were lost in the wild Mazes of enthusiastick Dreams and Visions, and others from false Principles pretended to justify the hidden works of Dishonesty. The Assembly of Divines did what they could to put a stop to the growth of these errors ; but the great scarcity of Preachers of a learned education, who took part with the Parliament, left some Pulpits in the Country empty, and the People to be led aside in many places, by every bold pretender to Inspiration.

Mr. Baxter's  
Account of  
them.  
Baxter's  
Life, p. 33,  
35, 37.

“ The generality of the stricter and more diligent sort of Preachers (says Mr. Baxter) joined the Parliament, and took shelter in their Garrisons ; but they were almost all conformable Ministers ; the Laws and the Bishops having cast out the Non-conformists long enough before, and not left above two in a County : Those who made up the Assembly of Divines, and who through the Land were the honour of the Parliament party, were almost all such as till then, had conformed, and took the Ceremonies to be lawful in cases of Necessity, but longed to have that Necessity removed.” He admits, “ That the younger, and less experienced Ministers in the Country, were against amending the Bishops and Liturgy, apprehending this was but gilding over their danger ; but that this was not the sense of the Parliament, nor of their principal Divines. The matter of Bishops or no Bishops (says he) was not the main thing, except with the Scots, for thousands that wished for good Bishops were on the Parliament side. Almost all those afterwards called Presbyterians, and all that learned and pious Synod at Westminster, except a very few, had been Conformists, and kept up an honourable esteem for those Bishops that they thought religious ; as Archbishop Usher, Bishop Davenant, Hall, Moreton, &c. These would have been content with an amendment of the Hierarchy, and went into the Parliament, because they apprehended the Interest of Religion, and Civil Liberties, were on that side.”

But the political Principles of these Divines gave the greatest disgust to the Royalists ; they encouraged the People

Their political Behaviour.

ple to stand by the Parliament, and preached up the lawfulness of defending their Religion and Liberties, against the King's evil Counsellors. They were for a limited Monarchy, agreeable to our present happy Constitution, for which, and for what they apprehended the Purity of the Protestant Religion, they contended, and for nothing more; but for this they have suffered in their moral Character, and have been left upon Record, as "Rebels, Traitors, Enemies to God and the King, &c." His Majesty, in one of his Declarations, calls them "ignorant in Learning, turbulent and seditious in Disposition, scandalous in Life, uncontentable to the Laws of the Land, Libellers, Revilers both of Church and State, and Preachers of Sedition and Treason itself." Lord Clarendon says, "That under the notion of Reformation, and extirpating Popery, they infused seditious inclinations into the hearts of men against the present Government of the Church and State; that when the Army was raised they contained themselves within no bounds, and inveighed as freely against the Person of the King as they had before against the worst Malignants, profanely and blasphemously applying what had been spoken by the Prophets against the most wicked and impious Kings, to stir up the People against their most gracious Sovereign." His Lordship adds, "That the Puritan Clergy were the chief Incendiaries, and had the chief Influence in promoting the Civil War. The Kirk Reformation in Scotland and in this Kingdom (says his Lordship) was driven on by no men so much as those of their Clergy; and without doubt the Archbishop of Canterbury never had such an influence over the Councils at Court, as Dr. Burges and Mr. Marshal had then on the Houses; nor did all the Bishops of Scotland together so much meddle in temporal affairs as Mr. Henderson had done."

King  
Charles I.  
1642.

Husb. Col's  
lect. p. 514

Vol. I. p.  
302.

Strange! when the Scots Bishops were advanced to the highest posts of Honour and civil Trust in that Kingdom; and when Archbishop Laud had the direction of all publick affairs in England, for twelve years together. Was not the Archbishop at the head of the Council Table, the Star Chamber and the Court of High Commission? Was not his Grace the contriver or promoter of all the Monopolies and Oppressions that brought on the Civil War? What could the Puritan Clergy do like this? Had they any places of Profit or Trust under the Government? Or any Commissions in the ecclesiastical Courts? Did they  
amafs

Their Vin-  
dication.

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amass to themselves great Riches or large Estates? No; they renounced all Civil Power and Jurisdiction, as well as lordly Titles and Dignities; and were, for the most part, content with a very moderate share of the World. If they served the Parliament Cause it was in visiting their Parishioners, and by their Sermons from the Pulpits: Here they spent their zeal, praying and preaching as men that were in earnest, for what they apprehended the Cause of God and their Country. But 'tis easy to remark, that the noble Historian observes no measures with the Puritan Clergy when they fall in his way.

Baxter's  
Life, p. 34.

Nor were the Parliament Divines the chief Incendiaries between the King and People, if we may believe Mr. Baxter, who knew the Puritans of those times much better than his Lordship. "It is not true (says this Divine) that they stirred up the people to war, there was hardly one such man in a County, though they disliked the late innovations, and were glad the Parliament was attempting a Reformation." They might inveigh too freely in their Sermons against the Vices of the Clergy, and the Severities of the late Times; but in all the Fast Sermons that I have read, for some years after the beginning of the war, I have met with no reflections upon the Person of the King, but a religious observation of that political Maxim, "The King can do no wrong."

But his Lordship adds, that "they profanely and blasphemously applied what had been spoken by the Prophets against the most wicked and impious Kings, to stir up the People against their most gracious Sovereign." If this were really the case, yet the King's Divines came not behind them in applying the absolute dominion of the Kings of Judah in support of the unbounded prerogative of the Kings of England, nor in cursing the Parliament, and pronouncing Damnation upon all that died in their service. I could produce a large Catalogue of shocking Expressions to this purpose, but I am no Advocate for such extremes; nor ought we to form our judgments of great bodies of men, from the excesses of a few.

We shall have an opportunity hereafter, of comparing the Learning of the Puritan Divines with the Royalists, when it will appear, that there were men of no less eminence for Literature with the Parliament than with the King, as the Seldens, the Lightfoots, the Cudworths, the Pococks, the Witchcots, the Arrowsmiths, &c. but as to their Morals, their



their very adversaries will witness for them. Dr. G. Bates an eminent Royalist in his *Elenchus*, gives them this character, “*Moribus severis essent, in concionibus vehementes, precibus & piis officiis prompti, uno verbo ad cætera boni, i. e.* They were Men of severe and strict morals, warm and affectionate Preachers, fervent in Prayer, ready to all pious Offices, and in a Word, otherwise, [that is abating their political principles] good men.” And yet with all their goodness they were unacquainted with the Rights of Conscience, and when they got the spiritual sword into their hands managed it not much better than their Predecessors the Bishops.

The Clergy that espoused the King's Cause were the “Bench of Bishops, the whole body of the Cathedral, and the major part of the parochial Clergy, with the heads, and most of the Fellows of both Universities,” among whom were men of the first rank for learning, politeness, piety, and probity of manners, as Archbishop Usher, Bishop Hall, Moreton, Westfield, Brownrigge, Prideaux, Dr. Hammond, Saunderson, &c. who joined the King, not only for the sake of their preferments, but because they believed the “Unlawfulness of the Subjects resisting their Sovereign in any Case whatsoever.” Among the Parochial Clergy were Men of no less name and character; Lord Clarendon says, “That if the Sermons of those times preached at Court were collected together, and published, the World would receive the best bulk of orthodox Divinity, profound Learning, convincing Reason, natural powerful Eloquence, and admirable devotion, that hath been communicated in any age since the Apostles Time.” And yet in the very same page he adds, “There was sometimes preached there, matter very unfit for the place, and scandalous for the persons.” I submit this paragraph to the Reader's Judgment; for I must confess, that after having read over several of these Court Sermons, I have not been able to discover all that Learning and persuasive Eloquence that his Lordship admires; nor can much be said for their orthodoxy, if the thirty nine Articles be the Standard. But whatever decency was observed at Court, there was hardly a Sermon preached by the inferior Clergy within the King's Quarters, wherein the Parliament Divines were not severely exposed and ridiculed, under the Character of Puritans, Precisians, Formalists, Sabbatarians, Canting Hypocrites, &c. Such was the Sharpness of Men's Spirits on both Sides!

Among

Of the  
King's  
Clergy.

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King  
Charles I.  
1642.

Among the Country Clergy there was great room for Complaints, many of them being Pluralists, Non-residents, ignorant and illiterate, negligent of their Cures, seldom or never visiting their Parishioners, nor discharging any more of their Function than would barely satisfy the Law. They took advantage of the Book of Sports to attend their Parishioners to their Wakes and Revels, by which means many of them became scandalously immoral in their Conversations. Even Dr. Walker admits, that there were among them Men of wicked Lives, and such as were a reproach and scandal to their function; the particulars of which had better have been buried than left upon Record.

Sufferings of  
the Clergy.  
p. 72.

Of the King's  
Army.

The common People that filled up the King's Army were of the looser sort; the chief Officers, as Lord Goring, Granville, Wilmot, and others, were of profligate lives, and made a jest of Religion; the private Centinels were Soldiers of fortune, and not having their regular pay, lived for the most part upon free plunder: When they took possession of a Town they rifled the Houses of all that were called Puritans, and turned their families out of doors. Mr. Baxter says, " That when he lived at Coventry after the battle of Edgehill, there were above thirty " worthy Ministers in that City who had fled thither for " refuge from the Soldiers and popular fury, as he himself " also had done, tho' they had never medled in the wars; " among these were the Reverend Mr. Vines, Mr. Anthony Burges, Mr. Burdal, Mr. Bromshil, Dr. Bryan, " Grew, Craddock, and others. And here (says he) I " must repeat the great Cause of the Parliament's strength; " and of the King's ruin; the debauched rabble, encouraged by his Gentry, and seconded by the common " Soldiers of his Army, took all that were called Puritans for their enemies; so that if any Man was " noted for a strict and famous Preacher, or for a Man " of a precise and pious life, he was plundered, abused, and put in danger of his life; if a Man prayed " in his family, or was heard to repeat a Sermon, or " sing a Psalm, they presently cried out Rebels, Roundheads, and all their money and goods proved guilty, " however innocent they were themselves. Upon " my certain Knowledge it was that filled the Armies and Garrisons of the Parliament with sober and " pious Men. Thousands had no mind to meddle in " the Wars, but to live peaceably at home, if the rage " of

Baxter's  
Life, p. 44.

“ of the soldiers and drunkards would have suffered them.  
 “ Some stayed at home till they had been imprison’d ;  
 “ some till they had been plundered twice or thrice over,  
 “ and had nothing left ; others were quite tired out with  
 “ the insolence of their neighbours ; with being quarter’d  
 “ upon, and put in continual danger of their lives, and so  
 “ they fought refuge in the Parliament Garrisons.”

King  
Charles I.  
1642.

This was so notorious, that at length it came to the King’s ear, who out of meer compassion to his distressed Subjects, issued out a Proclamation, bearing date Nov. 25. 1642. for the better Government of his Army ; the preamble to which sets forth, “ That his Majesty having taken  
 “ into his princely consideration, the great misery and ruin of his Subjects, by the plunderings, robbing, and  
 “ spoiling of their Houses, and taking from them their  
 “ money, plate, household stuff, Cattle, and other goods,  
 “ under pretence of their being disaffected to us and our  
 “ service, and these unlawful and unjust actions done by  
 “ divers soldiers of our army, and others sheltering themselves under that title ; his Majesty detesting such barbarous proceedings, forbids his officers and soldiers to make  
 “ any such seizures for the future, without his warrant.  
 “ And if they go on to plunder and spoil the people, by  
 “ taking away their money, plate, household goods, oxen,  
 “ sheep, or other cattle ; or any victuals, corn, hay, or  
 “ other provisions, going to or from any market, without  
 “ making satisfaction, his Majesty orders them to be proceeded against by martial Law.” This was as much as the King could do in his present circumstances ; but it had very little effect, for his Majesty having neither money nor stores for his army, the officers had them under no discipline, being forced to connive at their living at free quarter upon the people.

King’s Proclamation  
for the better Government of his Army.

Thus this unhappy nation was miserably divided, and thrown into convulsions, by an unnatural Civil War ; the Nobility and Gentry with their dependants, being chiefly with the King ; the Merchants, Tradesmen, substantial Farmers, and in general, the middle sort of people throughout the nation, being with the Parliament.

’Tis of little consequence to enquire, “ Who began this  
 “ unnatural and bloody War,” for if it was just and unavoidable on either side, none will blame them for taking all necessary precautions in their own defence, or making use of such advantages as providence put into their hands

The authors  
of the Civil War.



King  
Charles I.  
1642.

to defeat the designs of the enemy. His Majesty professed before God, to his Nobles at York, "That he had no intention to make War upon his Parliament." And in his last speech on the scaffold he affirms, "That he did not begin a War with the two Houses of Parliament, but that they began with him upon the point of the Militia; and if any body will look upon the dates of the Commissions (says his Majesty) theirs and mine, they will see clearly that they began these unhappy troubles, and not I." But with all due submission to so great an authority, Were the dates of Commissions for raising the Militia the beginning of the War? Were not the Crown Jewels first pawned in Holland, and Arms, Ammunition and Artillery, sent over to the King at York? Did not his Majesty summon the Gentlemen and Freeholders to attend him as an extraordinary Guard, in his progress in the North, and appear before Hull in a warlike manner, before the raising the Militia? Were not these warlike Preparations? Dr. Welwood says, and, I think, all impartial judges must think with him, that they look very much that way. Mr. Echard is surprized that "the King did not put himself into a posture of defence sooner;" but he would have ceased to wonder, if he had remember'd the Words of Lord Clarendon, "The reason why the King did not raise Forces sooner was, because he had neither Arms nor Ammunition, and till these could be procured from Holland, let his provocations and sufferings be what they could be, he was to submit and bear it patiently." It was therefore no want of Will, but mere Necessity, that hinder'd the King's appearing in arms sooner than he did. Father Orleans confesses, that it was agreed with the Queen in the Cabinet Council at Windsor, that while her Majesty was negotiating in Holland, the King should retire to York and there make his first Levies. He adds, "That all mankind believed that his Majesty was underhand preparing for War, that the sword might cut asunder those knots he had made with his pen."

The Queen.

But in order to excuse the unhappy King, who was sacrificed in the house of his friends, a load of guilt is, with great justice, laid upon the Queen, who had a plenitude of power over his Majesty, and could turn him about which way she pleased. Bishop Burnet says, "That by the liveliness of her discourse she made great impressions upon the King; so that to the Queen's want of judgment, and the King's

"OW

Hist. Life  
and Times.

“ own temper, the sequel of all his misfortunes was owing. Bishop Kennet adds, that the King’s Match with this Lady was a greater judgment upon the Nation than the plague which then raged in the Land; and that the influence of a stately Queen over an affectionate Husband proved very fatal both to Prince and People, and laid in a vengeance to future Generations.” The Queen was a great bigot to her Religion, and was directed by her Father Confessor to protect the Roman Catholicks, even to the hazard of the King’s Crown and Dignity. Though his Majesty usually consulted her Majesty in all affairs of State, yet she sometimes presumed to act without the King, and to make use of his name without his knowledge. “ It was the Queen that made all the great Officers of State (says Lord Clarendon) no preferments were bestowed without her Allowance.” She was an Enemy to Parliaments, and pushed the King upon the most arbitrary and unpopular actions, to raise the English Government to a level with the French. It was the Queen that countenanced the Irish Insurrection; that obliged the King to go to the House of Commons and seize the five Members; and that was at the head of the Council at Windsor, in which it was determined to break with the Parliament and prepare for War; this (says the noble Historian) (viz.) the King’s perfect adoration of his Queen, his resolution to do nothing without her, and his being inexorable as to every thing he promised her, “ was the Root and Cause of all other Grievances.” The two Houses often petitioned the King not to admit her Majesty into his Councils, nor to follow her advice in matters of State; but he was not to be moved from his too servile regards to her dictates, even to his death.

King  
Charles I.  
1642.  
Compl. Hist.

Sundry others of his Majesty’s Privy Council had their share in bringing on the calamities of the Civil War, tho’ when it broke out they were either dead, dispersed or imprisoned, as the Duke of Buckingham, Earl of Strafford, Archbishop Laud, Finch, Windebank, Noy, &c. These were the most busy Actors at the Council Table, the Star Chamber, and Court of High Commission, and were at the head of all the monopolies and illegal projects that enslaved the Nation for above twelve years, and might have done it for ever, had they been good husbands of the King’s Treasure, and not brought upon themselves the armed force of a neighbouring Nation. The politicks of these Statesmen were very unaccountable, for as long as they could sub-

Evil Coun-  
sellors.

King  
Charles I.  
1642.

list without a Parliamentary Supply, they went on with their Ship Money, Coat and Conduct Money, Monopolies, and all the other springs of the prerogative ; while the Parliament sat these were suspended, in expectation of a supply from the two Houses, before they enquired into the late inroads upon the constitution ; but when this could not be obtained they broke up the Parliament in disgust, fined and imprisoned the Members for their freedom of Speech in the House, and returned to their former methods of arbitrary Government. All King Charles's Parliaments were dissolved in this manner, even to the present, which would undoubtedly have been treated in the same way, had it not been for the Act of Constitution.

Warm Spi-  
rits in the  
House of  
Commons.

On the other hand, a spirit of English Liberty had been growing in the Nation for some years, and the late oppressions, instead of extinguishing it, had only kept it under ground, till having collected more strength, it broke out with the greater violence ; the Patriots of the Constitution watched all opportunities to recover it, and when they obtained a Parliament by the interposition of the Scots, were ready to take too severe a revenge upon their late oppressors, and to enter upon too violent measures in order to prevent the return of power into those hands that had so shamefully abused it. The five Members of the House of Commons, and their friends, who were concerned in inviting the Scots into England, saw their danger long before the King came to the House to seize them, which put them upon concerting measures "not only to restore the Constitution, but to lay "further Limitations upon the Royal power for a time," that they might not be exposed to the mercy of an incensed Prince as soon as he should be delivered from the present Parliament. 'Tis true, his Majesty offered a general Pardon at the breaking up of the Session, but these Members were afraid to rely upon it, because (as was said) there was no appearance that his Majesty would govern by Law for the future, any more than he had done before.

The King being made sensible of the designs of the Commons, watched all opportunities to disperse them, but not being able to gain his point, he determined to leave the two Houses, and act no longer in concert with them, which was in effect to break them up ; for to what purpose should the Houses sit, if the King will pass none of their Laws ; and forbid his Subjects to obey any of their Votes or Ordinances



nances without the Royal Assent? it was this divided and broke the Constitution, and reduced the Parliament to this dilemma, either to go home, and leave all things in the hands of the King and Queen, and their late Ministry; or to act by themselves, as the Guardians of the People, in a time of imminent danger: Had they dissolved themselves, or stood still while his Majesty had garrisoned the strong fortresses of Portsmouth and Hull, and got possession of all the Arms, Artillery and Ammunition of the Kingdom; had they suffered the Fleet to fall into his Majesty's hands, and gone on petitioning for the Militia, or for his Majesty's return to his two Houses of Parliament, till the Queen was returned with foreign Recruits, or the Irish at liberty to send his Majesty assistance from thence, both they, and we their posterity, must in all probability have been buried under the ruins of the liberties of our Country. The two Houses were not insensible of the risk they run in crossing the measures of their Sovereign, under whose Government they thought they were to live, and who had Counsellors about him who would not fail to put him upon the severest reprisals as soon as the Sword of the Kingdom should return into his hands; but they apprehended that their own and the publick safety was at stake; that the King was preparing to act against them, by raising extraordinary guards to his person, and sending for Arms and Ammunition from abroad; therefore they ventur'd to make a stand in their own defence, and to perform such Acts of Sovereignty as were necessary to put it out of the power of the Court to trample upon the Religion and Liberties of their Country.

But though in a just and necessary War, 'tis of little moment to enquire who began it, 'tis nevertheless of great consequence to consider on which side the justice of it lies. Let us therefore take a short view of the arguments on the King's side with the Parliament's Reply.

1. It was argued by the Royalists, " That all Grievances both real and imaginary were removed by the King's giving up Ship-Money, by his abolishing the Court of Honour, the Star-Chamber, and High Commission, and by his giving up the Bishops Votes in Parliament, &c.

The grounds and reasons on which it proceeded. Claren. Vol. I. p. 262.

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The Parliament Writers own these to be very important Concessions, but far from comprehending all the real and imaginary Grievances of the Nation, for the Queen was still at the head of his Majesty's Councils, without whose approbation no considerable affairs of Government were transacted. None of the Authors of the late oppressions were brought to justice, except the Earl of Strafford; and 'tis more than probable, that if the Parliament were dissolved they would not only be pardoned, but restored to favour. Though the Bishops were deprived of their Seats in Parliament, yet the defects in the publick Service (which the Puritans complain'd of) were almost untouched; nor were any effectual Measures taken to prevent the growth of Popery, which threaten'd the ruin of the protestant Religion.

2. It was argued further, " That the King had provided against any future oppressions of the Subject by consenting to the Act for Triennial Parliaments.

To which it was replied, that the Triennial Act, in the present situation of the Court, was not a sufficient security of our Laws and Liberties; for suppose at the end of three years, when the King was in full possession of the regal power, having all the Forts and Garrisons, Arms and Ammunition of the Kingdom at his disposal, with his old Ministry about him, the Council should declare, that the Necessity of his Majesty's Affairs obliged him to dispense with the Triennial Act, what Sheriff of a County, or other Officer, would venture to put it in execution? besides, had not the King, from this very principle, suspended and broke through the Laws of the Land for twelve years, before the setting of this present Parliament? and, did not his Majesty yield to the new Laws with a manifest reluctance? did he not affect to call them Acts of Grace and not of Justice? were not some of them extorted from him by such arguments as these? " That his consent to them being forced, " they were in themselves invalid, and might be avoided in " better times." Lord Clarendon says, he had reason to believe this; and if his Lordship believed it, I can't see how it can be called in question. Bishop Burnet is of the same mind, for in the History of his Life and Times he says, " That his Majesty never came " into his concessions seasonably, nor with a good Grace; " all appeared to be extorted from him; and there " were grounds to believe, that he intended not to " stand

“ to stand to them any longer, than he lay under that force  
“ that visibly drew them upon him, contrary to his Inclinations.” To all which we may add the Words of Father Orleans the Jesuit, who says, “ That all Mankind believed at that time, that the King did not grant so much  
“ but in order to revoke all.”

3. But it was said, “ That the King had seen his mistake, and had since vowed and protested in the most solemn Manner, that for the future he would govern according to Law.

To which it was replied ; That if the Petition of Right so solemnly ratified from the Throne, in presence of both Houses of Parliament, was so quickly broke through, what dependance could be had upon the Royal Promise? For though the King himself might be a Prince of Virtue and Honour, yet his Speeches (says Mr. Rapin.) were full of Ambiguities and secret Reserves, that left room for different Interpretations ; besides, many things were transacted without his Knowledge, and therefore so long as the Queen was at the Head of his Councils they looked upon his Royal Word but as the Promise of a Minor, or of a Man under superior Direction, which was the most favourable Interpretation could be made of the many Violations of it in the course of fifteen years. “ The Queen, who was  
“ directed by Popish Counsels (says Bishop Burnet) could,  
“ by her sovereign Power, make the King do whatsoever  
“ she pleased.”

4. It was further urged, “ That the Parliament had invaded the Royal Prerogative, and usurped the Legislative Power, without his Majesty’s Consent, by claiming the Militia, and the Approbation of the chief Officers both Civil and Military, and by requiring Obedience to their  
“ Votes and Ordinances.”

This the two Houses admitted, and insisted upon it as their Right, in cases of Necessity and of extreme Danger ; of which Necessity and Danger, they, as the Guardians of the Nation, and two Parts in three of the Legislature, were the proper Judges : “ The Question is not (say they)  
“ whether the King be the Fountain of Justice and Protection? or, Whether the Execution of the Laws belongs primarily to him? But if the King shall refuse to  
“ discharge that Duty and Trust, and shall desert his Parliament, and in a manner abdicate the Government,  
“ Whether there be not a Power in the two Houses to provide for the Safety and Peace of the Kingdom? or, If



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1642.

“ there be no Parliament sitting, whether the Nation does  
“ not return to a State of Nature, and is not at liberty to  
“ provide for its own defence by extraordinary methods ?”  
This seems to have been the Case in the late Glorious Revolution of King William and Queen Mary, when the Constitution being broken, a Convention of the Nobility and Commonalty was summoned without the King’s Writ, to restore the Religion and Liberties of the people, and place the Crown upon another Head.

5. But the King on his part maintained, “ That there  
“ was no Danger from him, but that all the Danger was  
“ from a malignant party in the Parliament, who were  
“ subverting the Constitution in Church and State. His  
“ Majesty averred, That God and the Laws had intrusted  
“ him with the Guardianship and Protection of his people,  
“ and that he would take such care of them as he should be  
“ capable of answering for it to God.”

With regard to Dangers and Fears the Parliament appeared to the whole world, Whether there were not just Grounds for them, after his Majesty had broke through the Petition of Right, and attempted to break up the present Parliament, by bringing the Army to London; after he had entered their House with an armed Force, to seize five of their Members; after he had deserted his Parliament, and resolved to act no longer in concert with them; after his Majesty had begun to raise Forces under pretence of an extraordinary Guard to his Person, and endeavoured to get the Forts and Ammunition of the Kingdom into his Possession, against the time when he should receive Supplies from abroad; after they had seen the dreadful Effects of a bloody and unparallel’d Insurrection and Massacre of the Protestants in Ireland, and were continually alarmed with the Increase, and insolent Behaviour of the Papists at home; and lastly, after they found it impracticable, by their most humble Petitions and Remonstrances, to remove the Queen and her Cabal of Papists from the Direction of the King’s Councils; after all these things (says they)  
“ We must maintain the Grounds of our Fears to be of  
“ that Moment, that we cannot discharge the Trust and  
“ Duty which lies upon us, unless we do apply ourselves to  
“ the use of those means, which God and the Laws have  
“ put into our hands, for the necessary defence and safety  
“ of the Kingdom.”

Rapin, p.  
468.

There

King  
Charles I.  
1642.

Jealousies on  
both sides.

There were certainly strong, and perhaps unreasonable Jealousies, and Apprehensions of Danger on both Sides. The King complained, that he was driven from Whitehall by popular Tumults, where neither his Person nor Family were in Safety. He was jealous (as he said) for the Laws and Liberties of his People, and was apprehensive that his Parliament intended to change the Constitution, and to wrest the Royal Scepter and Sword out of his hands. On the other Side, the two Houses had their "Fears and Distrusts of their own and the publick Safety;" they were apprehensive, that if they put all the Forts and Garrisons of the Kingdom, with the Power of the Sword, into the King's Hand, when they were dissolved, his Majesty, by the Influence of his Queen and his old Counsellors, would return to his Maxims of arbitrary Power, and never call another Parliament; that he would take severe Revenge upon those Members that had exposed his Government, and disgraced his Ministers; and, in a word, that he would break through the late Laws, as having been extorted from him by Violence and Force; but it was very much in the King's Power, even to the Treaty of Uxbridge in the year 1644-5, to have removed their Distrusts, and thereby have saved both Church and Nation; for, says the noble Historian, "The Parliament took none of the Points of Controversy less to Heart, or were less united in any thing than what concerned the Church." And with regard to the State, "That many of them were for Peace, provided they might have indemnity for what was passed, and Security for time to come." Why then was not this Indemnity, and Security offered? Which must necessarily have divided the Parliamentarians, and obliged the most rigorous to recede from their high and exorbitant Demands? And by consequence have restored the King to the peaceable possession of his Throne.

Vol. II. p.  
581, 594.

Upon the whole, if we believe with the noble Historian and the Writers on that Side, "That the King was driven by Violence from his Palace at Whitehall, and could not return with Safety; that all real and imaginary Grievances of Church and State were redressed; and that the Kingdom was sufficiently secured from all future Inroads of Popery and arbitrary Power by the Laws in being;" then the Justice and Equity of the War was most certainly with the King. But if we believe, "That the King voluntarily deserted his Parliament, and that it was owing alone to his Majesty's own peremp-

The Conclusion.

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Charles I.  
1642.

tory resolution, that he would not return (as Lord Clarendon observes.) If by this means the Constitution was broken, and the ordinary course of Justice necessarily interrupted. If there were sundry Grievances still to be redressed, and the King resolved to shelter himself under the Laws in being, and to make no further concessions. If there were just reasons to fear, with Bishop Burnet and Father Orleans, that the King would abide by the late laws no longer than he was under that force that brought them upon him." In a word, "If in the Judgment of the majority of Lords and Commons, the kingdom was in imminent danger of the return of Popery and arbitrary Power, and his Majesty would not condescend so much as to a temporary Security for their satisfaction;" then we must conclude, that the Cause of the Parliament, at the setting out of the War, and for some years after, was not only justifiable, but commendable and glorious; especially, if we may believe their most solemn Protestation, in the Presence of Almighty God, to the Kingdom and the whole World; "That no private passion or respect, no evil intention to his Majesty's Person, no designs to the prejudice of his just Honour or Authority, had engaged them to raise Forces, and take up arms against the Authors of this War in which the Kingdom is inflamed."

Rushw.  
Vol. II.  
Part 3d.  
p. 264







# APPENDIX.

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ARTICLES of RELIGION agreed upon by the Archbishops and Bishops, and the rest of the Clergy of Ireland, in the Convocation holden at Dublin in the Year of our Lord 1615. for the avoiding of Diversities of Opinions, and the establishing of Consent touching true Religion.

N. B. In these Articles are comprehended almost Word for Word the nine Articles agreed on at Lambeth the 20th of November 1595. This Mark † in the Margin points at each of them, and their Number.

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Of the Holy Scripture and the three Creeds.

1. **T**HE Ground of our Religion, and the Rule of Faith, and all saving Truth, is the Word of God, contained in the Holy Scripture.
2. By the name of Holy Scripture we understand all the Canonical Books of the Old and new Testament, viz.

Of

## Of the Old Testament.

|                                     |  |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| The five Books of Moses,            | Job,                                     |
| Joshua,                             | Psalms,                                  |
| Judges,                             | Proverbs,                                |
| Ruth,                               | Ecclesiastes,                            |
| The first and second of Samuel,     | The Song of Solomon,                     |
| The first and second of Kings,      | Isaiah,                                  |
| The first and second of Chronicles, | Jeremiah, his Prophecy and Lamentations, |
| Ezra,                               | Ezekiel,                                 |
| Nehemiah,                           | Daniel,                                  |
| Esther,                             | The Twelve less Prophets.                |

## Of the New Testament.

|  |  |
|--|--|
| The Gospels according to Matthew,                | The first and second Epistle to the Thessalonians, |
| Mark,  | The first and second Epistle to Timothy,           |
| Luke,  | Titus,   |
| John,  | Philemon,  |
| The Acts of the Apostles,                        | Hebrews,   |
| The Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans,           | The Epistle of St. James,                          |
| The first and second Epistle to the Corinthians, | The two Epistles of St. Peter,                     |
| Galatians,                                       | The three Epistles of St. John,                    |
| Ephesians,                                       | St. Jude,  |
| Philippians,                                     | The Revelation of St. John.                        |
| Colossians,                                      |  |

All which we acknowledge to be given by the Inspiration of God, and in that regard to be of most certain Credit and highest Authority.

3. The other Books, commonly called Apocryphal, did not proceed from such inspiration, and therefore are not of sufficient Authority to establish any Point of Doctrine; but the Church doth read them as Books containing many worthy Things for Example of Life and Instruction of Manners.

Such

Such are these following ;

|                             |                              |
|-----------------------------|------------------------------|
| The third Book of Esdras,   | Baruch, with the Epistle of  |
| The fourth Book of Esdras,  | Jeremiah,                    |
| The Book of Tobias,         | The Song of the three Chil-  |
| The Book of Judith,         | dren,                        |
| Additions to the Book of    | Sufanna,                     |
| Esther,                     | Bell and the Dragon,         |
| The Book of Wisdom,         | The Prayer of Manasses,      |
| The Book of Jesus the Son   | The first Book of Maccabees, |
| of Sirach, called Ecclesia- | The second Book of Macca-    |
| sticus,                     | bees.                        |

4. The Scriptures ought to be translated out of the Original Tongues into all Languages, for the common Use of all Men. Neither is any Person to be discouraged from reading the Bible in such a Language as he doth understand, but seriously exhorted to read the same with great Humility and Reverence, as a special Means to bring him to the true Knowledge of God, and of his own Duty.

5. Although there be some hard things in the Scripture (especially such as have proper relation to the times in which they are first uttered, and prophecies of things which were afterwards to be fulfilled) yet all things necessary to be known unto everlasting Salvation are clearly delivered therein; and nothing of that Kind is spoken under dark Mysteries in one place, which is not in other places spoken more familiarly and plainly to the capacity both of learned and unlearned.

6. The Holy Scriptures contain all Things necessary to Salvation, and are able to instruct sufficiently in all Points of Faith that we are bound to believe, and all good Duties that we are bound to practise.

7. All and every the Articles contained in the Nicene Creed, the Creed of Athanasius, and that which is commonly called the Apostles Creed, ought firmly to be received and believed, for they may be proved by most certain Warrant of Holy Scripture.



## Of Faith in the Holy Trinity.

8. **T**HERE is but one Living and true God everlasting, without Body, Parts, or Passions, of infinite Power, Wisdom and Goodness; the Maker and Preserver of all Things, both visible and invisible. And in Unity of this Godhead there be three Persons of One and the same Substance, Power and Eternity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

9. The Essence of the Father doth not beget the Essence of the Son; but the Person of the Father begetteth the Person of the Son, by communicating his whole Essence to the Person begotten from Eternity.

10. The Holy Ghost proceeding from the Father and the Son, is of one Substance, Majesty and Glory, with the Father and the Son, very and eternal God.

## Of God's eternal Decree, and Predestination.

11. **G**OD from all Eternity did, by his unchangeable Counsel, ordain whatsoever in time should come to pass; yet so, as thereby no Violence is offered to the Wills of the reasonable Creatures, and neither the Liberty nor the Contingency of the second Causes is taken away, but established rather.

† I. 12. "By the same eternal Counsel God hath predestinated some unto Life, and reprobated some unto Death;  
† III. "of both which there is a certain Number, known only  
"to God, which can neither be increased nor diminished."  
"ed."

13. Predestination to Life is the everlasting Purpose of God, whereby before the Foundations of the World were laid, he hath constantly decreed in his secret Counsel, to deliver from Curse and Damnation, those whom he hath chosen in Christ out of Mankind, and to bring them by Christ unto everlasting Salvation, as Vessels made to Honour.

† II. 14. "The Cause moving God to predestinate unto  
"Life, is not the foreseeing of Faith, or Perseverance, or  
"good Works, or of any Thing which is in the Person  
"predestinated, but only the good Pleasure of God him-  
"self." For all Things being ordained for the Manifestation of his Glory, and his Glory being to appear, both in the

the Works of his Mercy and of his Justice, it seemed good to his heavenly Wisdom to choose out a certain Number towards whom he would extend his undeserved Mercy, leaving the rest to be Spectacles of his Justice.

15. Such as are predestinated unto Life be called according unto God's Purpose (his Spirit working in due Season) and through Grace they obey the Calling, they be justified freely ; they be made Sons of God by Adoption ; they be made like the Image of his only begotten Son Jesus Christ, they walk religiously in good Works, and at length by God's Mercy they attain to everlasting Felicity. " But such as iv. †  
" are not predestinated to Salvation shall finally be condemned for their Sins."

16. The godly Consideration of Predestination, and our Election in Christ, is full of sweet, pleasant, and unspeakable Comfort to godly Persons, and such as feel in themselves the Working of the Spirit of Christ, mortifying the Works of the Flesh, and their earthly Members, and drawing up their Minds to high and heavenly Things, as well because it doth greatly confirm and establish their Faith of eternal Salvation to be enjoyed through Christ, as because it doth fervently kindle their Love towards God ; and on the contrary side, for curious and carnal Persons, lacking the Spirit of Christ, to have continually before their Eyes the Sentence of God's Predestination, is very dangerous.

17. We must receive God's Promises in such wise as they be generally set forth unto us in Holy Scripture ; and in our Doings, that Will of God is to be followed which we have expressly declared unto us in the Word of God.

### Of the Creation and Government of all Things.

18. **I**N the Beginning of Time, when no Creature had any Being, God by his Word alone, in the Space of six Day, created all Things ; and afterwards by his Providence doth continue, propagate, and order them according to his own Will.

19. The principal Creatures are Angels and Men.

20. Of Angels, some continued in that holy State wherein they were created, and are by God's Grace for ever established therein ; others fell from the same, and are reserved in Chains of Darkness unto the Judgment of the great Day.

21. Man being at the beginning created according to the Image of God (which consisted especially in the Wisdom of his Mind, and the true holiness of his Free-will) had the Covenant of the Law ingrafted in his heart, whereby God did promise unto him everlasting Life, upon condition that he performed entire and perfect obedience unto his Commandments, according to that measure of strength wherewith he was endued in his Creation, and threaten'd death unto him if he did not perform the same.

Of the Fall of Man, Original Sin, and the State of Man before Justification.

22. **B**Y one man Sin entered into the World, and Death by Sin, and so Death went over all men, for as much as all have sinned.

23. Original Sin standeth not in the imitation of Adam (as the Pelagians dream) but is the fault and corruption of the nature of every person that naturally is ingender'd and propagated from Adam, whereby it cometh to pass, that man is deprived of original righteousness, and by nature is bent unto Sin; and therefore in every Person born into the world it deserveth God's Wrath and Damnation.

24. This Corruption of Nature doth remain even in those that are regenerated, whereby the flesh always lusteth against the spirit, and cannot be made subject to the Law of God. And howsoever, for Christ sake, there be no condemnation to such as are regenerate and do believe, yet doth the Apostle acknowledge, that in itself this concupiscence hath the nature of Sin.

† IX.

25. "The condition of Man, after the Fall of Adam is such, that he cannot turn and prepare himself, by his own natural strength and good works, to faith, and calling upon God." Wherefore we have no power to do good works, pleasing and acceptable unto God, without the grace of God preventing us, that we may have a good will, and working with us, when we have that good will.

26. Works done before the grace of Christ, and the inspiration of his Spirit, are not pleasing unto God, for as much as they spring not of Faith in Jesus Christ, neither do they make men meet to receive Grace, or (as the School-Authors say) deserve Grace of Congruity; yea rather,



ther, for that they are not done in such sort as God hath willed and commanded them to be done, we doubt not but they are sinful.

27. All sins are not equal, but some far more heinous than others; yet the very least is of its own nature mortal, and without God's Mercy maketh the offender liable unto everlasting damnation.

28. God is not the author of Sin; howbeit he doth not only permit, but also by his providence govern and order the same, guiding it in such sort by his infinite Wisdom, as it turneth to the manifestation of his own Glory, and to the good of his Elect.

Of Christ, the Mediator of the second Covenant.

29. **T**HE Son, which is the word of the Father, begotten from everlasting of the Father, the true and eternal God, of one Substance with the Father, took man's nature in the Womb of the blessed Virgin, of her substance; so that two whole and perfect Natures, that is to say, the Godhead and Manhood, were inseparably joined in one Person, making one Christ, very God and very man.

30. Christ, in the truth of our nature, was made like unto us in all things, Sin only excepted, from which he was clearly void, both in his Life and in his Nature. He came as a Lamb without spot to take away the Sins of the World, by the sacrifice of himself once made, and Sin (as St. John saith) was not in him. He fulfilled the law for us perfectly; for our sakes he endured most grievous torments immediately in his Soul, and most painful sufferings in his Body. He was crucified, and died to reconcile his Father unto us; and to be a sacrifice not only for original guilt, but also for all our actual transgressions. He was buried and descended into Hell, and the third day rose from the dead, and took again his body, with flesh, bones, and all things appertaining to the perfection of man's nature, wherewith he ascended into Heaven, and there sitteth at the right hand of his Father, until he return to judge all men at the last day.

## Of the communicating of the Grace of Christ.

31. **T**HEY are to be condemned that presume to say, that every man shall be saved by the Law or Sect which he professeth, so that he be diligent to frame his life according to that Law, and the Light of Nature ; for holy Scripture doth set out unto us only the name of Jesus Christ whereby men must be saved.

† VIII.

32. “ None can come unto Christ unless it be given unto him, and unless the Father draw him. And all men are not so drawn by the Father, that they may come unto the Son ; neither is there such a sufficient measure of Grace vouchsafed unto every man, wherereby he is enabled to come unto everlasting Life.”

† VII.

33. All God’s Elect are in their time inseparably united unto Christ, by the effectual and vital influence of the Holy Ghost, derived from him, as from the Head, unto every true member of his mystical Body. And being thus made one with Christ they are truly regenerated, and made partakers of him and all his Benefits.

## Of Justification and Faith.

34. **W**E are accounted righteous before God, only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, applied by Faith, and not for our own Works or Merits. And this Righteousness, which we so receive of God’s Mercy and Christ’s Merits, embraced by Faith, is taken, accepted, and allowed of God, for our perfect and full Justification.

35. Although this Justification be free unto us, yet it cometh not so freely unto us, that there is no ransom paid therefore at all. God shewed his great Mercy in delivering us from our former captivity, without requiring of any ransom to be paid, or amends to be made on our parts, which thing by us had been impossible to be done. And whereas all the world was not able of themselves to pay any part towards their ransom, it pleased our heavenly Father, of his infinite mercy, without any desert of ours, to provide for us the most precious merits of his own Son, whereby our Ransom might be fully paid, the Law fulfilled, and his Justice fully satisfied ; so that Christ is now the Righteousness of all them that truly believe in him :

He

He for them paid their Ransom by his Death; he for them fulfilled the Law in his Life; that now in him, and by him, every true Christian Man may be called a Fulfiller of the Law; for as much as that which our Infirmary was not able to effect, Christ's Justice hath performed; and thus the Justice and Mercy of God do embrace each other, the Grace of God not shutting out the Justice of God in the matter of our Justification, but only shutting out the Justice of Man (that is to say, the Justice of our own Works) from being any Cause of deserving our Justification.

36. When we say, that we are justified by Faith only, we do not mean, that the said justifying Faith is alone in Man without true Repentance, Hope, Charity, and the Fear of God; (for such a Faith is dead, and cannot justify) neither do we mean, that this our Act to believe in Christ, or this our Faith in Christ, which is within us, doth of it self justify us, or deserve our Justification unto us (for that were to account ourselves to be justified by the Virtue or Dignity of something that is within ourselves;) but the true Understanding and Meaning thereof is, that although we hear God's Word and believe it; although we have Faith, Hope, Charity, Repentance, and the Fear of God within us, and add never so many good Works thereunto, yet we must renounce the Merit of all our said Virtues, of Faith, Hope, Charity, and all our other Virtues and good Deeds, which we either have done, shall do, or can do, as Things that be far too weak and imperfect, and insufficient to deserve Remission of our Sins and our Justification; and therefore we must trust only in God's Mercy, and the Merits of his most dearly beloved Son, our only Redeemer, Saviour, and Justifier, Jesus Christ. Nevertheless, because Faith doth directly send us to Christ for our Justification, and that by Faith, given us of God, we embrace the Promise of God's Mercy, and the Remission of our Sins (which Thing none other of our Virtues or Works properly doth) therefore the Scripture useth to say, that "Faith without Works," and the antient Fathers of the Church to the same purpose, that "only Faith" doth justify us.

37. By justifying Faith we understand not only the common Belief of the Articles of Christian Religion, and a Perswasion of the Truth of God's Word in general, but also a particular Application of the gracious Promises of



- the Gospel to the Comfort of our own Souls, whereby we lay hold on Christ with all his Benefits, having an earnest Trust and Confidence in God, that he will be merciful unto us for his only Son's sake. “ So that a true Believer  
 † vi. “ may be certain, by the Assurance of Faith, of the Forgiveness of his Sins, and of his everlasting Salvation by  
 “ Christ.”  
 † v. 38. “ A true lively justifying Faith, and the sanctifying  
 “ Spirit of God, is not extinguished, nor vanisheth away in  
 “ the regenerate, either finally or totally.”

### Of Sanctification and good Works.

39. **A**LL that are justified are likewise sanctified, their Faith being always accompanied with true Repentance and good Works.

40. Repentance is a Gift of God, whereby a godly Sorrow is wrought in the Heart of the Faithful for offending God, their merciful Father, by their former Transgressions, together with a constant Resolution for the time to come to cleave unto God, and to lead a new Life.

41. Albeit that good Works, which are the Fruits of Faith, and follow after Justification, cannot make Satisfaction for our Sins, and endure the Severity of God's Judgment, yet are they pleasing to God, and accepted of him in Christ, and do spring from a true and lively Faith, which by them is to be discerned, as a Tree by the Fruit.

42. The Works which God would have his People to walk in, are such as he hath commanded in his Holy Scripture, and not such Works as Men have devised out of their own Brain, of a blind Zeal and Devotion, without the Warrant of the Word of God.

43. The regenerate cannot fulfil the Law of God perfectly in this Life, for in many Things we offend all; “ and if  
 “ we say we have no Sin, we deceive ourselves, and the  
 “ Truth is not in us.”

44. Not every heinous Sin willingly committed after Baptism, is Sin against the Holy Ghost and unpardonable; and therefore to such as fall into Sin after Baptism, place for Repentance is not to be denied.

45. Voluntary Works, besides, over and above God's Commandments, which they call Works of Supererogation, cannot be taught without Arrogancy and Impiety;  
 for

for by them Men do declare, that they do not only render unto God as much as they are bound to do, but that they do more for his sake than of bounden Duty is required.

### Of the Service of God.

46 **O**UR Duty towards God, is to believe in him, to fear him, and to love him with all our Hearts, with all our Mind, and with all our Soul, and with all our Strength; to worship him and to give him thanks, to put our whole Trust in him, to call upon him, to honour his holy Name and his Word, and to serve him truly all the Days of our Life.

47. In all our necessities we ought to have recourse unto God by Prayer, assuring ourselves, that whatsoever we ask of the Father in the Name of his Son (our only Mediator and Intercessor) Christ Jesus, and according to his Will, he will undoubtedly grant it.

48. We ought to prepare our Hearts before we pray, and understand the Things that we ask when we pray, that both our Hearts and Voices may together sound in the Ears of God's Majesty.

49. When Almighty God smiteth us with Affliction, or some great Calamity hangeth over us, or any other weighty Cause so requireth, it is our Duty to humble ourselves in fasting, to bewail our Sins with a sorrowful Heart, and to addict ourselves to earnest Prayer, that it might please God to turn his Wrath from us, or supply us with such Graces as we greatly stand in need of.

50. Fasting is a with-holding of Meat, Drink, and all natural Food, with other outward Delights, from the Body, for the determined Time of Fasting. "As for those Abstinencies which are appointed by publick Order of our State, for eating of Fish, and forbearing of Flesh at certain Times and Days appointed, they are no ways meant to be religious Fasts nor intended for the Maintenance of any Superstition in the Choice of Meats, but are grounded meerly upon politick Considerations, for Provision of Things tending to the better Preservation of the Commonwealth."

51. We must not fast with this Persuasion of Mind, that our fasting can bring us to Heaven, or ascribe outward Holiness to the Work wrought; for God alloweth not our Fast for the Work's sake (which of itself is a Thing meerly in-

different) but chiefly respecteth the Heart, how it is affected therein; it is therefore requisite, that first before all Things we cleanse our Hearts from Sin, and then direct our Fast to such Ends as God will allow to be good; that the Flesh may thereby be chastised, the Spirit may be more fervent in Prayer, and that our Fasting may be a Testimony of our humble Submission to God's Majesty, when we acknowledge our Sins unto him, and are inwardly touched with sorrowfulness of Heart, bewailing the same in the Affliction of our Bodies.

52. All worship devised by Man's Fantasy, besides or contrary to the Scriptures (as wandering on Pilgrimages, setting up of Candles, Stations, and Jubilies, Pharisaical Sects, and feigned Religions, praying upon Beads, and such like Superstition) hath not only no Promise of Reward in Scripture, but contrariwise, Threatnings and Maledictions.

53. All manner of expressing God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, in an outward Form, is utterly unlawful; as also all other Images devised or made by Man to the Use of Religion.

54. All religious Worship ought to be given to God alone, from whom all Goodness, Health and Grace ought to be both asked and looked for, as from the very Author and Giver of the same, and from none other.

55. The Name of God is to be used with all Reverence and holy Respect, and therefore all vain and rash Swearing is utterly to be condemned; yet notwithstanding upon lawful Occasions, an Oath may be given and taken, according to the Word of God, Justice, Judgment, and Truth.

56. The first Day of the Week, which is the Lord's Day, is wholly to be dedicated to the Service of God, and therefore we are bound therein to rest from our common and daily Business, and to bestow that Leisure upon holy Exercises, both publick and private.

#### Of the Civil Magistrate.

57. **T**HE King's Majesty under God hath the Sovereign and chief Power, within his Realms and Dominions, over all manner of Persons, of what Estate, either Ecclesiastical or Civil, soever they be, so as no other foreign Power hath or ought to have any Superiority over them.

58. We



58. We do profess, that the supreme Government of all Estates within the said Realms and Dominions, in all Causes, as well Ecclesiastical as Temporal, doth of right appertain to the King's Highness. Neither do we give unto him hereby the Administration of the Word and Sacraments, or the Power of the Keys, but that Prerogative only which we see to have been always given unto all godly Princes in holy Scripture by God himself; that is, that he should contain all Estates and Degrees committed to his Charge by God, whether they be Ecclesiastical or Civil, within their Duty, and refrain the Stubborn and Evil-Doers with the Power of the Civil Sword.

59. The Pope neither of himself, nor by any Authority of the Church or See of Rome, or by any other Means with any other, hath any Power or Authority to depose the King, or dispose any of his Kingdoms or Dominions, or to authorize any other Prince to invade or annoy him, or his Countries, or to discharge any of his Subjects of their Allegiance and Obedience to his Majesty, or to give License or Leave to any of them to bear Arms, raise Tumult, or to offer any Violence or Hurt to his Royal Person, State or Government, or to any of his Subjects within his Majesty's Dominions.

60. That Princes which be excommunicated or deprived by the Pope may be deposed or murdered by their Subjects, or any other whatsoever, is impious Doctrine.

61. The Laws of the Realm may punish Christian Men with death for heinous and grievous Offences.

62. It is lawful for Christian Men, at the Commandment of the Magistrate, to bear Arms, and to serve in just Wars.

Of our Duty towards our Neighbours.

63. **O**UR Duty towards our Neighbours, is to love them as ourselves, and to do to all Men as we would they should do to us; to honour and obey our Superiors; to preserve the Safety of Mens Persons, as also their Chastity, Goods and good Names; to bear no Malice nor Hatred in our Hearts; to keep our Bodies in Temperance, Soberness and Chastity; to be true and just in all our Doings; not to covet other Mens Goods, but labour truly to get our own Living, and to do our Duty in

that Estate of Life unto which it pleaseth God to call us.

64. For the Preservation of the Chastity of Mens Persons, Wedlock is commanded unto all Men that stand in need thereof. Neither is there any Prohibition by the Word of God, but that the Ministers of the Church may enter into the State of Matrimony, they being no where commanded by God's Law, either to vow the Estate of single Life, or to abstain from Marriage; therefore it is lawful also for them, as well as for all other Christian Men, to marry at their own Discretion, as they shall judge the same to serve better to Godliness.

65. The Riches and Goods of Christians are not common, as touching the Right, Title, and Possession of the same, as certain Anabaptists falsely affirm; notwithstanding every Man ought of such Things as he possesseth, liberally to give Alms to the Poor, according to his Ability.

66. Faith given is to be kept, even with Hereticks and Infidels.

67. The Popish Doctrine of Equivocation and Mental Reservation is most ungodly, and tendeth plainly to the Subversion of all human Society.

Of the Church, and outward Ministry of the Gospel.

68. **T**HERE is but one Catholick Church (out of which there is no Salvation) containing the universal Company of all the Saints that ever were, are, or shall be, gathered together in one Body, under one Head, Christ Jesus; part whereof is already in Heaven triumphant, part as yet militant here upon Earth. And because this Church consisteth of all those, and those alone, which are elected by God unto Salvation, and regenerated by the Power of his Spirit, the Number of whom is known only to God himself, therefore it is called the Catholick or Universal, and the Invisible Church.

69. But particular and visible Churches (consisting of those who make Profession of the Faith of Christ, and live under the outward Means of Salvation) be many in number; wherein, the more or less sincerely, according to Christ's Institution, the Word of God is taught, the Sacraments are administer'd, and the Authority of the Keys is used, the more or less pure are such Churches to be accounted.

70. Although in the visible Church the Evil be ever mingled with the Good ; and sometimes the Evil have chief authority in the Ministration of the Word and Sacraments, yet for as much as they do not the same in their own Name, but in Christ's, and minister by his Commission and Authority, we may use their Ministry both in hearing the Word, and in receiving the Sacraments. Neither is the Effect of Christ's Ordinance taken away by their Wickedness, nor the Grace of God's Gifts diminished from such, as by Faith, and rightly do receive the Sacraments ministered unto them, which are effectual, because of Christ's Institution and Promise, although they be minister'd by evil Men. Nevertheless it appertaineth to the Discipline of the Church, that Inquiry be made of evil Ministers, and that they be accused by those that have Knowledge of their Offences, and finally being found guilty, by just Judgment be deposed.

71. It is not lawful for any Man to take upon him the Office of publick Preaching, or ministring the Sacraments of the Church, unless he be first lawfully called, and sent to execute the same. And those we ought to judge lawfully called and sent, which be chosen and called to this Work by Men, who have publick Authority given them in the Church, to call and send Ministers into the Lord's Vineyard.

72. To have publick Prayer in the Church, or to administer the Sacraments in a Tongue not understood of the People, is a Thing plainly repugnant to the Word of God and the Custom of the Primitive Church.

73. That Person which by publick Denunciation of the Church is rightly cut off from the Unity of the Church, and excommunicate, ought to be taken of the whole Multitude of the Faithful as a Heathen and Publican, until by Repentance he be openly reconciled and received into the Church, by the Judgment of such as have Authority in that behalf.

74. God hath given Power to his Ministers not simply to forgive Sins (which Prerogative he hath reserved only to himself) but in his name to declare and pronounce unto such as truly repent, and unfeignedly believe his holy Gospel, the Absolution and Forgiveness of Sins. Neither is it God's Pleasure, that his People should be tied to make a particular Confession of all their known Sins unto any mortal Man ; howsoever, any Person grieved in his Conscience upon any special Cause, may well resort



unto any godly and learned Minister, to receive Advice and Comfort at his Hands.

Of the Authority of the Church, general Councils, and Bishop of Rome.

75. **I**T is not lawful for the Church to ordain any Thing that is contrary to God's Word; neither may it so expound one Place of Scripture that it be repugnant to another. Wherefore, although the Church be a Witness, and a Keeper of Holy Writ, yet as it ought not to decree any Thing against the same, so besides the same ought it not to enforce any Thing to be believed upon Necessity of Salvation.

76. General Councils may not be gathered together without the Commandment and Will of Princes; and when they be gathered together (for as much as they be an Assembly of Men not always governed with the Spirit and Word of God) they may err, and sometimes have erred, even in Things pertaining to the Rule of Piety; wherefore Things ordained by them as necessary to Salvation, have neither Strength nor Authority, unless it may be shewed that they be taken out of Holy Scriptures.

77. Every particular Church hath Authority to institute, to change, and clean to put away Ceremonies and other Ecclesiastical Rites, as they be superfluous, or be abused, and to constitute other, making more to Seemliness, to Order, or Edification.

78. As the Churches of Jerusalem, Alexandria and Antioch have erred, so also the Church of Rome hath erred, not only in those things which concern Matters of Practice and Point of Ceremonies, but also in Matters of Faith.

79. The Power which the Bishop of Rome now challengeth, to be the supreme Head of the universal Church of Christ, and to be above all Emperors, Kings and Princes, is an usurped Power, contrary to the Scriptures and Word of God, and contrary to the Example of the Primitive Church, and therefore is for most just Causes taken away and abolished, within the King's Majesty's Realms and Dominions.

80. The Bishop of Rome is so far from being the supreme Head of the universal Church of Christ, that his Works and Doctrine do plainly discover him to be "that  
" Man

“ Man of Sin foretold in the Holy Scriptures, whom the  
 “ Lord shall consume with the Spirit of his Mouth, and  
 “ abolish with the Brightness of his Coming.

Of the State of the Old and New Testament.

81. **I**N the Old Testament the Commandments of the Law were more largely, and the Promises of Christ more sparingly and darkly propounded ; shadowed with a Multitude of Types and Figures, and so much the more generally and obscurely delivered as the manifesting of them was farther of.

82. The Old Testament is not contrary to the New ; for both in the Old and New Testament everlasting Life is offered to Mankind by Christ, who is the only Mediator between God and Man, being both God and Man ; wherefore they are not to be heard which feign, that the old Fathers did look only for transitory Promises, for they looked for all the Benefits of God the Father through the Merits of his Son Jesus Christ, as we now do ; only they believed in Christ which should come, we in Christ already come.

83. The New Testament is full of Grace and Truth, bringing joyful Tidings unto Mankind, that whatsoever formerly was promised of Christ is now accomplished ; and so instead of the ancient Types and Ceremonies exhibiteth the Things themselves, with a large and clear Declaration of all the Benefits of the Gospel. Neither is the Ministry thereof restrained any longer to one circumcised Nation, but is indifferently propounded unto all People, whether they be Jews or Gentiles ; so that there is now no Nation which can truly complain, that they be shut forth from the Communion of Saints, and the Liberties of the People of God.

84. Although the Law given from God by Moses, as touching Ceremonies and Rites be abolished, and the civil Precepts thereof be not of necessity to be received in any Commonwealth ; yet notwithstanding, no Christian Man whatsoever is freed from the Obedience of the Commandments, which are called Moral.

Of the Sacraments of the New Testament.

85. **T**HE Sacraments ordained by Christ be not only Badges or Tokens of Christian Mens Profession, but

but rather certain sure Witnesſes, and effectual or powerful ſigns of Grace and God's Good-Will towards us, by which he doth work inviſibly in us, and not only quicken, but alſo ſtrengthen and confirm our Faith in him.

86. There be two Sacraments ordained of Chriſt our Lord in the Goſpel, that is to ſay, Baptiſm and the Lord's Supper.

87. Thoſe five which by the Church of Rome are called Sacraments, to wit, Confirmation, Penance, Orders, Matrimony and Extreme Unction, are not to be accounted Sacraments of the Goſpel, being ſuch as have partly grown from corrupt imitation of the Apoſtles, partly are States of Life allowed in the Scriptures, but yet have not like Nature of Sacraments with Baptiſm and the Lord's Supper, for that they have not any viſible Sign or Ceremony ordained of God, together with a Promise of ſaving Grace annexed thereunto.

88. The Sacraments were not ordained of Chriſt to be gazed upon, or to be carried about, but that we ſhould duly uſe them. And in ſuch only as worthily receive the ſame, they have a wholeſome Effect and Operation; but they that receive them unworthily thereby draw Judgment upon themſelves.

### Of Baptiſm.

89. **B**aptiſm is not only an outward Sign of our Profeſſion, and a Note of Difference, whereby Chriſtians are diſcerned from ſuch as are no Chriſtians; but much more a Sacrament of our Admiſſion into the Church, ſealing unto us our new Birth (and conſequently our Juſtification, Adoption, and Sanctification) by the Communion which we have with Jeſus Chriſt.

90. The Baptiſm of Infants is to be retained in the Church as agreeable to the Word of God.

91. In the Adminiſtration of Baptiſm, Exorcism, Oil, Salt, Spittle, and ſuperſtitious hallowing of the Water, are for juſt Cauſes aboliſhed; and without them the Sacrament is fully and perfectly adminiſter'd, to all Intents and Purpoſes, agreeable to the Inſtitution of our Saviour Chriſt.

### Of the Lord's Supper.

92. **T**HE Lord's Supper is not only a Sign of the mutual Love which Chriſtians ought to bear one towards another,



another, but much more a Sacrament of our Preservation in the Church, sealing unto us our spiritual Nourishment, and continual Growth in Christ.

93. The Change of the Substance of Bread and Wine into the Substance of the Body and Blood of Christ, commonly called Transubstantiation, cannot be proved by Holy Writ, but is repugnant to plain Testimonies of the Scripture, overthroweth the Nature of a Sacrament, and hath given Occasion to most gross Idolatry and manifold Superstitions.

94. In the outward part of the Holy Communion the Body and Blood of Christ is in a most lively Manner represented, being no otherwise present with the visible Elements than things signified and sealed are presented with the Signs and Seals; that is to say, symbolically and relatively. But in the inward and spiritual Part, the same Body and Blood is really and substantially presented unto all those who have Grace to receive the Son of God, even to all those that believe in his Name. And unto such as in this manner do worthily and with Faith repair unto the Lord's Table, the Body and Blood of Christ is not only signified and offered, but also truly exhibited and communicated.

95. The Body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten in the Lord's Supper, only after an heavenly and spiritual Manner; and the mean whereby the Body of Christ is thus received and eaten, is Faith.

96. The Wicked, and such as want a lively Faith, although they do carnally and visibly (as St. Augustine speaketh) press with their Teeth the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, yet in no wise are they made Partakers of Christ, but rather to their Condemnation, do eat and drink the Sign or Sacrament of so great a thing.

97. Both the parts of the Lord's Sacrament, according to Christ's Institution, and the Practice of the ancient Church, ought to be minister'd unto all God's People; and it is plain Sacrilege to rob them of the mystical Cup for whom Christ hath shed his most precious Blood.

98. The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was not by Christ's Ordinance reserved, carried about, lifted up, or worshipped.

99. The

99. The Sacrifice of the Mass, wherein the Priest is said to offer up Christ for obtaining the Remission of Pain or Guilt for the Quick and the Dead, is neither agreeable to Christ's Ordinance, nor grounded upon Doctrine Apostolick; but contrariwise most ungodly, and most injurious to that All-sufficient Sacrifice of our Saviour Christ, offered once for ever upon the Cross, which is the only Propitiation and Satisfaction for all our Sins.

100. Private Mass, that is the receiving of the Eucharist by the Priest alone, without a competent Number of Communicants, is contrary to the Institution of Christ.

Of the State of the Souls of Men, after they be departed out of this Life, together with the general Resurrection and the last Judgment.

101. **A**fter this Life is ended, the Souls of God's Children be presently received into Heaven, there to enjoy unspeakable Comforts; the Souls of the Wicked are cast into Hell, there to endure endless Torments.

102. The Doctrine of the Church of Rome concerning "Limbus Patrum, Limbus Puerorum, Purgatory, Prayer for the Dead, Pardons, Adoration of Images and Relicks, and also Invocation of Saints," is vainly invented, without all Warrant of Holy Scripture, yea, and is contrary to the same.

103. At the end of this World the Lord Jesus shall come in the Clouds with the Glory of his Father; at which time, by the Almighty Power of God, the Living shall be changed, and the Dead shall be raised, and all shall appear both in Body and Soul before his Judgment Seat, "to receive according to that which they have done in their Bodies, whether good or evil."

104. When the last Judgment is finished Christ shall deliver up the Kingdom to his Father, and God shall be all in all.

#### The Decree of the Synod.

**I**F any Minister, of what Degree or Quality soever he be, shall publickly teach any Doctrine contrary to these Articles agreed upon; if after due Admonition he do not conform himself, and cease to disturb the peace of the Church, let him be silenced, and deprived of all spiritual Promotions he doth enjoy.



# I N D E X.

## A.



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